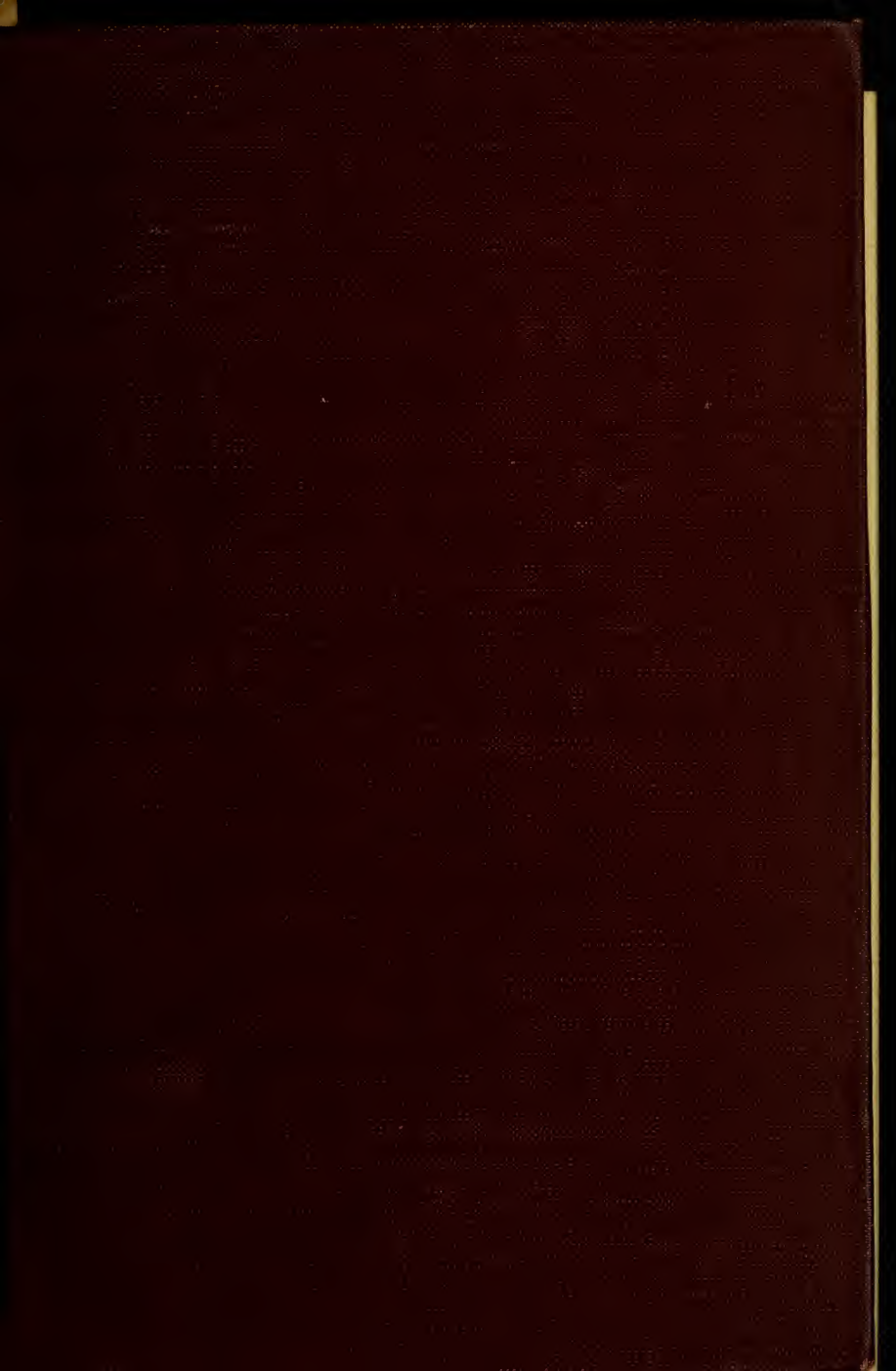




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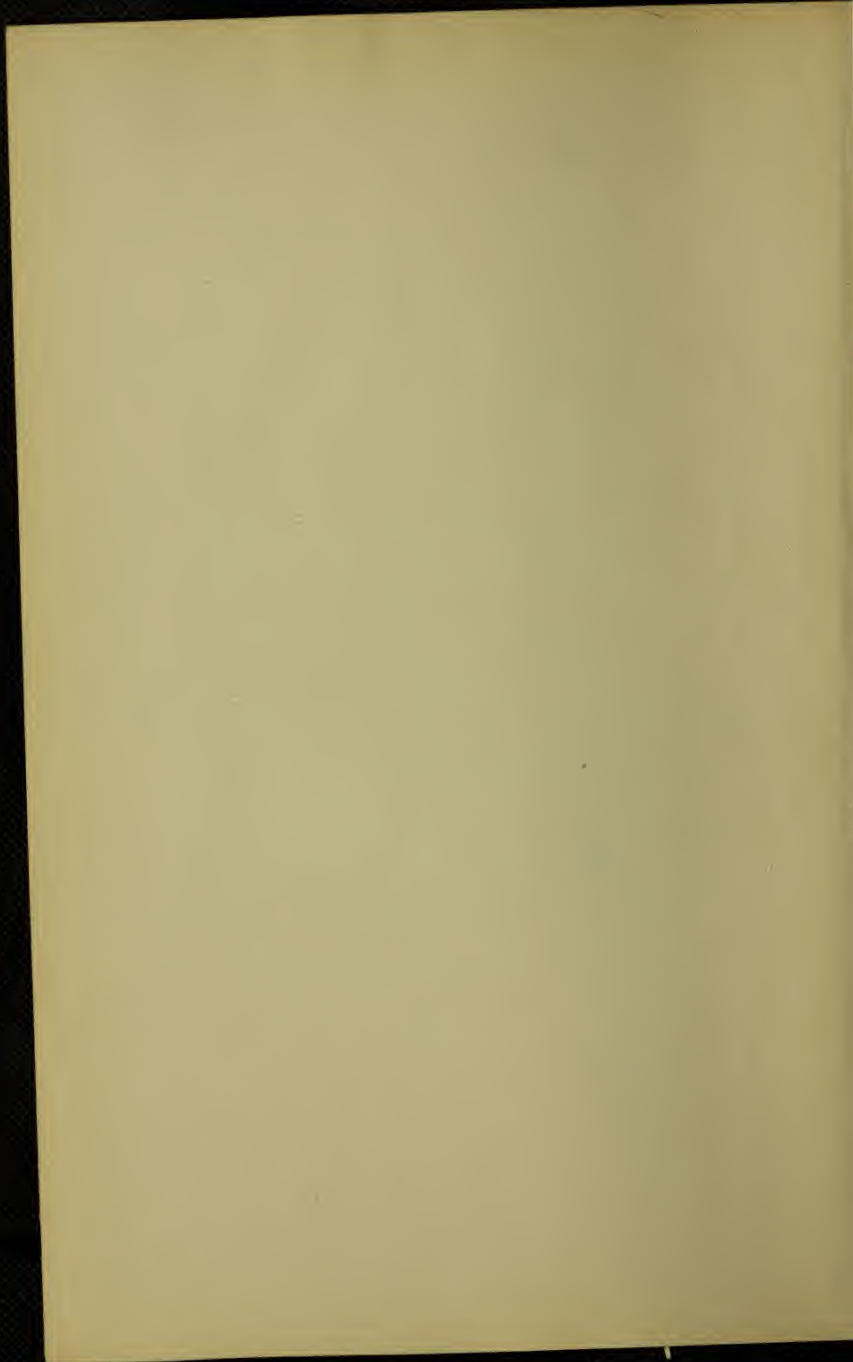
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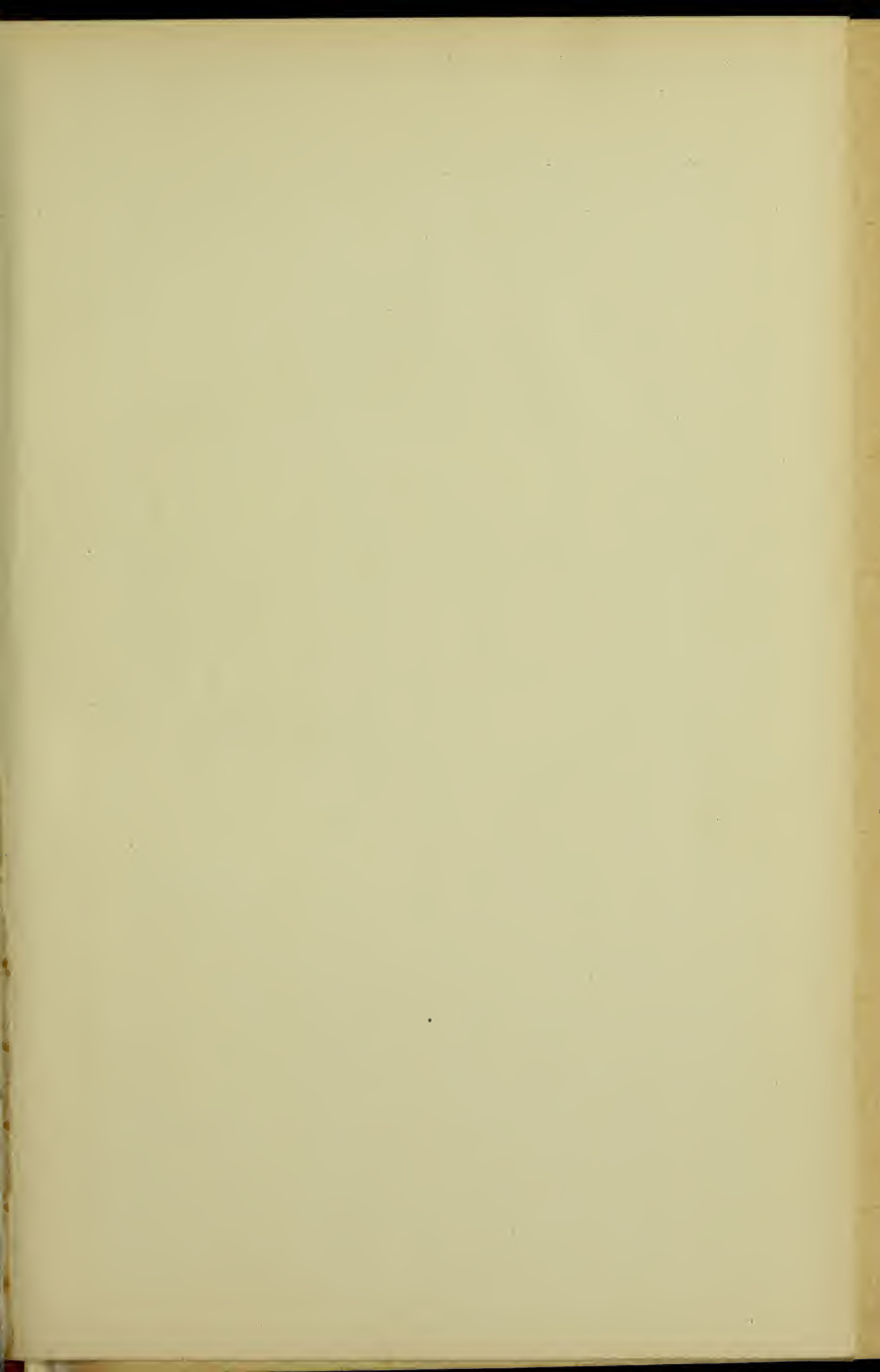
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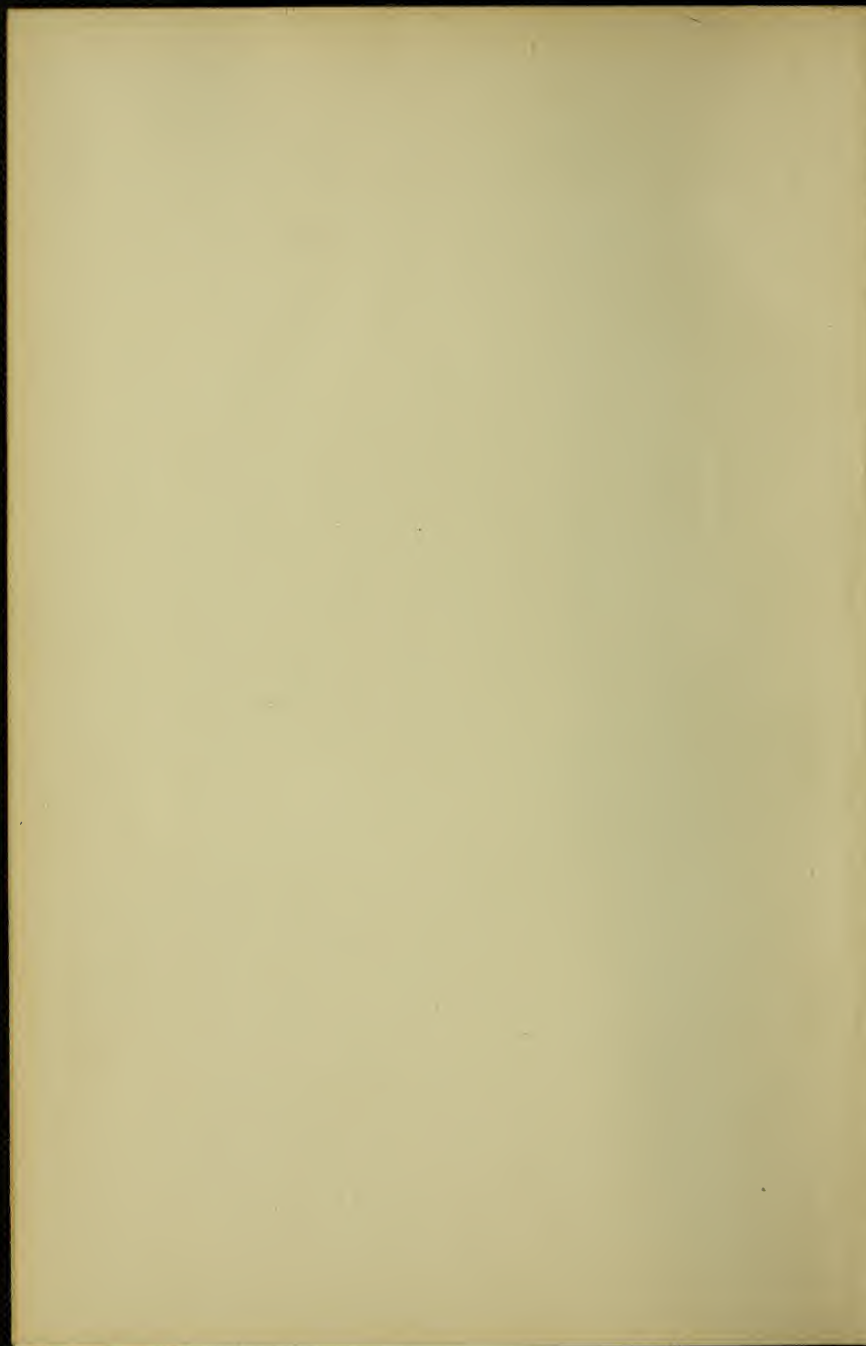
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CALENDAR FOR THE YEAR 1910.

JANUARY.						APRIL.						JULY.						OCTOBER.										
Su.	—	2	9	16	23	30	Su.	—	3	10	17	24	31	Su.	—	3	10	17	24	31	Su.	—	2	9	16	23	30	
M.	—	3	10	17	24	31	M.	—	4	11	18	25	—	M.	—	4	11	18	25	—	M.	—	3	10	17	24	31	
Tu.	—	4	11	18	25	—	Tu.	—	5	12	19	26	—	Tu.	—	5	12	19	26	—	Tu.	—	4	11	18	25	—	
W.	—	5	12	19	26	—	W.	—	6	13	20	27	—	W.	—	6	13	20	27	—	W.	—	5	12	19	26	—	
Th.	—	6	13	20	27	—	Th.	—	7	14	21	28	—	Th.	—	7	14	21	28	—	Th.	—	6	13	20	27	—	
F.	—	7	14	21	28	—	F.	—	1	8	15	22	29	F.	—	1	8	15	22	29	—	F.	—	7	14	21	28	—
S.	1	8	15	22	29	—	S.	—	2	9	16	23	30	S.	—	2	9	16	23	30	—	S.	1	8	15	22	29	—
FEBRUARY.						MAY.						AUGUST.						NOVEMBER.										
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Tu.	—	1	8	15	22	—	Tu.	—	3	10	17	24	31	Tu.	—	2	9	16	23	30	Tu.	—	1	8	15	22	29	—
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Th.	—	3	10	17	24	—	Th.	—	5	12	19	26	—	Th.	—	4	11	18	25	—	Th.	—	3	10	17	24	—	—
F.	—	4	11	18	25	—	F.	—	6	13	20	27	—	F.	—	5	12	19	26	—	F.	—	4	11	18	25	—	—
S.	—	5	12	19	26	—	S.	—	7	14	21	28	—	S.	—	6	13	20	27	—	S.	—	5	12	19	26	—	—
MARCH.						JUNE.						SEPTEMBER.						DECEMBER.										
Su.	—	6	13	20	27	—	Su.	—	5	12	19	26	—	Su.	—	4	11	18	25	—	Su.	—	4	11	18	25	—	—
M.	—	7	14	21	28	—	M.	—	6	13	20	27	—	M.	—	5	12	19	26	—	M.	—	5	12	19	26	—	—
Tu.	—	1	8	15	22	29	Tu.	—	7	14	21	28	—	Tu.	—	6	13	20	27	—	Tu.	—	6	13	20	27	—	—
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F.	—	4	11	18	25	—	F.	—	3	10	17	24	—	F.	—	2	9	16	23	30	F.	—	2	9	16	23	30	—
S.	—	5	12	19	26	—	S.	—	4	11	18	25	—	S.	—	3	10	17	24	—	S.	—	3	10	17	24	31	—

MEMORANDA FOR THE YEAR 1910.

Septuagesima Sunday	Jan. 23	Whit Sunday	May 15
Shrove Tuesday	Feb. 8	Whit Monday	" 16
Ash Wednesday	" 9	Trinity Sunday	" 22
Good Friday	March 25	Bank Holiday	Aug. 1
Easter Day	" 27	Christmas Day (Sunday)	Dec. 25
Easter Monday	" 28	Boxing Day	" 26

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YEAR BOOK

1910

(Formerly "The Reformer's Year Book.")

THE DAILY NEWS LTD.
LONDON & MANCHESTER

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PREFACE.

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.

I am glad that the principles of the Budget are being included in the new edition of the Reformers' Year Book, which the "Daily News" is bringing out. I welcome all attempts to present in popular form, and thus bring before the eyes of the great mass of our people, the substance of the financial proposals which it fell to my lot as Chancellor of the Exchequer to lay before the House of Commons. Perhaps no Budget has been more grossly misrepresented. All I ask is that the people should know what the Budget means, and then we shall be ready to abide by their decision.

We were faced with a deficit of 16 millions. Part of that deficiency was due to the need for making additional provision for the Navy. It is a remarkable fact that those who clamoured loudest for increased Naval expenditure have shown themselves the least willing to pay, while those who doubted the wisdom of increasing armaments have been ready enough to make their contribution once the House of Commons decided that additional expenditure was necessary.

The additional revenue is also needed for old-age pensions. Our political opponents promised pensions for years; the Liberal Government gave them. Nearly 700,000 old people are dependent on the present Budget for their weekly grant, which is all that lies between many of them and the workhouse. The Lords prefer to wreck the Constitution rather than give their consent to a measure which taxes, though lightly, the pleasures of the few in order to spare the sorrows of the myriad.

I claim, too, for the Budget that it is fraught with hope for the unemployed. It foreshadows a scheme of national insurance against sickness and invalidity. It proposes to set up a fund for developing the neglected resources of the country. Under that fund schemes of afforestation, of land reclamation, and of land cultivation offer new channels of useful employment. The land clauses of the Budget alone will widen the field of useful labour in this country considerably. They are bound to have the effect of opening up land to business, of promoting trade, of providing more work. That has been the effect wherever land taxes similar to those in the Budget have been applied. Take the testimony of New Zealand. The city of Wellington reported that the result of the first year's working of the land taxes was a very gratifying one. Much, if not all, of the activity in building operations in and around that city was attributed to the working of the land taxes. As I told the House of Commons, I believe we in this country shall be able to say the same thing of the land taxes in the Budget. Those proposals will help to free industry and trade from one of the greatest monopolies hampering both—the monopoly of the land.

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

THE CRISIS OF 1909.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "DAILY NEWS."

The 30th of November, 1909, will be one of the landmarks of history. On that day the House of Lords refused their consent to the Budget, and in doing so challenged not only the Government policy, but the British Constitution. That Constitution is unwritten. It is a structure of understandings and obligations built up on precedent. The keystone of the structure is the authority of the House of Commons over finance. The Commons make a free money grant to the King for the upkeep of the State, and the duty of the Lords is to give formal agreement. There is a technical right to reject the Budget, but it had never been exercised, and had been specifically repudiated as a practical reality by all constitutional lawyers and statesmen, including the Duke of Wellington and Lord Salisbury. "No taxation without representation" is the axiom in which all democratic institutions have root, and that axiom is embodied in the sole right of the representative House in regard to finance. Another of the accepted principles of the Constitution is the exclusive right of the King, under the advice of his Ministers, to dissolve Parliament. Both the authority of the House of Commons and the prerogative of the Crown were challenged by the decision of the House of Lords to refuse their consent to the Budget until its provisions had been submitted to the country. The decision involved the claim on the part of the House of Lords to control the purse of the nation, and to dissolve Parliament.

The crisis, of which this act was the culmination, was the outcome of a conflict unexampled in our time. The year is memorable for many events—the Conquest of the North Pole and the Conquest of the Air among them. But the political drama has overshadowed all else in this country. Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, by a sort of electrical touch, seemed to materialise the abstractions of politics. The clouds that enveloped the field rolled away, and the combatants looked each other in the face. There had been many sham fights and much smoke; many skirmishes and affairs of outposts. Here at last was the central battle. The mere duration of the struggle was without parallel. Parliament usually meets in February and adjourns in the early days of August—in time for grouse shooting. This year Parliament assembled in February, and sat practically without intermission until December. Usually its proceedings leave the country cold. This year Westminster was a stage which held the whole nation for its audience. Throughout spring, summer, and autumn the struggle grew in intensity, not only in Parliament, but in the country.

The battle of the Budget was preceded by a fierce conflict on the Navy. In the early days of the year it was known that there was some difference of opinion in the Cabinet on the subject of the construction of Dreadnoughts, the new type of battle-ship introduced under the advice of Sir John Fisher. The Admiralty asked for six Dreadnoughts to be laid down within the year; the economists insisted that four were sufficient. Finally Parliament was asked to sanction four, and to give authority for four more should the conditions of German construction warrant the increase. The proposal gave rise to an incredible campaign of panic. The air was filled with denunciations of Germany. All the suspicions of that country's intentions, fanned for years by a small but industrious group of publicists, came to a head. Invasion in 1912 was spoken of as a fixed purpose. The wildest estimates of German shipbuilding were made. Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, gave the sanction of his high position to the most extravagant estimate of all. So far from having only thirteen Dreadnoughts in 1912, according to her programme, he declared that it was possible Germany would have twenty-six. Subsequent evidence made it clear that she would in all probability have fewer than thirteen ready in 1912. But the panic did its work. "We want eight and won't wait" was the refrain of the scaremongers, and finally the Government agreed to make the four conditional Dreadnoughts absolute.

It was in this atmosphere of excitement that Mr. Lloyd George introduced his Budget. The provisions of that measure are dealt with elsewhere. It is enough here to say that, faced with a deficit of sixteen millions, due to old-age pensions and the demands for the Navy, he proposed a scheme for meeting the emergency by new taxation on great riches and on the monopolies of liquor and land. The scheme, coupled as it was with the adumbration of a great scheme of social reform, insurance against unemployment and sickness, afforestation, the encouragement of agriculture and the development of the national estate, created the profoundest impression in the country. By an unerring instinct, both sides seized on the taxation of land values as the real battle-ground. The crushing burden of the land monopoly had long been felt to be the real problem of politics. In Mr. Lloyd George's Budget that problem was at last faced. The anger of the landed aristocracy knew no limits. It expressed itself in a frenzy of word

and action. Wealthy peers discharged workpeople, cut down their subscriptions, and sought in a hundred ways to show that the taxation of land would mean that the poor would suffer. The cry of "Socialism" was raised to scare the propertied classes, and the Press teemed with nightmare terrors. In Parliament the measure went forward resistlessly. Faced with the cold facts, the Opposition was singularly weak and unreal. The idea that the Lords would reject the Budget seemed untenable in presence of the failure to challenge the scheme in debate.

But a factor in the fight, not noticed at first, slowly emerged and dominated the fate of the Budget. This factor was Tariff Reform. The enthusiasm aroused by the Budget had at first shattered the Protectionist campaign. The country was obsessed with a new idea—the land. It refused to listen to Tariff Reform. From every part of the country came the same report—Budget meetings triumphant: Tariff Reform meetings a failure. The Protectionists could hardly get a hearing. They called a meeting, and it ended with cheers for the Budget and Mr. Lloyd George.

The position was grave. It was clear that if the Budget went through, the Tariff Reform campaign, in which enormous sums had been spent, was at an end. In a word, it was seen that the Budget disposed of the theory that Free Trade finance had failed—the theory upon which Tariff Reform was largely built. To defeat the Budget at all costs, and regardless of the merits or demerits of its proposals, became therefore the urgent task of the Tariff Reform party. It was fighting for its life. Mr. Chamberlain, in retirement at Highbury, but still the most powerful figure on his side, at last sounded the alarm. He addressed a letter to a meeting at Birmingham called to hear Mr. Balfour. In that letter he declared that the fate of the Budget involved the fate of Tariff Reform, and called upon the House of Lords to reject the measure. From that moment there was hardly any doubt as to the decision of that House. The controversy changed to the constitutional issue. Here the authorities were overwhelmingly on the side of the Commons; but it was realised that the rank and file of the peers were indifferent to the Constitution and to the consequences. During the early days of the autumn there were many significant conferences between the King, the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, and others. They ceased, and it became clear that whatever action the King had taken to avert a constitutional crisis had failed. Meantime, the long passage of the Finance Bill through the Commons was drawing to a close. On November 4th the Third Reading of the measure was passed amid impressive scenes by a majority of 230. The Bill went to the Lords. There was a brief pause. Then, on the 17th, Lord Lansdowne tabled his resolution announcing that on the Second Reading of the measure he would move:—

"That this House is not justified in giving its consent to this Bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country."

On the following day Mr. Balfour addressed a meeting in Manchester. He had only the previous year affirmed his absolute adherence to the theory that the Commons had the sole authority over finance; but he now defended the action of the Lords in deciding to reject the Budget. The second reading debate began on the 22nd of November. It lasted six days, and on the 30th the Lansdowne resolution was carried by a majority of 275.

This result, though anticipated, created a profound sensation throughout the country, a sensation which echoed through Europe. It was felt that no such momentous act had been done within living memory. The House of Commons met on the following day, when the Prime Minister announced his intention of moving on the next day the following resolution:—

"That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by this House for the service of the year is a breach of the Constitution, and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons."

The next day, December 2nd, the debate took place. It revealed the House of Commons moved to its centre by the challenge of its historic authority. Amid impressive scenes the resolution was adopted, and next day Parliament was prorogued. The long struggle was over at Westminster. The conflict between the two houses had passed the stage of compromise. The issue was with the country, and to the country the two parties turned with a passionate purpose unparalleled in our time.

ESTIMATES AND ACTUAL REVENUE COMPARED.

	Estimate.	Amount actually received.	Increase or decrease.
	£	£	£
Customs	29,200,000	29,200,000	—
Excise	35,500,000	33,050,000	- 1,850,000
Estate Duties	19,500,000	18,370,000	- 1,130,000
Stamps	8,080,000	7,770,000	- 310,000
Land Tax	700,000	730,000	+ 30,000
House Duty	1,000,000	1,900,000	—
Income and Property Tax	23,000,000	23,930,000	+ 930,000
Post Office	18,250,000	22,300,000	- 470,000
Telegraphs	4,520,000	530,000	—
Crown Lands	530,000	1,171,466	+ 1,466
Suez Canal, &c.	1,170,000	2,023,829	+ 26,829
Miscellaneous	2,000,000		
	£154,850,000	£151,578,295	- £2,771,705

This deficit was partly neutralised by savings in expenditure, as the following figures show:—

	Estimated expenditure.	Actual amount expended.	Increase or decrease.
Army	£27,459,000	£26,840,000	- £619,000
Navy	32,310,000	32,188,000	- 131,000
Post Office and Telegraphs	18,322,000	18,113,000	- 209,000

The revised estimates of expenditure provided for some adjustments of local taxation accounts. The net result was that although the revenue fell short of the estimate by nearly three millions the actual deficit was not quite three-quarters of a million.

THE REVENUE IN DETAIL.

I.—THE INCOME FROM THE CUSTOMS IS DERIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES:—

	£	s.	d.
Beer, Mum, and Spruce	1,630	8	8
„ of other sorts	21,484	0	1
Chicory	48,403	9	5
Cocoa	216,385	2	4
„ Husks, Chocolate, and Cocoa Butter	93,537	3	8
Coffee	185,094	8	9
Currents	117,795	2	7
Figs	56,979	9	7
Plums, Dried, French Plums and Prunelloes	46,845	4	5
Prunes	10,011	6	1
Raisins	240,705	7	6
Spirits, Colonial and Foreign:—			
Rum	2,328,936	2	3
Brandy	1,157,164	7	10
Geneva	245,809	8	10
Of other sorts	229,352	14	9
Sugar:—			
Refined and unrefined	2,970,375	13	9
Molasses and Glucose	106,918	11	7
Saccharin, and Articles containing Sugar	88,650	6	9
Tea	6,055,192	16	4
Tobacco and Snuff	13,844,834	0	10
Wine	1,122,601	8	11
All other articles	15,418	17	10
Charges on Foreign Spirits			
Bottled in Bond	312	12	6
Isle of Man:—Duties, &c. ..	50,833	17	2
Total Customs	29,255,271	18	5
Moneys deposited and not appropriated to goods	9,267	8	4

£29,264,004 10 1

£29,200,000 was paid into the Imperial Exchequer, and £87,940. 17s. 2d. was due to the authorities of the Isle of Man.

II.—DETAILS OF THE INCOME FROM THE EXCISE.

	£	s.	d.
Exciseable Liquors, viz.:—			
Beer Duty	12,691,332	7	11
Spirit Duty	17,456,365	14	5
Railway Duty	845,821	4	7
Saccharin	6,788	4	5
Glucose	68,834	19	11
Tobacco (Home Grown)	5,272	7	4
Chicory, &c., viz.:—			
Chicory Duty	625	6	3
Coffee Mixture Labels	1,724	19	9½
Charges on Delivery from Bonded Warehouses, &c. ..	85	1	7
Licence Duties, viz.:—			
Brewers	6,760	9	0
Spirits—Distillers and Rectifiers	15,428	15	0
Tobacco Manufacturers	5,255	5	0
Medicine (Patent)	10,640	5	0
Beer and Cider, and Beer and Wine	169,508	12	2
Spirits—Dealers	156,140	0	6
Spirits—Publicans, including Grocers in Scotland and Ireland	1,764,613	8	10
Wine and Sweets	71,894	1	0
Refreshment House	9,948	14	1
Tobacco Dealers	100,590	3	6
Dog	88,523	17	0
Gun	110,563	10	0
Game	186,655	0	0
Establishment, viz.:—			
Male Servants	22,870	7	0
Carriages	186,361	2	0
Armorial Bearings	7,030	7	0
Locomotives on Highways ..	14,897	8	0
Auctioneers, Appraisers, &c.	91,853	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars	27,230	0	0
Plate Dealers—Gold & Silver ..	66,307	18	9
Pawnbrokers	39,585	0	0
Other than the foregoing ..	2,693	5	0
Local Taxatn., &c., Penalties ..	7,341	7	4

Total Excise £23,690,517 17 4½

* £33,650,000 of this total was paid into the Exchequer during the year.

III.—RECEIPTS FROM THE ESTATE DUTIES.

	£	s.	d.
Estate Duty	14,173,894	2	10
Duties payable on the estates of persons who died before August 2nd, 1894	57,227	12	8
Legacy Duty	3,335,578	0	10
Succession Duty	695,327	16	11
Corporation Duty	48,252	2	8

£18,310,279 15 11
Payments into the Exchequer on this account amounted to £18,370,000 during the year.

IV.—REVENUE FROM STAMPS, &c.

	£	s.	d.
General Stamps:—			
Deeds and other Instruments not otherwise enumerated	3,117,243	8	11
Deeds, &c.—Penalties	6,571	5	5
Bonds to Bearer and Substituted Securities	474,632	0	0
Companies' Capital Duty..	491,452	14	11
Ditto ditto (Limited Partnerships Act, 1907) ..	705	5	0
Contract Notes (above 1d.) ..	162,931	16	4
Loan Capital Duty	25,614	0	0
Foreign Certificates	22,135	0	0
Share Warrants	41,487	0	0
Bills of Exchange	788,838	2	9
Bankers' Notes and Composition for the Duties on the Bills and Notes of the Banks of England and Ireland, and of Country Bankers	117,854	8	0
Cards	27,230	13	9
Licences and Certificates ..	178,970	0	0
Life Insurances	102,547	12	0
Marine Insurances	225,006	8	5
Medicines (Patent)	315,489	7	4½
Receipts, Drafts, and other id. Stamps	1,728,676	13	2

Total Stamps £7,827,335 16 6½
£7,770,000 of this was paid during the year into the Exchequer.

V.—RECEIPTS FROM THE LAND TAX AND THE INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.

	£	s.	d.
Land Tax	710,910	8	0½
Inhabited House Duty	1,939,907	6	10½

£2,650,817 15 8
of which £2,630,000 was paid during the year into the Exchequer.

VI.—INCOME TAX AND PROPERTY TAX RECEIPTS.
Amount received under—

Schedule	£
A. Lands, Tenements, &c.	8,043,888
B. Occupation of lands, tenements, &c.	163,999
C. Annuities, Dividends, &c.	2,176,970
D. Professions, Trades, &c.	20,873,718
Public Offices, &c.	2,449,968
	£33,708,541

During the year £33,930,000 was paid into the Exchequer on account of these taxes.

VII.—POST OFFICE RECEIPTS.

The net revenue and the amounts paid into the Exchequer from this branch of the public service during 1908-9 were:—

	Net.			Payments into the Exchequer.
	£	s.	d.	£
Postal receipts ..	17,790,014	18	4	17,770,000
Telegraph ..	3,029,854	19	9	3,020,000
Telephone ..	1,515,784	3	2	1,510,000
Total ..	£22,335,651	1	3	£22,300,000

VIII.—REVENUES FROM WOODS AND FORESTS.

	£	s.	d.
Rents, &c.	581,027	11	9
Sales of Timber, &c.	28,326	9	5
Miscellaneous	36,914	1	4
	£548,268	2	6

Deduct salaries and allowances to officials (£20,737. 8s. 10d.) and payments for repairs, &c. (£132,241. 9s. 3d.) 152,978 13 1
£493,289 4 5

This department started the year with a balance in hand of £37,813, and with this a total of £530,000 was paid into the Exchequer.

RECEIPTS FROM SUEZ CANAL SHARES AND SUNDRY LOANS.

Suez Canal Shares:—

	£	s.	d.
Interest and Dividend received in the year on 169,423 ordinary shares ..	1,022,197	15	8
Dividend for the same period on 7,179 "Actions de Jouissance"	36,176	4	6
Ordinary Shares drawn and paid off up to 31st March, 1908 £7,179			
Ditto ditto in 1908-9	350		
	£7,529	1,058,374	0 2

Receipts in respect of Loans:—

Cunard Steamship Company—Interest on Advances	71,064	2	11
Greek Loan (1832)	7,984	19	1
Fiji—Grant in aid, further in part repayment	2,500	0	0
Crofters Colonisation—Grant in aid, further in part repayment	1,571	15	3
Gold Coast—Repayment of advances	20,000	0	0
Wuchang Viceroy—Principal (£7,500) and Interest (£991. 4s. 4d.)	8,491	4	4
Liberian Government—Principal (£1,311. 17s. 7d.) and Interest (£188. 2s. 5d.) ..	1,500	0	0

Total £1,171,466 1 9

MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE.

	£	s.	d.
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue	22,461	15	5
Bank of England	188,200	18	0
Contribution from Indian Revenues	9,013	10	0
Bankruptcy Act, 1883	22,991	14	4
Companies (Winding up) Act, 1890	6,416	11	9
Expenses of Administration of Local Loans	38,790	6	3
Mint	551,727	13	1
Receipts by Civil Departments (other than those appropriated in aid of Votes) ..	72,606	8	1
Ordnance Factories Supplies Suspense Account	31,190	9	2
Savings on Grants of Parliament, &c., and Over-Issues Repaid	13,637	1	9
Isle of Man	16,000	0	0
Conscience Money	717	2	7
Casual Receipts	6,710	16	11
Treasury Chest	29,364	16	8
	1,003,829	4	0
Fee, &c., Stamps	1,023,000	0	0
Total Miscellaneous Revenue	£2,026,829	4	0

HOW THE MONEY IS SPENT.

Our national expenditure is divided into two main classes. (1) Certain payments, such as the interest on the National Debt, the Civil List of the King, and annuities to other members of the Royal Family, the salaries and pensions of Judges and others, are charged on the Consolidated Fund; these items, having once been approved by Parliament, are paid henceforward without any further sanction. (2) Other payments, such as the cost of the Army, the Navy, and the Civil Service, are paid by money voted annually by Parliament.

THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Details of the principal payments from the Consolidated Fund will be found in the summary of expenditure given above, but some few other facts may be mentioned here. Pensions for naval and military services were paid in 1908-9 to eight peers, and these amount to £18,720 a year, while two former Speakers, Viscount Peel and the late Viscount Selby, received £4,000 a year each. Pensions for judicial services in England took £45,789,

in Scotland they took £19,059, and in Ireland £12,331. From the Consolidated Fund £2,000 a year is paid to the High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and another £2,000 to the General Assembly for itinerant preachers, while the University of Cambridge receives £8. 3s. 6d. for a preacher, and the University of Oxford £7. 19s. 6d. The salaries of the Judges in England and Wales amounted in 1908-9 to £184,800, while judges of county courts received £82,421. Metropolitan Police Magistrates were paid £37,742 during the year; the judges in Scotland £49,400, and in Ireland £62,612.

THE GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE.

The enormous increase in our national expenditure which has taken place during the past 50 years is due very largely to the greater cost of the Army, the Navy, and the Civil Service. The following table taken by special permission from the "Economist" of May 1st, 1909, gives some idea of the growth of our national expenses.

Year.	Army.	Navy	Civil Service.	National Debt and other Services.	Post Office and Revenue.	Total National Expenditure.	National Expenditure per Head of the Total Population.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£ s. d.
1857-8	14,406,000	10,590,000	10,147,000	28,627,000	4,859,000	68,129,000	2 7 6
1867-8	17,419,000	11,169,000	11,194,000	26,572,000	4,833,000	71,237,000	2 6 8
1877-8	17,782,000	10,785,000	15,624,000	23,413,000	7,776,000	80,380,000	2 7 4
1887-8	18,233,000	12,325,000	19,852,000	26,214,000	10,749,000	87,423,000	2 7 5
1897-8	19,330,000	20,850,000	23,446,000	25,000,000	14,310,000	102,936,000	2 11 0
1907-8	27,115,000	31,141,000	32,152,000	29,500,000	20,749,000	140,657,000	3 3 2
1908-9	26,840,000	32,188,000	31,007,109	28,000,000	21,433,000	142,468,109	3 3 4

It will be noticed that before the South African war the total cost of both Army and Navy was £40,180,660; in the year ending March 21st, 1909, the two services cost £59,923,000, or more than twenty-five shillings for every man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom. This enormous increase due to the new and enlarged standard

of armaments which has prevailed since the War, brings to mind Mr. Gladstone's remark, "War suspends ipso facto every rule of public thrift."

Nearly ten millions of the increase in expenditure which has taken place since 1897-8 is due to the increasing cost of Education and of the Civil Service.

COST OF THE ARMY AND NAVY DURING THREE YEARS OF UNIONIST RULE.	
Year.	£
1903-4	72,438,095
1904-5	65,755,305
1905-6	61,830,704
Yearly average under the Unionists, £66,608,035	

COST OF THE ARMY AND NAVY DURING THREE YEARS OF LIBERAL RULE.	
Year.	£
1906-7	58,392,798
1907-8	59,973,508
1908-9	59,028,000
Yearly average under the Liberals, £59,131,435	

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The following table shows the nature of the increase in this department.

	1897-8.	1907-8.	Estimates, 1909-10.
	£	£	£
Public Works and Buildings	1,885,680	2,716,400	3,164,784
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	2,097,932	2,880,564	3,023,175
Law and Justice	3,628,681	8,854,402	4,185,336
Education, Science, and Art	11,525,818	17,163,278	17,911,143
Foreign and Colonial Services	1,160,212	2,042,364	1,891,740
Non-Effective and Charitable Services	747,639	810,377	9,625,920
Miscellaneous	355,859	512,707	263,073
Revenue departments	14,265,009	20,843,581	22,350,730
Total	35,069,830	50,829,673	62,420,961
Deduct 8½ millions on account of Old Age Pensions			8,750,900
			53,670,901
Total (excluding Revenue Departments)	£21,404,821	£29,986,092	£31,320,171

The sums paid out of the Consolidated Fund are not included in the above summary, and this accounts for the difference between these figures and those under the head of Civil Service in the preceding table.

Although this increase is unquestionably great, and there is doubtless much extravagance in Government departments which would not be tolerated in private firms, it is gratifying to find that after the expenses of Education and of the Post Office are deducted it is not enormous. In spite of increasing cost the Post Office still makes a handsome sum for the relief of the taxpayer, and the additional charges for education are recognised by all parties to be necessary. After subtracting these sums and the amount devoted to Old-Age Pensions the increase in the Civil Service expenses between 1897-8 and the estimates for 1909-10 is under £3,500,000.

The increase in expenditure on Public Works and Buildings is one which ought not to grow much in future years, although the amount paid in rates on Government property, which shows an increase of £260,000 in the last twelve years, is not likely to be seriously reduced. The items in the salaries and expenses of civil departments show that the expenses of the House of Lords have increased from £3,897 to £25,894, and those of the House of Commons from £16,516 to £45,180. Of the big Government departments, the Foreign Office has reduced its expenditure from £70,352 to £65,371, but the Home Office has increased from £118,279 to £215,800, the Board of Trade from £178,674 to £319,700, and the Local Government Board from £181,675 to £264,294. The cost of stationery and printing has increased

during the twelve years from £580,639 to £720,960, while the largest decrease in the class is shown by the Local Government Board for Ireland, the expenses of which have fallen from £136,804 to £77,731.

The administration of justice is still very costly in the United Kingdom. The largest item among the items for Law and Justice is the cost of the Royal Irish Constabulary—£1,380,918 for the current year. The Supreme Court of Judicature costs about as much as it did twelve years ago, but the expenses of the Irish Land Commission have risen from £112,431 to £303,677. The cost of prisons in the three kingdoms is now £963,822; in 1897-8 it was only £762,900.

Apart from the increasing cost of elementary and secondary education some items which come under this head may be noted. The expenses of the National Gallery have fallen from £14,734 to £11,725, but those of the British Museum have risen from £162,140 to £179,228. £57,964 is now spent on scientific investigation and similar matters, and £217,400 is granted to the Universities and University Colleges, and for the purposes of intermediate education in Wales; in 1897-8 the corresponding figures were £27,942 and £103,964.

The money voted for Foreign and Colonial services shows that between 1897-8 and 1909-10 the cost of the Diplomatic and Consular services has increased from £449,464 to £602,006, and that of the Colonial services from £355,364 to £1,176,521. The cost of Superannuation and retiring allowances is now £676,139, against £538,375, and the amount provided to meet the deficiencies in the accounts of Savings Banks and Friendly Societies is £121,341, against £46,324.

But in spite of the alarming increase in expenditure, which all economists deplore, it may be confidently asserted that the present Liberal Government is much more frugal than its Unionist predecessor. It has made large reductions in the National Debt, while on the Army and Navy it has not spent as much as was spent in the last years of Tory rule. Moreover, the reductions in expenditure have been effected without impairing the efficiency of our fighting forces; indeed, in the case of the Army at all events, its efficiency has been vastly improved under the present administration.

In two other ways the Liberal Government has done something in the interests of economy. In 1907 Mr. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, made some alteration in the methods by which a share of imperial revenues is paid to the relief of local taxation. This system had been denounced as wasteful by many financiers, but Mr. Asquith was the first to take the matter in hand.

More important still was the same statesman's contribution to national economy when he launched his scheme of Old Age Pensions. Had this reform been introduced twenty years ago it is almost certain that an elaborate and expensive body of officials would have been employed to carry it out. Mr. Asquith, however, by instituting some reforms in the Revenue departments, set free a number of trained officials for this work, and then, by taking advantage of the machinery of the Post Office, he was able to put the scheme into working order at a very small cost for management. Let anyone who is disposed to underrate the value of this proceeding compare the cost of managing Old Age Pensions with that of the administration of the Poor Law. In 1906-7, out of an expenditure of £13,957,224 on the relief of the poor, £2,512,771, or nearly 19 per cent., was spent on salaries of officers and kindred matters.

THE NATIONAL DEBT.

One of the most commendable features of Liberal finance is the large reduction which has been made during the past three years in the National Debt. If a financier is to be judged by the amount he is able to devote to the repayment of debt, then Mr. Asquith's reputation will stand very high indeed, for during his term of office as Chancellor the sums allocated for this purpose were unparalleled in our financial history. The following table shows the gross liabilities of the State at the end of each of the financial years 1904-9, and the amount devoted each year to the reduction of debt.

Year ending March 31st,		
1904 ..	£794,498,100	£3,851,090
1905 ..	796,736,491	2,238,391 added to debt.
1906 ..	788,990,187	7,746,304
1907 ..	779,164,704	9,825,483
1908 ..	762,326,051	16,838,653
1909 ..	754,121,209	8,204,742

Thus, in three completed years of office the Liberal Government has reduced our national liabilities by £34,868,878, or an average of £11,622,959 a year; or if the new additions to our capital liabilities, which have been entered into to meet obligations incurred by the late Government are excluded, it reduced the debt by £49,532,089, or an average of £13,510,693 a year.

ON MARCH 31ST, 1909, THE NATIONAL DEBT WAS MADE UP THUS:—

	£
Funded Debt	621,839,000
Unfunded Debt	42,839,000
Capital value of terminable annuities.	88,010,000
Other capital liabilities	51,433,000
	£754,121,000

The greatest amount of debt owing by the nation in the last 35 years was £798,342,199 in 1903, and the smallest amount was £635,393,734 in 1899. The difference between the two figures plus a large amount provided out of revenue was the cost of the South African War. The interest on the National Debt, together with the cost of management, takes £18,000,000 a year, and as £24,500,000 is now devoted to this purpose there is a surplus of £6,500,000 for the repayment of debt. Thus, in spite of the reduction of the sinking fund from 28 to 24½ millions, we still devote a substantial part of our revenue to the extinction of our national liabilities.

THE BUDGET OF 1909.

In April, 1909, the financial year which had just ended had shown a small deficit, and although there was evidence that a recovery in trade had set in, the effects of this would not be felt for some time. Consequently in arranging the national finance for 1909-10 Mr. Lloyd George estimated the different items of the revenue on a very moderate scale, a proceeding, it may be noticed, which, although severely condemned at the time, has been abundantly justified by the returns to date. Taking taxation as it was in the year 1908-9, he estimated the revenue for 1909-10 at:—

		Increase or Decrease compared with '08-9.
Customs	£28,100,000	- £1,100,000
Excise	32,050,000	- 1,600,000
Estate Duties	18,600,000	+ 230,000
Stamps	7,600,000	- 170,000
Land Tax	700,000	- 30,000
House Duty	1,950,000	+ 50,000
Property and Income Tax ..	33,900,000	- 30,000
Post Office	17,750,000	- 20,000
Telegraphs and Telephones ..	4,650,000	+ 120,000
Crown Lands	530,000	-
Suez Canal, &c. ...	1,166,000	- 5,000
Miscellaneous	1,394,000	- 633,000
	£148,390,000	- £3,188,000

The estimated expenditure, on the other hand, was larger than in 1908-9. The principal heads of this were as follows:—

		Increase or Decrease compared with 1908-9.	
National Debt....	£25,000,000	-	£3,000,000
Other charges on Consolidated Fund.....	1,870,000	-	15,000
Local Taxation			
Account	9,483,000	-	537,000
Army	27,435,000	-	24,000
Navy	35,143,000	+	2,824,000
Civil Service	31,320,000	+	860,000
Customs and In- land Revenue Expenses	3,373,000	+	49,000
Post Office and Telegraphs	18,978,000	+	658,000
Old Age Pensions	8,750,000	+	7,500,000
	£161,152,000	+	£8,313,000

The Chancellor also estimated for the following new items of expenditure:—

Improvement of Roads	£600,000
Development Fund	200,000
Labour Exchanges	100,000
Valuation for Land Tax	50,000
	£950,000

The total estimated expenditure for 1909-10 was therefore £162,102,000.

Thus he was faced with a decline in the estimated income of £3,188,000 and with an increase in estimated expenditure of £9,263,000, and he had, moreover, to provide against the recurrence of the deficit of £714,000 with which the former year had ended. In other words, with a revenue estimated at £143,230,000, he had to meet an expenditure estimated at £162,102,000. His deficit actually was £13,712,000, after he had reduced the annual charge for the National Debt from £28,000,000 to £25,000,000.

THE NEW TAXATION.

The main part of the Budget was that dealing with the raising of further revenue. How would the Chancellor raise an additional 14 millions?

1. The Income-tax was raised 2d. in the £, the rate being made 1s. 2d. instead of 1s. This was estimated to bring in an additional £3,600,000 a year, although the rate charged on earned incomes below £2,000 a year remained unaltered at 9d. in the £, and earned incomes of between £2,000 and £3,000 a year were charged at 1s. only. Moreover, a new kind of abatement was introduced. Everyone whose income does not exceed £500 a year would be entitled to a special abatement of the tax on £10 for each child under 18 years of age. This concession was estimated to cost £600,000 a year, and thus the net gain from the Income-tax was estimated at £3,000,000.

2. A new form of Income-tax, the Super Tax, was introduced. The rate

was fixed at 6d. in the £, payable by those whose incomes exceed £5,000 a year, but only chargeable upon the excess of such income over £3,000. Thus a man with £10,000 would pay on £7,000. He would pay 7,000 sixpences, or £175. This new tax was estimated to yield £500,000 for the current year.

3. The scale of Death Duties was revised. The duty on estates under £5,000 in value remained as before, but on larger estates the following scale was put in force:—

Between	£5,000 and	£10,000,	4	per cent.
"	£10,000	"	£20,000,	5
"	£20,000	"	£40,000,	6
"	£40,000	"	£70,000,	7
"	£70,000	"	£100,000,	8
"	£100,000	"	£150,000,	9
"	£150,000	"	£200,000,	10
"	£200,000	"	£400,000,	11
"	£400,000	"	£600,000,	12
"	£600,000	"	£800,000,	13
"	£800,000	"	£1,000,000,	14
Above	£1,000,000	"		15

This was estimated to yield an additional £2,550,000. In the same class of revenue the Settlement Estate Duty was increased from 1 to 2 per cent., and certain extra duties were then charged in cases where persons die who have enjoyed a life interest in an estate. These two alterations were estimated to produce an additional £363,000, making the total increase expected from the Death Duties £2,850,000.

4. The Legacy and Succession Duty was raised from 3 to 5 per cent. in cases where a brother or sister, or their descendants, inherit property, and when more distant relatives or strangers in blood inherit the rate was fixed at 10 per cent. In addition, the exemption from this duty hitherto enjoyed by husband and wife and by children was abolished in cases where the estate from which they benefit exceeds £15,000 in value. But in these cases legacy duty was not payable if the amount received by any one individual does not exceed £1,000, or in cases where the beneficiary is the widow of the deceased or a child under 21 years of age, if the amount does not exceed £2,000. These changes were not expected to produce anything during the current year, but in future years, it was estimated, they would produce an additional £1,370,000.

5. The duties charged for liquor licences were revised. Public-houses were to pay for licences a uniform charge of 50 per cent. of their annual value, subject to a minimum based on population. This minimum was as follows:—

In rural districts	5
In urban areas with a population—	
Under 2,000	5
Between 2,000 and 5,000	10
" 5,000 and 10,000	15
" 10,000 and 50,000	20
" 50,000 and 100,000	30
Over 100,000	35

Beerhouses were to pay a duty of one-third of the annual value, subject to a minimum which rose from £3. 10s. in rural areas to £23. 10s. in towns with over 100,000 inhabitants. On-licences for the sale of wine were to pay a sum varying from £4. 10s. to £12, according to the annual value of the premises, and half this scale was charged to retailers of British-made wines, cider, &c. Off-licences, like on-licences, were subject to a scale of duties varying according to annual value. The scale was:—

Spirits	£10 to £50
Beer	£1. 10s. to £10
Wine	£2. 10s. to £10
British-made wines, cider, &c.....	£2

Hotels and restaurants, where the receipts from the sale of liquor were not more than one-fourth of the total receipts, would pay only one-half of the usual licence duty. Similarly, when the liquor receipts were not more than one-sixth of the total receipts they would pay only one-third of the duty. Alterations were made in this matter, and in its final form the Budget allowed a reduction in the duty where the receipts from liquor were less than 40 per cent. of the total receipts for a restaurant, and less than 33 per cent. for an hotel. The reduced duty bore the same proportion to the full duty as the receipts from liquor to the total receipts, but was not to fall below the minimum.

Clubs were to pay 3d. in the £ on the amount received from the sale of liquor. This was the original proposal, but afterwards it was changed to 6d. in the £ on all purchases of liquor by a club.

Brewers were to pay for licences on a graduated scale, this being £1 for the first and second 100 barrels brewed, and 12s. for each succeeding 50 barrels.

Distillers were to pay £10 each for the first and second 50,000 proof gallons distilled, and £10 for each additional 25,000 gallons.

Rectifiers or compounders of spirits were to be charged £15. 15s. for each licence, and those for makers of British-made wines £5. 5s. Makers of cider and perry were to pay £5. 5s., unless they manufactured solely from fruit produced by themselves. Wholesale dealers in beer and in wine were to pay £10. 10s. for each licence, wholesale dealers in spirits £15. 15s., and wholesale dealers in cider and perry £5. 5s. Theatres would pay the same rates for licences as public-houses, but with maxima of £20 and of £50. Other minor changes were proposed in the licence duties, and altogether they were expected to produce an additional £2,900,000 for the revenue.

6. The Stamp Duty payable on the sale or transfer of property was raised from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 per cent. Additions were made to the stamp duties payable on contracts for the sale of stocks and shares, and the total additional revenue expected from this source was estimated at £652,000.

7. Motor-cars were to be taxed in

future according to a scale based upon the horse-power of the car. This scale was:—

		£	s.	d.
Under 6½ h.p.		2	2	0
" 12 h.p.		3	3	0
" 16 h.p.		4	4	0
" 28 h.p.		6	6	0
" 33 h.p.		8	8	0
" 40 h.p.		10	10	0
" 60 h.p.		21	0	0
Over 60 h.p.		42	0	0

Medical men were to pay half the above duties, and motor-cyclists were to pay £1 for each machine. £269,000 was the estimated additional yield of this tax.

Petrol and all "other spirits used for motor vehicles" were to pay a duty of 3d. per gallon, half of this amount to be returned in the case of petrol used for commercial vehicles, motor-cabs, and motor-omnibuses. The revenue anticipated from this source was £349,000.

8. The duty on unmanufactured tobacco was raised from 3s. a pound to 3s. 8d. a pound, with equivalent additions to the rates for cigars, cigarettes, and manufactured tobacco. This, it was hoped, would produce an additional £1,900,000.

9. The duty on spirits was raised by 3s. 3d. a gallon, a change estimated to produce an additional £1,600,000.

10. Three new land taxes were introduced—

(a) A tax of 20 per cent. upon increment accruing to land from the growth and enterprise of the community at large. This was to be charged when the land was sold, and also when it passed at death.

(b) An annual duty of ½d. in the £ on the capital value of undeveloped land. Agricultural land and parks to which the public have access are exempt. Also a tax of ½d. in the £ on ungotten minerals, which was afterwards changed to one of 1s. in the £ on mineral rights.

(c) A tax of 10 per cent. on the benefit received by a lessor on the termination of a lease.

These taxes were estimated to produce:—

- (a) £50,000,
- (b) £350,000,
- (c) £100,000, or £500,000 in all.

SUMMARY OF REVENUE EXPECTED FROM THE NEW TAXATION.

	£
Income Tax of 2d. in the £, less new abatement	3,000,000
Super Tax of 6d. in the £ on large incomes	500,000
Death Duties on the higher scale, an additional	2,850,000
Legacy and Succession Duties on the higher scale, an additional	—
Liquor Licences on the new scale, an additional	2,600,000
Stamp Duties on the new scale, an additional	650,000
Motor Cars and Petrol, an additional	600,000

Tobacco, the higher duty, an additional	1,000,000
Spirits, the higher duty, an additional	1,600,000
The three new Land Taxes	500,000
Total.....	£14,200,000

Thus the revenue was brought up to £162,590,000, or £488,000 more than the estimated expenditure.

One or two minor changes may be noted. The tax on motor-cars was extended to Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom hitherto excluded; the exemptions and abatements allowed to payers of Income-tax were in future to be restricted to persons resident in the United Kingdom; and the distinction between grocers' licences in England, Scotland, and Ireland was removed. Moreover, agricultural land was to be assessed for death duties in future at its market value, and not, as heretofore, at 25 years' purchase, while gifts made during life were to be charged to the death duties if they were made within five years of death. (This was afterwards reduced to three years.)

Such, in brief outline, is Mr. Lloyd George's historic Budget of 1909. It has been denounced frequently because it provides for the raising of more revenue than is necessary to meet the current liabilities of the year. This very fact, however, is in reality its chief merit. It provided for additional revenue in future years without any increase of taxation, and this is exactly what the nation needs. This end was attained in the following ways:—

(1) The Super Tax, estimated to yield only £500,000 during the present year, would yield during a full financial year not less than £2,350,000, and the restriction of abatements to those payers of Income-tax residing within the United Kingdom would yield another £250,000 a year.

(2) In future years the new scale of death duties would yield £4,400,000 more or an increase of nearly £2,000,000, while the other duties in the same class would yield £325,000 over the figure for 1909-10.

(3) The Legacy and Succession Duties were estimated to produce in future years an extra £2,150,000, instead of nothing during the current year, and £1,370,000 in 1910-11.

(4) The Stamp Duties, it was anticipated, would produce £1,450,000, and not merely £650,000.

(5) The increased Tobacco Duty would yield an additional £350,000 over the figure for 1909-10.

With one or two other additions there would have been an additional £6,455,000 of revenue in 1910-11, and a further additional £1,105,000 in future years. This does not include the increased proceeds from the new land taxes, which were expected to be very fruitful when the new system of valuation was fairly established. An increase in national prosperity will be followed by an increase in the value of land in and around our great towns, and a rise

in value will bring more land into the category of undeveloped. The revenue from these taxes, therefore, might reasonably be expected to be considerable. Mr. Lloyd George, like Sir William Harcourt in 1894, would have tapped a new and fruitful source of income, a necessity recognised by financiers belonging to all parties.

CHANGES IN THE BUDGET.

It was hardly to be expected that such momentous financial proposals would pass into law without modifications of any kind. In spite, however, of six months of unrestricted debate in the House of Commons, and of much fierce and virulent criticism both inside and outside the House, the Finance Bill passed its third reading by a majority of 239 votes, and was sent to the House of Lords on November 5th with its essential features unaltered. The fate of the Bill in the Lords is dealt with in the opening pages of this book. Minor alterations had been made in the House of Commons.

A valuable concession was made to owners of agricultural land, who were allowed to deduct money spent on land and cottages up to 25 per cent. of the rental. This meant a diminution of £300,000 in the receipts from the Income-tax during the present year, and of £500,000 in succeeding years. The duty of a halfpenny in the £ on un-gotten minerals was struck out, its place being taken by one of 1s. in the £ on mineral rights. Some changes were made in the stamp duties and in the licence duties, while gifts made *inter vivos* escaped payment of Death Duty if they were made more than three years before death, not five years, as was originally proposed. Finally the cost of the valuation of land was undertaken by the State, and equally, or even more, important, one-half of the proceeds of the new land taxes was to be handed over to the local authorities.

Meanwhile the revenue was coming in and some sources of revenue were producing more than was expected, while others were producing less. In the former class the Death Duties were prominent, and in the latter class the duty on spirits. Certain additional taxes, like the additional twopenny of Income-tax, the increased Death Duties, and the higher taxes on spirits and tobacco, have been collected by the authority of resolution of the House of Commons since the introduction of the Budget. The collection of the Super Tax and the proposed Land Taxes was, however, contingent on the passing into law of the Budget. The protracted debates on the Bill made a decrease in the yield of these taxes during the current financial year inevitable, and a revised estimate of the revenue for 1909-10 was therefore issued on October 22nd.

This shows the following differences from the original estimates:—

THE REVENUE WOULD LOSE FROM THE FOLLOWING CAUSES:—

	£
Owing to shortness of time the land taxes would produce less than was estimated by	75,000
Concessions to owners of agricultural property would cost	300,000
Concessions made with regard to the Stamp duties would cost	50,000
Concessions made with regard to the Licensing duties would cost	500,000
Owing to decreased consumption the duty on Spirits would produce less than was estimated by	800,000
The grant of one-half the land taxes to Local Authorities would take...	300,000
Valuation of land would cost	200,000
	£2,225,000

THE REVENUE WOULD BENEFIT FROM INCREASES UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADS:—

	£
Mineral Rights Duty	175,000
Death Duties	1,300,000
Stamps	300,000
Post Office	200,000
	£1,975,000

The supplementary estimates amounted to £367,000, and thus the Chancellor had to find an additional £617,000. To do this he proposed to take £550,000 from the Sinking Fund, and the remaining £117,000 from the estimated surplus, thus reducing this from £488,800 to £371,000.

Having dealt with the alterations, we can now present:—

THE ESTIMATED BALANCE-SHEET FOR 1909-10 IN ITS FINAL FORM.

REVENUE.	£	EXPENDITURE.	£
Customs	30,000,000	Original estimates, less £500,000 taken from Sinking Fund	161,602,000
Excise	35,550,000	Supplementary Estimates	367,000
Estate Duties	22,750,000	Extra cost of the Valuation of Land	200,000
Stamps	8,500,000	Grant of one-half of the proceeds of the new Land Taxes to the Local Authorities	800,000
Old Land Tax	700,000	Estimated Surplus	371,000
New Land Taxes and Mineral Rights Duty	600,000		
House Duty	1,950,000		
Property and Income Tax	37,100,000		
Post Office	22,600,000		
Crown Lands	530,000		
Suez Canal, &c.	1,166,000		
Miscellaneous	1,394,000		
	£162,840,000		£162,840,000

THE REVENUE TO DATE.

For the first half of the current year—April 1st to September 30th—the revenue shows an increase of only £1,803,000 over the receipts for the corresponding period of last year. This, it must be confessed, is somewhat disappointing, when one reflects that the increase for the whole of the year is expected to be something like £15,000,000. The greater part of the Income-tax, however, is not collected until the final

quarter of the year, while the Super Tax and the new Land Taxes could have nothing to their credit during the first half of the year. Nevertheless, there was, before the intervention of the Lords dislocated the national finance, a reasonable prospect that expenditure and income would balance on March 31st, 1910. There would, as in past years, be certain savings in expenditure.

	Period ending Sept. 30, 1909	Period ending Sept. 30, 1908	Increase.	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
Customs	14,807,000	14,033,000	774,000	..
Excise	14,174,000	15,510,000	..	1,336,000
Estate, &c., Duties	11,528,000	8,650,000	2,878,000	..
Stamps	3,825,000	3,680,000	145,000	..
Land Tax	50,000	50,000	..	..
House Duty	280,000	280,000	..	..
Property and Income Tax	5,006,000	5,740,000	..	734,000
Postal Service	7,530,000	7,410,000	120,000	..
Telegraph Service	1,645,000	1,615,000	30,000	..
Telephone Service	805,000	725,000	80,000	..
Crown Lands	185,000	235,000	..	50,000
Receipts from Suez Canal Shares and Sundry Loans	651,310	610,930	40,380	..
Miscellaneous	929,562	1,078,690	..	144,128
Totals	£61,415,872	£59,612,620	£4,067,880	£2,264,123

THE EXPENDITURE TO DATE.

	Period ending Sept. 30, 1909.	Period ending Sept. 30, 1908.
National Debt Services	£ 10,811,218	£ 10,364,863
Other Consolidated Fund Services	834,926	843,673
Payment to Local Taxation Accounts, &c.	8,864,082	4,015,513
Supply Services	59,433,257	52,643,240
	£74,443,483	£67,867,239

On the 13th of November the total revenue received during the financial year amounted to £78,357,429, and the expenditure to £94,758,570.

This is not the place to defend the proposals of the Budget in detail; moreover, a general defence is contributed to this book by Mr. Lloyd George himself. But these points may be noted and emphasized in concluding this review—

1. The Budget provided for an increasing revenue in future years without additional taxation.

2. The valuation proposals contained in it would have enabled public authorities, railway companies, and other enterprises to purchase land at a reasonable price.

3. The Budget placed no new burden upon the owner of agricultural land; on the contrary, it conferred a special benefit upon him.

4. The Budget recognised for the first time in a tangible form the services performed by parents to the State.

5. No serious alternative for raising the necessary millions has been placed before the country by the wreckers.

THE NEW LAND TAXES IN DETAIL.

The additional taxation imposed in the Budget of 1909 was to be raised mainly by extensions of existing methods of raising revenue, such as the Income-tax, the Death Duties, and the duties on spirits and tobacco. The Land Taxes, on the other hand, were a new departure, and, as economists were hoping they would yield in the future a plentiful harvest to the National Exchequer, they may be considered more fully than the older taxes, the nature of which is familiar to all.

The new Land Taxes were four in number, and for their assessment a complete system of Land Valuation was proposed.

Valuation.—The Commissioners of Inland Revenue were empowered to value all the land in the United Kingdom as soon as possible after the passing of the Finance Bill. This valuation was to show separately the site value and the total value, and was to be taken "as on April 30th, 1909." The Commissioners must then furnish the owner with the result of their provisional valuation. If he did not object within sixty days this would become the original site value, i.e., the basis upon which the new Land Taxes are to be levied. There was a right of appeal to a referee, and from him to the courts of law; the High Court in cases of property exceeding £500 in

value, and the County Court in other cases.

The four Land Taxes were:—

(1) **Increment Value Duty.**—This was a duty of 10 per cent. on the increment value of land, payable when land was sold or leased for not less than 14 years, and also when it passed by death, and was to be charged on the amount by which the site value of the land at the time of payment exceeded the original site value. Full allowance was to be made for all money spent upon the land, and no duty was to be charged unless the increment amounted to at least 10 per cent. Where it was more than this the duty was not to be charged on the first 10 per cent. of increment. Corporations were to pay this duty in 1914, and in every subsequent 15 years, unless they preferred to make annual payments. They were also to pay when they sold or leased their land. Provision was made for securing that the duty should only be payable once in respect of the same increment. Anyone who within the last 20 years had bought or mortgaged land which has since depreciated in value might, when increment duty became payable, substitute the amount originally paid by him for the official valuation of 1909. Then the duty would not be charged until the amount lost through depreciation had been completely recovered, and a further appreciation had begun and had exceeded 10 per cent.

EXEMPTIONS FROM THE TAX ON INCREMENT.

(a) Agricultural land, so long as it had no higher value than its value for agricultural purposes. Land used for sporting and allied purposes was classed as agricultural land, except where its value for such purposes exceeded its agricultural value.

(b) Small houses occupied by their owners for 12 months previous to the collection of the duty and not exceeding the annual value of £40 a year in London, £25 in towns of 50,000 inhabitants and upwards, and £16 elsewhere. "Owner" included the holder of a lease granted for 60 years or more.

(c) Agricultural holdings of not more than 50 acres and of an average total value of not more than £75 per acre, occupied and cultivated by their owners for 12 months. "Owner" also included leaseholder.

(d) Land held by any corporate or incorporate body for the purpose of games or recreation without view to profit.

(e) Crown Lands. This did not include sales and leases to the Crown.

(f) Leases and transfers of leases of tenements or flats.

(2) **Reversion Duty.** This was a duty of 10 per cent. on the value of the benefit accruing to a lessor at the determination of a lease of land. The duty would not be payable by those who before April 30th, 1909, had purchased reversions of leases determining within 40 years of that date, and full allowance would be made for all money spent on the property. The value of the benefit on which the duty was charged was the amount by which the total value of the land at the end of the lease exceeds the total value at the time of the original grant, and provision was made to avoid the payment of both this duty and the increment duty on the same increase of value. The exemptions from this duty extend to

(a) Leases of agricultural land.

(b) Leases for not more than 21 years.

(c) Cases in which the lessor's reversionary interest is a leasehold interest not exceeding 21 years.

(3) **Undeveloped Land Tax.** This was a tax of a halfpenny in the £ on the site value of undeveloped land exclusive of minerals under the surface. Undeveloped land was defined as land which had not been developed by the erection of dwelling-houses or of buildings for the purposes of any business, trade, or industry other than agriculture (but including glasshouses or greenhouses), or land not otherwise used bona fide for any business, trade, or industry other than agriculture. For the collection of this tax the site value was to be fixed by the Commissioners at the first valuation, and after this a quinquennial valuation of undeveloped land was to be made. An allowance was made in cases where increment duty had been paid on the undeveloped land, and land upon which £100 an acre had been spent in making roads and sewers was not to be classed as undeveloped until 10 years after the cessation of such expenditure. On the other hand, land which is neglected might pass from developed and become undeveloped land. The exemptions from this tax were:—

(a) Land of which the site value was not more than £50 an acre.

(b) Agricultural land with a site value of more than £50 an acre was only liable on the amount by which the site value exceeds the "agricultural value."

(c) Public parks, gardens, and open spaces.

(d) Woodlands, parks, gardens, and open spaces to which the public had reasonable access and the Commissioners think such access beneficial.

(e) Land kept free of buildings, in pursuance of any definite scheme of

development, but only subject to the approval of the Commissioners.

(f) Land used for games or other recreations, under an agreement of not less than five years' duration, or other conditions which make its continued use for this purpose probable.

(g) Plots of ground not exceeding an acre attached to houses; and under certain conditions gardens not exceeding five acres.

(h) Agricultural land held under a lease or agreement made before April 30th, 1909, while the tenancy continues.

(i) Agricultural land occupied and cultivated by the owner or the holder of a lease of not less than 50 years, if the total value of the land, together with any other belonging to the same owner, does not exceed £500.

(4) **Mineral Rights Duty.** This is a duty of 5 per cent. per annum on the rental value of all rights to work minerals, and all mineral wayleaves. Brick-clay, sand, chalk, limestone, and gravel are not minerals for the purposes of this tax, and full allowance was made for all capital expenditure. The sum of 1s. in the £ was to be charged on the rental value, i.e., on the amount of rent paid by the working lessee in the last working year, or in cases where a proprietor himself works the minerals it was the customary rent of the district. Mining leases which might pay this special duty would not be called upon to pay either increment duty or reversion duty.

OUR DIRECT TAXES.

The struggle between the principles of Free Trade and Tariff Reform may be restated as one between **Direct and Indirect Taxation.** The present Government, while not ignoring the possibilities of obtaining revenue from certain forms of Indirect Taxation, prefers to raise the greater part of the money required for Imperial purposes by **Direct Taxation**, and in so doing it is following the principles of sound finance, and is acting in the interests of true economy. Direct Taxes are favoured by economists for two main reasons. In the first place the whole of the amount raised finds its way into the National Exchequer, and in the second the taxpayers know exactly how much he is paying.

Our Direct Taxes may be divided into two main classes, the various taxes roughly classed as Death Duties and the Income-tax.

I.—DEATH DUTIES.

Legacy and Succession Duties have been part of our financial system for many years, but the whole system was revised by Sir William Harcourt in his great Finance Act of 1894. These duties were retained, although in cases of near relations inheriting property, they were not enforced, and were arranged on a scale graduated up to 10 per cent., and Estate Duties payable on the total value of the estate of a deceased person,

irrespective of its destination, were introduced. They, too, were on a graduated scale, beginning with estates over £500 in value, which paid 2 per cent., and rising to 3 per cent., the duty paid on estates of over £1,000,000. Thus revised, the Death Duties proved a very fruitful source of income. In the year 1898-9 they produced £15,732,573, and in the last financial year (1908-9) £18,310,280 was received from this source. No change was made in the scale of duties between 1894 and 1907, when Mr. Asquith increased the rates on estates of £150,000 and over. The scale rose from 6 per cent., the rate payable on estates worth between £100,000 and £150,000, by additions of 1 per cent. to estates worth between £750,000 and £1,000,000, which were to pay 10 per cent. For estates of over £1,000,000 there was the 10 per cent. rate and a super tax, which was only charged on the excess of the estate over £1,000,000. This rose from 1 to 5 per cent. on such excess according to its amount, the result being that an estate of £3,000,000 paid 10 per cent. on the whole and an additional 5 per cent. on £2,000,000, the excess of the estate over £1,000,000. In 1909 Mr. Lloyd George made a further change, which was in the direction of simplicity. The duties were revised on all estates worth £5,000 and over, and the scale was graduated from 2 to 15 per cent. Moreover, the Legacy and Succession Duties became payable with a few exceptions by beneficiaries from all estates of £15,000 and upwards.

The revenue from the Death Duties in 1908-9 was made up of the following items:—

Estate Duty (including Settlement Estate Duty)	£14,173,894
Probate and Inventory Duty*	47,925
Account Duty*	2,342
Temporary Estate Duty*	6,961
Legacy Duty	3,335,578
Succession Duty	695,328
Corporation Duty	48,252
	£18,310,280

* These duties are applicable only to property passing by deaths occurring prior to August 2nd, 1894, and are being gradually superseded by the Estate Duty. Property valued at £12,558 was exempted from the Death Duties during the year 1908-9 because it was bequeathed to National and Municipal Institutions.

Under the Finance Act of 1894 and the Agricultural Rates Act of 1893 a certain proportion of the Death Duties goes to the Local Authorities. This is 1½ per cent. of the net capital value of the free personality (situated in the United Kingdom) on which Probate and Inventory Duty would have been paid if the Estate Duty had not been imposed, and a certain contribution fixed by the Local Government Board in aid of the rates on Agricultural Land. This now amounts to a sum between four and five millions. In 1908-9 England contributed £15,433,021 to the Death Duties, Scotland £2,110,817, and Ireland £716,442. Of the £14,173,894 received from the Estate Duties, £11,537,365 was collected from personal and £2,636,529 from real estate. The gross value of the estates on which duty was paid during 1908-9 was £393,841,399, and the net value £270,993,432.

NET CAPITAL VALUE OF ESTATES OR PORTIONS OF ESTATES.

Class.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
Small Estates { Not exceeding £300 gross value	2,895,175	416,362	444,552	3,756,089
Exceeding £300 but not exceeding £500 gross value	8,023,613	431,782	403,716	3,859,116
Net.				
£ 100 but not exceeding £ 500	2,270,571	318,327	272,087	2,861,485
" 500 " 1,000	7,548,781	962,900	611,287	9,122,968
" 1,000 " 10,000	53,686,416	7,189,779	3,651,974	64,508,169
" 10,000 " 25,000	34,247,338	4,127,324	1,965,656	40,370,418
" 25,000 " 50,000	29,338,904	3,085,530	1,996,826	34,421,260
" 50,000 " 75,000	16,156,906	2,318,086	1,058,687	19,533,679
" 75,000 " 100,000	11,826,904	1,518,895	523,759	13,899,558
" 100,000 " 150,000	14,525,662	1,981,984	338,998	16,846,624
" 150,000 " 250,000	14,062,164	1,998,173	680,785	17,330,122
" 250,000 " 500,000	16,253,246	3,400,977	461,976	20,116,199
" 500,000 " 750,000	7,236,195	677,163	—	7,913,358
" 750,000 " 1,000,000	— 884,720	840,431	680	— 43,609
" 1,000,000 " 1,500,000	4,682,681	1,948,124	—	6,530,855
" 1,500,000 " 2,000,000	2,657,403	—	—	2,657,403
" 2,000,000 " 2,500,000	2,132,818	76,700	—	2,209,518
" 2,500,000 " 3,000,000	—	—	—	—
" 3,000,000	5,007,690	— 6,450	—	5,001,240
Total	£ 227,147,832	81,814,637	12,440,963	270,993,432

DETAILS OF PERSONAL ESTATE LEFT DURING 1908-9.
This includes the gross value of the personal estate in the United Kingdom.

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£
1. Stocks or Funds of the United Kingdom	7,303,247	310,360	326,987	7,940,594
2. Stocks, Funds, or Bonds of Foreign Countries, British Dependencies, and Colonies	10,686,661	437,711	244,766	11,369,138
3. Proprietary Shares or Debentures of Public Companies	73,972,801	10,534,774	4,063,614	88,571,189
4. Cash in the house	479,924	61,874	61,921	603,719
5. Cash at the bank	14,181,442	2,228,512	877,844	17,287,798
6. Money out on Mortgage	12,571,771	1,729,223	429,166	14,730,160
7. Money out on Bonds, Bills, Notes, and other Securities	4,325,714	1,526,402	129,893	5,982,009
8. Book Debts	1,552,165	188,494	170,423	1,911,082
9. Other Debts	2,933,147	709,979	185,593	3,828,719
10. Unpaid Purchase Money of Real and Leasehold Estate contracted in lifetime of deceased to be sold	580,199	22,921	149,296	752,416
11. Deceased's Interest in Proceeds of Sale of Real Estate directed by settlement to be sold	233,869	2,431	9,306	245,606
12. Personal Estate over which the deceased had and exercised an absolute power of appointment	1,489,823	164,029	29,257	1,683,109
13. Policies of Insurance on the life of the deceased or on that of any other person and Bonuses thereon	7,554,046	1,079,915	441,216	9,075,177
14. Saleable value of Policies of Insurance and Bonuses on the life of any person other than the deceased	150,609	47,777	14,852	213,238
15. Household Goods, Pictures, China, Linen, Apparel, &c.	5,224,834	636,837	222,322	6,083,993
16. Stock in Trade and Farming Stock	4,020,099	658,431	535,655	5,214,185
17. Goodwill	784,123	64,360	11,814	860,317
18. Ships or Shares of Ships	174,089	43,081	2,747	219,917
19. Share of deceased in Real and Personal Estate as Partner in a Firm	6,847,311	2,129,617	90,523	9,067,451
20. Deceased's Expectant Interest under Will.	1,740,945	27,360	26,889	1,795,194
21. Deceased's Expectant Interest under Settlement				
22. Personal Estate not classified	488,774	52,989	25,773	567,536
23. Income due—i.e., Rents, Profits, Dividends and Interest—to date of death..	9,042,618	453,430	170,790	9,666,838
	2,290,981	392,283	128,420	2,811,684
Total Gross Capital Value	£168,629,192	23,502,810	8,349,067	200,481,069

II.—THE INCOME-TAX.

This tax was originally regarded as a very useful but only as a temporary means of raising revenue; the object was to keep it at a low figure in order to have an adequate reserve on which to draw in time of war. But it has now become "an integral part of our fiscal system," and to place it on a scientific basis is one of the chief duties of those in charge of our finances. Something has been done in this direction by Liberal Chancellors of the Exchequer. Between 1865 and 1900 the tax never rose above 8d., with total abatements to those whose incomes were less than £150, and from 1895 less than £160, and with partial abatements on incomes between £150 and £700. During the South African War it rose from 3d. to 1s., and from 1s. to 1s. 3d., and since then it has

never been less than 1s. But improved methods of graduation have been introduced. In 1907 Mr. Asquith fixed the rate on earned incomes under £2,000 a year at 9d., and when Mr. Lloyd George in 1908 raised the general rate from 1s. to 1s. 2d. he retained the tax on earned incomes at this figure, and on earned incomes between £2,000 and £3,000 a year he fixed it at 1s. He also made an allowance in respect of children under 16 to those whose incomes are under £500, and introduced the super tax.

Although for 1908-9 the general rate of Income-tax was 1s., the rate at which it was actually paid averaged only 9.71d. This is allowing for the various abatements, and under Mr. Lloyd George's Budget there would be few people paying tax at the rate of 1s. 2d., as the following examples will show:—

A with an earned income of £140 and an unearned one of £60 pays 2s. 4d. in the £.

B	"	"	"	£120	"	"	"	£310	"	7s. 8d.	"
C	"	"	"	£440	"	"	"	£100	"	7s. 5d.	"
D	"	"	"	£550	"	"	"	£100	"	8s. 5d.	"

These examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but they are sufficient to show that the rate was not 1s. 2d. in the £; it varied from 1d. in the £ or less to 1s. 2d. in the £, and with the super tax to more, although not to 1s. 8d., as the super tax of 6d. is not charged upon the total income.

The Income-tax has produced for each penny in the £ the following sums:—

£	2
1898-9....2,234,289	1903-4....2,562,551
1899-1900 2,353,619	1904-5....2,580,533
1900-1....2,475,442	1905-6....2,633,436
1901-2....2,531,462	1906-7....2,666,867
1902-3....2,535,862	1907-8....2,698,000
	(approximate)

In the financial year ending March 31st, 1908, the Income-tax produced a net amount of £31,473,658. The gross amount of income which came under the notice of the Inland Revenue

Authorities was £946,578,997; abatements accounted for £223,692,421 of this, and of the remaining £652,886,576, £559,233,009, or just over 85 per cent., paid 1s. in the £, and £93,654,600, or nearly 15 per cent., paid 6d. The amount allowed for abatements is made up as follows:—

	£
Incomes under £160	56,995,382
Other incomes under £700	115,448,372
Life Insurance Premiums	9,712,965
Friendly Societies, &c.	11,578,787
Repairs to Houses, &c.	39,170,158
Wear and Tear of Machinery....	19,331,953
Other allowances	41,454,804
	£293,692,421

For the year 1908-9, full details of Income-tax are not yet available, but the total amount received on account of the tax was £33,708,541.

DETAILS OF INCOME ASSESSED FOR INCOME-TAX DURING 1907-8.

CLASS 1 (Schedule A). Profits from the ownership of—

	£	£
Lands	51,857,803	
Houses	211,358,747	
Other property	1,271,220	
		261,487,770

CLASS 2 (Schedule B). Profits from the occupation of lands (Farmers' profits mainly) 17,386,178

CLASS 3 (Schedule C). Profits from British, Indian, Colonial, and Foreign Government securities 48,215,294

CLASS 4 (Schedule D). Profits from Businesses, Concerns, Professions, Employments (except those of a public nature, *see* Class 5), and certain interest:—

	£	
I. Businesses, Professions, &c. (including salaries of employés), other than those enumerated below.....	374,790,950	
II. Railways in the United Kingdom.....	42,688,981	
III. Mines	15,112,782	
IV. Gasworks	7,484,951	
V. Ironworks	4,327,457	
VI. Waterworks	5,333,738	
VII. Canals, &c.	4,129,441	
VIII. Quarries	1,392,007	
IX. Markets, Tolls, &c.	719,723	
X. Fishings in the United Kingdom and Sporting Rights in Ireland	207,205	
XI. Cemeteries	170,830	
XII. Salt springs or works and Alum works	103,112	
XIII. Indian, Colonial, and Foreign Securities (<i>other</i> than Government, <i>see</i> Class 3)	16,223,612	
XIV. Coupons	14,385,930	
XV. Railways out of the United Kingdom	20,326,385	
XVI. Loans secured on the public rates	5,684,203	
XVII. Other interest.....	4,107,603	
XVIII. Other profits	1,554,649	
XIX. Profits from the occupation of lands, the occupiers of which have elected to be assessed under Schedule D	17,758	
		518,761,317

CLASS 5 (Schedule E). Salaries of Government, Corporation, and Public Company Officials 97,734,438

Total Gross Income brought under the review of the Department for the year 1907-8 £946,578,997

III.—OTHER DIRECT TAXES.

(a) The Land Tax.—This historic form of Direct Taxation owes its present form to legislation of 1798. At this time 16,104 parishes in England and

Wales contributed their quotas to the tax, the amount of these, together with £47,997 from Scotland, being fixed at £1,965,977. Arrangements, however, have long been in force by which the Land Tax can be redeemed, the amount

received on this account being devoted to the reduction of the National Debt. The result is that more than one-half of the Land Tax has been redeemed, and the amount at present payable only amounts to £247,731. Certain abatements are allowed to the smaller land-owners, and in the year 1908-9 the receipts from the Land Tax were £710,911.

In 1898-9 the net receipts were £865,460, the diminution in 10 years being due to redemptions.

(b) **Inhabited House Duty.**—This duty, which, like the Land Tax, does not apply to Ireland, is levied on all houses the annual value of which amounts to £20 and over, at the following rates and classifications:—

	Where the Annual Value of the House.		
	Amounts to £20, but does not exceed £40.	Exceeds £40, but does not exceed £60.	Exceeds £60.
	In the £. 3d.	In the £. 6d.	In the £. 9d.
Houses used solely as Private Dwellings	2d.	4d.	6d.
Residential Shops			
Hotels, Public Houses, and Coffee Houses			
Farmhouses occupied by Tenant Farmers or Farm Servants			
Lodging Houses			

The net receipts of the tax for the year ending March 31st, 1909, amounted to £1,939,907, of which £127,660 was collected in Scotland, and the remainder in England and Wales. The returns of the Inhabited House Duty give some very interesting particulars about the number of houses in Great Britain and their value, because statistics are col-

lected not only about the premises which pay duty, but about those which are exempt. The number of houses exempt from the duty in 1907-8 was as follows:—

Under £10 Annual Value.....	3,162,752
Between £10 and £15 do.	1,985,639
Between £15 and £20 do.	564,345

This table shows the numbers and divisions of all premises charged with House Duty:—

Class.	Metropolis.	Rest of England.	Total England.	Scotland.	Great Britain.
£20 and under	17,114	2,147	19,261	—	19,261
£41	4,373	322	4,695	—	4,695
£20 " "	95,207	326,251	421,458	33,401	454,859
£25 " "	59,715	228,188	287,898	25,813	313,714
£30 " "	133,413	350,878	489,291	36,825	526,116
£41 " "	48,364	79,474	127,838	9,629	137,467
£41 " "	49,183	112,504	161,687	11,529	173,216
£50 " "	28,011	56,495	84,506	6,466	90,972
£61 " "	16,038	38,830	54,868	4,296	59,164
£80 " "	10,700	42,974	62,674	4,342	67,016
£100 " "	7,925	16,141	24,066	1,553	25,622
£150 " "	8,285	11,500	19,785	813	20,598
£200 " "	4,037	4,097	8,134	187	8,321
£300 " "	2,147	1,669	3,816	85	3,901
£400 " "	1,223	844	2,067	36	2,103
£500 " "	843	452	1,295	25	1,320
£600 " "	551	266	817	19	836
£700 " "	376	176	552	20	572
£800 " "	230	86	316	7	323
£900 " "	1,241	493	1,734	72	1,806
£1,000 and upwards	502,976	1,273,782	1,776,758	135,124	1,911,882
Total Numbers	502,976	1,273,782	1,776,758	135,124	1,911,882

Of this number, 1,456,275 were private dwelling-houses. In the 10 years between 1898-9 and 1907-8 the number of private houses worth £20 a year and upwards increased from 1,117,457 to 1,456,275, and the annual value of them increased from £53,283,981 to £65,709,824.

A comparison between London and Scotland, which contain practically the same number of people each, brings out some rather curious facts. In London the number of houses under £20 a year in value is only 122,455, while in Scotland it is 842,440. In 1908 the estimated population of London was

4,795,757 and of Scotland 4,326,587, yet the latter has 352,133 more inhabited houses than the former.

INDIRECT TAXATION.

The returns of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue relating to those forms of Indirect Taxation, i.e., the proceeds of the Excise duties, which come under their notice, give some interesting facts.

In 1908-9 32,751,733 barrels of beer were retained for consumption in the United Kingdom, this being an average of 26·47 gallons for each person.

4,571 persons or firms were licensed to brew beer, and 55,812 barrels were imported. The Beer duty produced during the year £12,691,332. The excise duty on Spirits produced during 1908-9 £17,456,366, and 166 distilleries distilled 49,529,692 gallons during the year, divided thus: England, 12,929,631; Scotland, 24,407,727; Ireland, 12,192,244. Of the distilleries, 8 were in England, 132 in Scotland, and 26 in Ireland, the six English counties containing distilleries being Surrey, Middlesex, Essex, Derby, Gloucester, and Lancashire. Duty was paid on 33,447,957 gallons, which after certain deductions for repayment on gallons warehoused for export, represents the amount of Spirits retained for consumption in the United Kingdom. This amount in 1908-9 was 82,050,865 gallons, and 6,852,209 gallons were imported, making a total consumption of 33,903,674 gallons, or '87 gallons per head of the population. In 1908-9 we exported 8,203,591 gallons.

Noting that the duty on Glucose produced £68,835 and that on Saccharin £6,798 during 1908-9, we come to the receipts from Licences, which produced a total of £3,113,683 during the year.

Number of Licences taken out during 1908-9 for

Patent Medicines	42,583
Hawkers	13,612
Auctioneers	3,120
Pawnbrokers	5,278
Guns	223,323
Tobacco	398,437

Owing to the recent change in transferring the collection of certain licences to the Local Authorities, full details are not at present available for 1908-9, but in 1907-8 there were issued licences for

Male Servants	227,390
Carriages (including Motor-cars)	473,797
Dogs	1,769,485

The Railway Passenger Duty during 1908-9 produced £345,821. This is charged on all passenger fares in Great Britain exceeding 1d. a mile.

Stamp Duties produced during 1908-9 a net sum of £7,827,385.

Deeds and other instruments received £1,192,251 of its total from the transfers of Stocks and Shares. This amount shows a serious decline from the totals of former years; in 1902-3 it was £1,534,000, and in 1899-1900 it was £1,701,000. Conveyances of Houses and Land produced £235,548 against £1,092,677 in 1898-9 and £252,987 in 1900-1. On the other hand, the amount received from receipts, &c., rose from £1,381,385 in 1898-9 to £1,728,677 in 1908-9.

The duty on Companies' Share Capital shows a decline compared with 1900-1 (£761,974), and with 1902-3 (£624,759), but an increase on the figure for 1907-8 (£432,714). The number of companies registered—5,300—however, is greater than in any of the past 10 years, the nearest approach being 5,077 in 1898-9.

NATIONAL WEALTH AND NATIONAL INCOME.

It is estimated by competent financiers that the British nation saves money at the rate of £200,000,000 a year, or, in other words, every man, woman, and child puts by on an average a fivepound note annually. With money being accumulated at this rate the interesting question naturally arises, What is the nation worth? Our estimate is £13,500,000,000, or an average of £300 per person. Owing to lack of space it is impossible to give in detail the reasons for arriving at this figure, but it does not differ seriously from the estimates made by competent statisticians.

OF WHAT DOES THIS NATIONAL CAPITAL CONSIST?

The largest item in our catalogue of national wealth is obviously the land on which we live and the buildings erected thereon. In 1907-8, the last year for which detailed figures are available, the income-tax authorities estimated for purposes of the tax the annual value of our lands and houses at £264,500,000. The actual amount paid in rent was, of course, higher than this, but an allowance must be made for repairs and depreciation, and the sum mentioned above may be taken as the fair net annual value of the property in question. The capital value of these lands and houses may be regarded as being twenty times its net annual value, or £5,300,000,000. Our railways are worth something like 1,000 millions, and in 1905 the total nominal share capital of the public companies in the United Kingdom was officially returned at 6,644 millions. Much of this capital is nominal only, but the actual market value of our public companies, excluding railways, cannot in 1909 be much less than 3,800 millions, and excluding property included under the former head we may estimate this at 2,000 millions. According to the "Economist" of February 7th, 1909, our investments abroad amount to 3,000 millions, but from this we must deduct something for the amount of foreign capital invested in the United Kingdom. Allowing for this, we may safely assume that the surplus of British capital invested abroad is 2,000 millions. Private traders, farmers, shopkeepers, and others, as well as larger undertakings which are still in private hands, must own a capital of not less than 1,500 millions, and this leaves a balance of £1,700,000,000, which is not too much for the great amount of public and private property which does not fall under one of the foregoing heads. These estimates are, of course, very rough ones, and a certain amount of duplication is inevitable, as in cases when railway and other companies own property which is assessed to income-tax as such, and the value of which is also included in the assets of

the company in question. These considerations have been borne in mind in making the above calculations.

SUMMARY OF THE AMOUNT OF OUR NATIONAL WEALTH.

(1) Lands and Houses	£5,300,000,000
(2) Public Companies (excluding the value of such real property as is included in Class (1).)	2,000,000,000
(3) Private Business Undertakings (do.)	1,500,000,000
(4) Railways	1,000,000,000
(5) Investments abroad (less foreign capital invested in the United Kingdom) ..	2,000,000,000
(6) Public Property	700,000,000
(7) Private Property not included under any of the foregoing heads	1,000,000,000
	£13,500,000,000

There is another method of ascertaining the total of our wealth. This is by examining the returns of the Inland Revenue Department which relate to the **Death Duties**. In the financial year ending March 31st, 1909, the amount of capital on which these duties were paid was **£301,889,135**, a sum slightly lower than the average of the past five years, which was, roughly, **303 millions**. Taking the average duration of human life at 33 years, it is fair to assume that practically the whole of the private property in the United Kingdom will come under the notice of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue within this space of time. Then, multiplying **303 millions** by 33, we get **10,154 millions** as the total of private wealth in the country. To this must be added a certain amount of capital which is given away during life, and so escapes payment of duty. This may be estimated at 15 per cent. of the whole, or at **1,525 millions**, making the total of private property approximately **11,695 millions**. Now to this must be added the great wealth which belongs to corporations of various kinds, a sum continually augmented by bequests, and increasing also in other ways. The wealth of the City Companies is enormous; the older universities and public schools own property worth many millions; the income of the Established Church from investments is over **£2,000,000 a year**; and the stupendous number of charitable societies have capital funds which must reach a huge total. No account has yet been taken of the property owned by the Crown, by the City of London, and by Glasgow and other provincial Corporations, and by the trade unions and other societies for the benefit of the working classes, but the whole of this wealth cannot total much less than the **1,810 millions** which is required to make the **11,690 millions** of private wealth into the **13,500 millions** of our whole national wealth.

THE NATIONAL INCOME.

Estimates of the total of our national income vary considerably, ranging from about **£1,200,000,000** to the neighbourhood of **2,000 millions**. In his "Riches and Poverty" Mr. L. G. Chiozza-Money gave **1,710 millions** as his estimate for the year 1904, and we cannot be far from the truth for 1909 if we calculate it at **1,800 millions**, or **£40 per head** of the population. This sum may be divided roughly into three classes—**income from invested capital**, the earnings of business and professional men, and the wages of the working classes. Concerning the first and second items the income-tax returns give us much reliable data, but in estimating the amount of the third item we are on less safe ground.

In the financial year ending March 31st, 1909, the gross income which came under the notice of the Inland Revenue authorities exceeded **1,000 millions**, this being the first time that this sum had been reached. Full details of this are not, however, yet available, and for our purpose we must examine the figures for the previous year. In this year (1907-8) the income derived wholly from investments totalled **£330,683,242**; to this must be added a certain proportion of a sum of **£518,761,317**, described as "profits from business concerns, professions, employments, &c." Half of this may be classed as "earned" and half as "unearned" or interest on capital, and this makes the total income from invested capital **£839,463,900**. In a preceding paragraph we estimated our national wealth at **13,500 millions**. Assuming an average rate of interest of 4 per cent., we have an income from this sum of **540 millions**, a figure very near the **589 millions** arrived at above. A certain amount of income invested abroad escapes payment of income-tax, and on the whole we are probably justified in assuming that interest on capital furnishes us with an income of **600 millions a year**.

The earnings of business and professional men and public officials may be assumed to take the remaining half of the **519 millions**, and the whole of a sum of **£97,734,433** described as "salaries of Government, Corporation, and public company officials." This gives a total figure of **£357,115,696**, but to this an addition must be made covering the incomes of persons who fall in this category but who make no return of their income because it falls under **£160 a year**, and also for a certain amount of evasion, which is easier than in the case of income which is "taxed at the source." Something like **140 millions** may be allowed for these items, and thus the total earned income of this class amounts to, roughly, **500 millions**. The amount of income during 1907-8 returned as "earned," and taxed at the lower rate of 9d., was only **£35,000,000**, but this does not include

any income exceeding £2,000 a year, nor is it the total of the whole income of this class, but only of that part of it—probably not much more than one-half—which remains after the abatement is allowed, and which actually pays the tax.

Mr. Chiozza-Money estimated the total income of the working classes in 1904 at £655,509,663. For 1886 Sir Robert Giffen had estimated it at £633,000,000, and for 1901 Professor A. L. Bowley had estimated it at £765,000,000. It has certainly increased during the last few years, and we may reckon it now at 800 millions, or something under £60 a year each for the 14,000,000 manual workers in the nation.

SUMMARY OF NATIONAL INCOME.

Income from Investments (deducting 100 millions as the estimated income of Corporations, &c.)..	£500,000,000
Incomes of professional and business men and public company officials	500,000,000
Incomes of the working classes..	800,000,000
	£1,800,000,000

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Bagehot, W. Lombard Street. (Kegan Paul.) (1888.) 3s. 6d.
- Bowles, T. Gibson. National Finance in 1908 and After. (Fisher Unwin.) 1s. net.
- Buxton, Sydney, and G. S. Barnes. Handbook to the Death Duties. (Murray.) (1890.) 3s. 6d.
- Fifty Budget Points. ("Daily News" Office.) (1909.) 1d.
- Financial Reform Almanack and Year Book. ("Morning Leader" Office.) 1s. net.
- George, D. Lloyd. The People's Budget (Speeches, &c.). (Hodder & Stoughton.) (1909.)
- Giffen, Sir R. The Growth of Capital. (Bell.) (1889.) o. p.
- Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation. (Cd. 638.) (Wyman.) 1s. 6d.
- Schooling, J. Holt. Local Rates and Taxes. (Ward, Lock.) (1905.) 1s.
- Williams, W. M. J. The King's Revenue: A Handbook to the Taxes and the Public Revenue. (King.) (1908.) 6s. net.
- Wilson, A. J. The National Budget—The National Debt—Taxes and Rates. (Macmillan.) (1882.) o. p.

THE BUDGET AND THE LORDS.

The Finance Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 379 against 149. On Monday, November 22nd, when the Bill should have been read a second time in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne moved "that this House is not justified in giving its consent to this Bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country."

During the week that followed the Amendment, quiet in wording, but revolutionary in substance, was discussed in the House of Lords at length, and the Peers were warned by the more responsible members of their body of the grave consequences which would follow the passage of the Amendment. Lord Loreburn reminded the House of the elementary facts of the British Constitution:—

"To the Crown belongs the supreme authority over all, checked by the doctrine of Ministerial Responsibility, and by the power of the House of Commons to refuse supply. To the House of Commons belongs the control over the purse, and therefore the control over Ministers of the Crown, checked by the power of the prerogative of dissolution residing in the Crown. To the Lords belongs the supreme jurisdiction in the administration of justice, together with a full share in all legislation except finance. Such is the ancient and famous balance of power known to our constitution, the envy of other nations, which your lordships are now invited to overthrow."

Even on their own side the Conservative Amendment was opposed by Lord Cromer, on the ground that the fight which its passage would provoke would be a danger to the empire, and would

result in changes in the Second Chamber; by Lord Lytton, who declined to take the responsibility of refusing supplies; by Lord Balfour, of Burleigh, who warned his fellow peers that they were offending against the true Conservative instincts of the country. Lord Rosebery added his warning voice, and suggested that the Peers would incur less discredit in the country if only their more responsible members voted in the impending division. The Bishop of Hereford pleaded the cause of the "multitudinous poor," whose welfare was contingent on the social reform foreshadowed in the Budget; the Archbishop of York, on the last day of the fight, put in an eloquent defence of the Bill, worthy to rank with Lord Morley's powerful speech the day before.

In spite of these warnings from all sides of their House, the Lords accepted the Lansdowne Amendment by 350 against 75 votes. The issues raised by this action are clear enough. Lest there should be any doubt remaining in the House of Commons as to its dependence on the Upper House, the Lords emphasized their action on Tuesday by the rejection on Wednesday of the Scottish House Letting Bill. On December 2nd Mr. Asquith, in moving his resolution against the unconstitutional action of the Lords, stated that the Government had advised the Crown to dissolve Parliament, and that the King had accepted the invitation.

"The British voter," to use the words of a Liberal manifesto, "has to vote in the coming election for the right of self-government, for the House of Commons, and for untaxed food. He will vote against privilege, against the Peers, and against Protection."

SECTION II.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

FOREIGN TRADE of the UNITED KINGDOM

Towards the middle of 1909 the foreign trade of the United Kingdom began to show signs of recovering from the depression which prevailed during 1908. When the returns for the month of April were published it was seen that there was a welcome and satisfactory increase in the value of our imports, and two months later this was followed by a small increase in the value of our exports. This improvement has been maintained during the succeeding months, each return showing an increase both in imports and exports over the corresponding figures of 1908, and there is every probability that the figures for the whole year will approach those of 1907, the record year for British trade. Although in general these returns of our foreign trade are a satisfactory guide to the position of the United Kingdom as the greatest commercial nation of the world, it must be remembered that owing to fluctuations in prices a decline therein does not absolutely prove that there has been a decline in the volume of trade done; the same or even a greater amount of trade may have been transacted at lower prices. A striking instance of this is shown in the trade returns for September, 1909, when the exports of coal showed a decrease in value of £258,649 compared with the corresponding figure for 1908, although the amount of coal shipped was 165,000 tons more. This fact has been officially recognised by the Board of Trade, and since 1900 an annual return has been issued by this department giving the value of both imports and exports at the prices which prevailed in 1900, this being taken as the standard year. Thus, the value of the imports and exports for 1905 at the prices then current amounted to £972,616,444, but a valuation thereof at the prices of 1900 raised the total to £1,008,413,000. In other words the increase in the foreign trade of 1905 over that of 1900 was not merely valued at £35,000,000 or nearly 11 per cent.; it amounted to £131,000,000, or almost 15 per cent.

It is instructive to compare the enormous figures of our foreign trade to-day with the trading records of the past, although the figures for these earlier years are of necessity only approximate ones. In 1760 the total value of our imports and exports amounted to £10,700,000, or to £1. 2s. 6d. per head of the population; in 1753 it totalled £17,400,000, or £2. 14s. per head; and in 1299 it rose to £88,520,000, or to £4. 4s.

per head. Even in 1340 the total was only £159,500,000, or less than one-sixth of the £1,043,631,000, which represents the monetary value of our foreign trade in 1908, and which works out at an average of £23. 6s. per head of the population, £13. 3s. 3d. of this being imported goods, and £10. 2s. 9d. being exported goods. To state the matter another way, this gigantic increase has taken place within the lifetime of the 667,000 persons who now enjoy an old-age pension. But monetary values, however necessary to the statistician, are of minor importance to the social reformer. The mere record of pounds, shillings, and pence, however enormous the total may be, is valueless or almost so unless one can show its relation to the daily life of the people. What does it mean to each household in bread and meat, in comforts and luxuries? What does the great army of producers receive in return for producing his or her share of our exports, and what share of the imports can each unit in the still greater army of consumers buy with his or her shilling or sovereign? In so far as these questions are concerned with our foreign trade the following tables may help to answer them, it being remembered that the population of the United Kingdom in the middle of 1909 was estimated at 45,004,384, and that the average income of a working-class family amounts to about thirty shillings a week.

VALUE OF THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR THE YEARS 1899-1908. IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING TO ONE DECIMAL POINT.

	Imports	Exports of British Produce	Exports of Foreign and Colonial Produce	Total Trade	Average of Trade Per Head
	Mill. £	Mill. £	Mill. £	Mill. £	£ s. d.
1899	485.0	234.5	65.0	814.6	19 19 7
1900	523.1	201.2	63.2	877.4	21 6 6
1901	522.0	280.0	67.8	869.9	20 18 8
1902	528.4	233.4	65.8	877.6	20 18 4
1903	542.6	290.8	69.6	903.0	21 6 3
1904	551.0	300.7	70.3	922.1	21 10 11
1905	565.0	329.8	77.8	972.6	22 10 1
1906	607.9	375.6	85.1	1,068.6	24 9 6
1907	645.8	425.0	91.9	1,163.8	26 9 1
1908	593.0	377.1	79.6	1,049.7	23 6 0

The percentage of the decrease in the trade of 1908 compared with that of 1907 is as follows: Imports, 8.1 per cent.; Exports, 11.4 per cent.; Re-Exports, 13.3 per cent.

BRITISH TRADE AND FOREIGN TRADE COMPARED.

	Imports, Seven Months ended July.		Exports (Domestic), Seven Months ended July.	
	1908.	1909.	1908.	1909.
	£	£	£	£
France	129,366,000	139,358,000	113,961,000	123,550,000
Spain	22,004,000	21,656,000	19,850,000	19,651,000
Italy	65,541,000	71,950,000	38,877,000	40,785,000
Austria-Hungary	61,436,000	65,113,000	54,813,000	55,214,000
Egypt	13,756,000	12,080,000	11,965,000	13,117,000
United States	126,851,000	173,018,000	201,308,000	188,700,000
Japan	29,503,000	25,240,000	20,006,000	22,010,000
British India	59,430,000	43,919,000	58,354,000	67,146,000
Canada	33,521,000	39,316,000	24,719,000	24,958,000
British South Africa*	14,870,000	15,817,000	25,811,000	27,587,000
United Kingdom	299,447,000	298,030,000	223,699,000	212,422,000

* Including bullion.

It will be noticed that the figures of our imports do not tally with those given on the preceding page. This is due to the fact that it was found necessary for purposes of comparison

to include in the above total those imports which are for home consumption only. It will be noticed that the United Kingdom still retains a substantial lead over every competitor.

VALUE OF OUR FOREIGN TRADE FOR THE FIRST TEN MONTHS OF 1909 AND THE CORRESPONDING FIGURES FOR 1908:—

	Imports.		Exports of British Produce.		Exports of Foreign and Colonial Produce.	
	1909.	1908.	1909.	1908.	1909.	1908.
	Million £	Million £	Million £	Million £	Million £	Million £
January	53.5	53.4	28.8	34.4	6.7	6.0
February	50.5	52.4	28.0	31.9	8.5	7.5
March	52.0	52.1	31.0	32.9	7.5	6.0
April	49.2	47.1	29.0	30.7	3.6	6.8
May	44.8	44.2	23.5	31.1	7.3	6.4
June	51.7	45.1	29.7	29.0	8.0	8.0
July	50.3	46.3	35.5	33.7	7.3	6.3
August	48.4	42.7	32.1	30.3	7.0	6.8
September	49.5	48.0	32.8	31.6	6.5	5.3
October	52.7	50.7	33.9	33.0	7.6	7.1
Totals	*502.6	486.5	311.2	318.6	75.0	64.8

* Owing to some small adjustments the total for the ten months differs slightly from these figures. It is 502.4 million pounds.

A SAFE COMPARISON OF OUR FOREIGN TRADE

The following table gives the totals of our foreign trade for the past nine years at the prices which prevailed in 1900. This affords a thoroughly satisfactory basis of comparison as it enables one to ignore the fluctuations in price. When compared with the figures in the foregoing table it will be seen that there was a continuous increase from 1900 to 1907 both in imports and in exports of British produce.

	Imports.	Exports of British Produce.	Exports of Foreign and Colonial Produce.
	Million £	Million £	Million £
1900	523.1	291.2	63.2
1901	538.9	291.0	63.0
1902	531.6	312.2	67.6
1903	558.7	320.5	69.9
1904	563.7	327.4	69.3
1905	673.8	359.9	74.8
1906	588.8	386.9	75.3
1907	599.5	413.3	79.0
1908	573.2	384.9	72.8

DOMESTIC TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Some general indication of the spending power of our people is provided by an estimate of the annual income of the 45 million inhabitants of the United Kingdom, stated to be £1,800,000,000, or £40 per head of the population. From this sum must be deducted rent and other similar forms of expenditure which do not directly affect the demand for commodities, a deduction which may be estimated at £100,000,000. Further, the amount spent by us on goods imported from abroad must be deducted. £500,000,000 is the amount of this bill, and we have reduced our 1,800 millions to 1,200. It may here be remarked that for the purposes of the present enquiry it does not matter whether the income is spent or saved. In either case it creates a demand for commodities. In the former instance they will be bread, clothing, books, furniture, and the like, with a growing expenditure among the richer classes upon luxuries; in the latter they will be bricks and mortar, the many manufactures of iron, steel, and copper, and capital expenditure

generally. But to return to our spending power, which we have temporarily reduced to 1,200 millions. Large additions must now be made to this. We hear much in these days of the fact that British capital is being invested abroad; it is equally true that foreign capital is being invested in Great Britain, and when this takes the form of factories erected to fulfil the conditions of Mr. Lloyd George's Patent Act it creates a demand for British productions. In any case, it increases the value and volume of our home trade. Another increase, estimated at £300,000,000, arises from the large sum spent annually by manufacturing firms to provide for depreciation of their plant and stock, making a total of £1,500,000,000 for our home trade. As in 1908 we manufactured for markets abroad goods to the value of 377 millions, it follows, if this estimate is correct, that our home trade is four times as great as our foreign trade. Speaking at Cinderford on the 9th of August, Mr. Asquith said:—

"It is difficult to say exactly what the bulk of our home trade is; but the Board of Trade have computed that, as the wages paid in the export trade are something like 130 millions, and as the total wage-bill of the country is be-

tween 700 and 750 millions, the export trade does not employ more than one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole labour of the country."

Now in 1902 our exports amounted to 350 millions. 130 millions, or over one-third of this, represented the cost of labour, and in the same proportion the total of 750 millions spent in wages would produce goods of the value of 2,000 millions. Deduct from this the amount taken for export and the remainder, 1,650 millions, is not far from the estimate made above.

CENSUS OF PRODUCTION.

The Blue Book issued in October, 1909, gives details with regard to five important branches of industry. These are:—

- (1) Mines (including coke and shale oil works in connection with mines).
- (2) Cotton Factories.
- (3) Woollen and Worsted Factories.
- (4) Tinplate Factories.
- (5) Iron and Steel Factories (smelting, founding, and rolling).

It is officially stated that 444,000 schedules of questions were issued for the purposes of collecting information for the Census which was taken during 1908, and the figures of which are for the previous year.

	Selling Value of the Output.	Cost of Materials used.	Value of Net Output.	Number of Persons employed.
	£	£	£	
{ Mines	123,245,000	16,881,000	103,364,000	840,280
{ Coke	10,111,000	7,148,000	2,993,000	10,944
{ Shale oil	2,371,000	1,594,000	777,000	8,391
Cotton	176,940,000	129,095,000	46,941,000*	572,869
Wool and Worsted	70,331,000	49,241,000	19,452,000*	257,017
Tinplate	9,350,000	7,203,000	2,147,000	21,222
Iron and Steel	105,597,000	74,049,000	30,948,000*	262,225
Total	£497,975,000	£285,211,000	£200,622,000	1,967,948

* In these cases work to the amount of £904,000, £1,638,000, and £800,000 respectively was given out. This accounts for the discrepancies in the figures.

The net output per person employed was £129 in mines, &c., £82 in the cotton, £76 in the woollen, £101 in the tinplate, and £113 in the iron and steel trades.

Attention should be drawn to the value of the net output, as, to quote the official words: "This sum constitutes for any industry the fund from which wages, salaries, rents, rates, taxes, depreciation, and all other similar charges as well as profits have to be defrayed." It will be seen also that even in comparatively highly-paid trades like mining, cotton manufacturing, and iron and steel making the average wage must be low. The £129 per man or £2. 13s. per week in mining, the £82 per person or 31s. 6d. per week in the cotton industry, and the £113 per man or £2. 5s. per week in the iron and steel manufactures are not wages, they are the sums from which wages are taken, but from which all the other charges mentioned above are also taken.

Before leaving the figures relating to labour we may mention that 5,439

women are employed in the mining industry, although none of these work below ground, where, however, 43,862 males under 16 years of age are engaged. The cotton industry employs 352,306 females and 220,563 males; the woollen industry 145,579 females and 111,438 males; and the iron and steel industry 258,816 males and 3,409 females.

It is stated that 63,691,000 tons or 24 per cent. of the total output of coal was sent abroad, but with regard to the other industries it is not so easy to ascertain the proportion taken by the home and the foreign market respectively. The value of the cotton output being, as stated, £176,940,000, we know that in 1907 our exports of cotton goods amounted to £110,000,000, but with regard to the woollen industry the figures given in the Census of Production are not complete, and at present the amount of these goods retained at home cannot be ascertained. Of pig iron 10,114,281 tons were produced and 1,942,335 tons were exported.

OF WHAT DO OUR IMPORTS AND EXPORTS CONSIST?

These three tables follow the fourfold classification adopted by the Board of Trade. They show the Nature of our Imports and Exports, and also the value of the articles in each class imported during 1908.

	Imports, 1908.	Exports of British Pro- duce 1908.	Exports of Foreign and Colonial Mer- chandise 1908
I.—Food, Drink, and Tobacco :			
	£	£	£
A. Grain and Flour	72,733,334	3,522,912	1,629,847
B. Meat, including Animals for food	49,448,334	1,052,701	743,721
C. Other food and drink :—			
(1) Non-dutiable	68,576,894	15,962,044	3,526,640
(2) Dutiable	48,208,374		4,756,506
D. Tobacco	5,167,153	1,399,994	222,642
Total, Class I.	£ 244,134,089	21,937,651	10,879,356
II.—Raw Materials and Articles mainly Unmanufactured :			
A. Coal, Coke, and Manufactured Fuel	4,689	41,615,923	973
B. Iron Ore, Scrap Iron, and Steel	4,974,723	413,349	13,896
C. Other Metallic Ores	8,901,105	71,777	565,400
D. Wood and Timber	21,306,169	98,218	618,424
E. Cotton	55,834,888	—	8,250,197
F. Wool	30,746,990	2,662,151	13,060,283
G. Other Textile Materials	13,608,178	245,471	3,127,403
H. Oil Seeds, Nuts, Oils, Fats, and Gums	28,514,967	3,091,825	4,760,625
I. Hides and Undressed Skins	9,422,965	1,424,760	4,994,881
J. Materials for Paper Making	4,610,997	543,977	68,997
K. Miscellaneous	22,439,351	2,215,048	9,849,009
Total, Class II.	£ 293,455,017	52,382,499	45,310,088
III.—Articles Wholly or Mainly Manu- factured :			
A. Iron and Steel and Manufactures thereof	7,681,512	37,406,023	234,803
B. Other Metals and Manufactures thereof	24,659,602	8,856,472	6,133,503
C. Cutlery, Hardware, Implements (except Machine Tools), and Instruments	3,750,177	5,492,463	589,493
D. Electrical Goods and Apparatus (other than Machinery and Telegraph and Telephone Wire)	1,263,762	1,943,104	132,555
E. Machinery	4,552,904	30,999,516	1,100,543
F. Ships (new)	18,199	10,567,475	1,063
G. Manufactures of Wood and Timber (including Furniture)	1,970,917	1,256,805	220,773
H. Yarns and Textile Fabrics :—			
(1) Cotton	9,475,795	95,055,513	1,796,761
(2) Wool	9,500,056	28,391,922	1,106,705
(3) Other Materials	18,939,087	12,410,049	4,085,852
I. Apparel	4,200,819	8,852,775	676,303
J. Chemicals, Drugs, Dyes, and Colours	10,185,617	16,271,039	1,784,454
K. Leather and Manufactures thereof (including Gloves, but excluding Boots and Shoes)....	11,562,700	3,826,258	1,733,014
L. Earthenware and Glass	3,685,330	8,700,037	188,650
M. Paper	5,798,665	2,314,967	149,021
N. Miscellaneous	25,840,455	29,610,943	3,271,467
Total, Class III.	£ 143,085,597	296,955,416	23,254,963
IV.—Miscellaneous and Unclassified (including Parcel Post)			
	2,278,784	5,828,258	179,290
Total	£ 592,953,487	877,103,824	79,623,697

In connection with our imports attention may be drawn to the fact that articles of food and drink form the largest class of our imports, grain and flour contributing nearly one-third of this total. The sum of 244 millions, the cost of imported food and drink, represents an average of over £5 per head of our population, and cannot be much less than one-half of the huge bill incurred by the nation for the necessities of life.

For this £5 a head we receive with other articles:—

Apples	3,376,579 cwt.
Bacon	5,685,742 cwt.
Bananas	6,385,449 bunches
Barley	18,137,200 cwt.
Beef	5,726,183 cwt.
Butter	4,210,821 cwt.
Cheese	2,306,086 cwt.
Cocoa, raw	66,835,413 lbs.
Coffee, raw	785,145 cwt.
Eggs	18,210,070 great hundreds
Herrings	1,000,259 cwt.
Malze	33,841,600 cwt.
Margarine	813,447 cwt.
Mutton	4,885,771 cwt.
Oats	14,269,250 cwt.
Oranges	5,664,041 cwt.
Oxon and bulls	378,566
Potatoes	7,039,323 cwt.
Rabbits	550,928 cwt.
Rice	5,518,946 cwt.
Salmon	291,635 cwt.
Sardines	252,406 cwt.
Sheep and lambs	78,900
Sugar	33,502,566 cwt.
Tea	323,469,333 lbs.
Wheat	91,131,205 cwt.
Wheatmeal & Flour	12,969,855 cwt.

In point of value raw materials form the second largest class, the sum of 293 millions being paid for commodities to keep our factories and manufacturing industries going. Raw cotton amounting to 13,399,078 cwt. contributes over one-quarter of this total, raw wool comes second, 756,912,169 lbs., with nearly one-sixth.

The third class, imports of manufactured articles, is valued at 143 millions. Although it is doubtless true that much of this could be made at home, it should not be forgotten that the value of our imports must largely exceed that of our exports in order to discharge the enormous sums due annually from foreign countries as interest on British capital. A moment's reflection will convince one that it is inevitable that a certain portion of this must reach us in the shape of manufactured articles unless we cease to export our manufactures and simply allow the sum we owe for imports of raw material to be balanced by the money owing to us as interest.

With regard to our exports of Foreign and Colonial produce it is only necessary to remark that it consists of goods which for various reasons are landed in the United Kingdom in transit.

It is almost certain that if our ports ceased to be free to the merchandise of all nations the amount and value of these articles would be seriously diminished, and the advantage to our

shipping and wharfside industries would be lost.

The outstanding feature of our exports is the fact that the class, articles wholly or mainly manufactured, amounts practically to four-fifths of the total value of our exports. As raw cotton is our most valuable import so manufactured, cotton is our most valuable export, showing as great a total as the three next largest classes of goods in the same category combined. These three classes are iron and steel manufactures, machinery, and manufactured wool, each of which is exported at the rate of over £500,000 a week. In spite of the general depression in the shipbuilding industry during 1908 we exported a greater value of ships in this year than in either 1907 or 1906, and a greater value than in the two years 1904 and 1905 combined.

As one would expect our exports of coal are on a large scale, their value, 41 millions, being about four-fifths of the total credited to the class of raw material, but it is surprising to find that we manage to export articles of food and drink to the value of £26,537,657.

Our exports in 1908 included: 1,035,411 dozen pairs of boots and shoes, 598,376 tons of cement, 3,071,436 cwt. of chinaware, 214,762,200 lbs. of cotton yarn, 5,530,808,500 yds. of cotton piece goods, 99,378 cycles, 1,077,072 dozen hats and bonnets, 151,893,900 yds. linen goods, 40,650,400 sq. yds. of oilcloth, 1,736,419 cwt. of paper, 1,294,045 tons of pig iron, 434,329 tons of railway rails, 1,205,920 cwt. of soap, 8,247,701 gals. of spirits, 27,810,900 lbs. of thread, 17,222,425 lbs. of tobacco, 75,659,700 yds. of woollen goods, 74,180,500 yds. of worsted goods, 62,547,175 tons of coal, 7,438,006 cwt. of herrings, cured or salted; and 53,090 horses.

OUR CHIEF CUSTOMERS IN 1908.

Amount in Millions of Pounds Sterling to one decimal point.

Foreign Countries.	Imports.	Exports.
United States	124.2	42.5
France	48.1	31.8
Germany	38.0	46.4
Netherlands	36.3	15.8
Argentine Republic ..	35.7	17.0
Russia	28.2	20.5
Belgium	27.2	17.1
Egypt	17.6	9.8
Japan	2.9	10.1
Italy	3.4	16.1
China	3.0	9.3
Brazil	6.9	8.4
Colonies.	Imports.	Exports.
India	29.6	50.8
Australia	29.1	25.7
Canada	26.3	14.2
New Zealand	14.7	9.5
Straits Settlements....	7.9	3.4
South Africa	7.4	13.2
Ceylon	5.1	1.9
West Africa	2.9	4.5
British West Indies ..	2.1	2.6
Channel Islands	1.6	1.5

THE TOTALS FOR 1908 ARE:—

	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£
From Foreign Countries	463,125,429	321,060,854
From British Possessions ..	129,823,058	135,666,667
	£592,953,487	£456,727,521

It will thus be seen that in 1908 our imports from the Colonies and Dependencies amounted to just over one-fifth of the total. In the same year the United States sent to us over one-fifth of the whole of our imports.

FOREIGN TARIFFS.

One of the minor objections to Tariffs is their enormous complexity. To give details, for instance, of the Tariff of the German Customs Union would fill 40 pages of this book, and the same may be said of France and of the United States, while each week changes in foreign Tariffs occupy several pages of the Board of Trade Journal. Again, the labour spent in classifying the 700 or 800 articles which are included in the German Tariff is very great, and the difficulty of clearly understanding such classification is still greater. In Germany cotton goods are classified under 31 different heads; many of these are divided again and again, while the duty varies from 5 to 450 marks on the 100 kilograms. It is therefore impossible to give a table, concise and comparative, of foreign Tariffs, and a few illustrations must suffice.

The German Customs Union embraces the German Empire, with the exception of Hamburg and three other free ports

and some frontier districts in Baden, together with the Grand-Duchy of Luxemburg. The Tariff is intended primarily to protect the manufacturing industries of the country, and some articles of import are taxed as high as 1,200 and 1,500 marks on the 100 kilograms, but foodstuffs do not escape. Every kilogram of imported wheat pays 5·50 marks on the 100 kilograms, or nearly 5s. 8d. on every 220lbs. or thereabouts.

In France the Tariff on wheat is about the same as in Germany, 100 kilograms paying 7 francs, or about 5s. 7d., while the minimum Tariff, which is enjoyed by certain countries, varies on fresh meat from 25 francs on the 100 kilograms on pork to 35 francs on beef and mutton. This latter is not much under 2s. a pound. Manufactured imports are also taxed heavily, gloves, for instance, bearing a minimum Tariff of 800 francs on the 100 kilograms.

In the United States the Tariff is now in some cases and in others will soon be regulated by the new Payne Tariff, which was signed by the President on August 5th last. By this tariff is charged at the rate of 6 cents or 1d. a pound, wheat pays 25 cents the bushel, or something like 1s. on every 62lbs., while many articles of manufacture pay an ad valorem duty of from 20 to 60 per cent. There is also a free list. The above is called the minimum Tariff, and under this Great Britain falls, but there is also a maximum Tariff amounting to an additional 25 per cent., the President having the power to put either the one or the other in force against any foreign country.

SHIPPING AND NAVIGATION. TONNAGE OF OUR FOREIGN TRADE.

	Entered (with Cargoes).			Cleared (with Cargoes).		
	British.	Foreign.	Total.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
Twelve months ended December, 1908	27,994,261	12,129,504	40,123,765	35,274,881	21,325,024	56,599,905
Twelve months ended December, 1907	29,265,726	12,136,784	41,402,510	37,146,227	20,698,709	57,844,936
Ten Months ended October, 1909	23,477,779	9,824,193	33,301,972	30,257,375	17,252,553	47,509,928
Ten Months ended October, 1908	23,276,557	10,254,744	33,531,301	29,807,372	17,770,585	47,577,957
Increase(+) or decrease (-) in Ten Months compared with Ten months ended October, 1908	+ 201,222	- 430,551	- 229,329	+ 450,003	- 518,032	- 68,029

COASTING TRADE IN 1908.

	Entered.	Cleared.
	Tons.	Tons.
General Coasting Trade:		
British	20,394,255	19,895,246
Foreign	218,246	211,867
Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland:		
British	10,175,110	10,165,568
Foreign	5,834	3,914
Total—		
British	30,569,365	30,060,814
Foreign	224,080	215,781
Total	30,793,445	30,276,595

NUMBER OF VESSELS AND PERSONS EMPLOYED IN BRITISH SHIPPING.

	Vessels.	Tons.	1908.			
			Persons employed.			
			British.	Foreign.	Lascars.	Total.
Sailing Vessels.....	5,512	1,140,581	25,677	4,848	10	30,535
Steam Vessels.....	9,180	10,027,993	171,157	29,887	44,142	245,186
Total	14,692	11,168,574	196,834	34,735	44,152	275,721

SHIPBUILDING.

Vessels built in the United Kingdom, exclusive of those built for the Royal Navy and for foreigners.

	1908.							
	Iron.		Steel.		Wood.		Total.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
Sailing Vessels.....	8	633	141	18,140	152	7,818	301	26,621
Steam Vessels.....	—	—	473	383,042	120	3,389	593	386,431
Total	8	633	614	401,182	272	11,237	894	413,052

FIGURES FOR THE PRINCIPAL PORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1908.

	Entered.		Cleared.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
London	10,378	11,194,073	7,795	8,487,841
Liverpool and Birkenhead	3,200	7,973,123	2,621	8,901,594
Cardiff	4,383	6,027,897	6,150	8,850,000
Tyne Ports, including Newcastle, North Shields, South Shields	5,844	5,554,724	7,010	6,934,947
Southampton	2,619	4,043,703	2,476	3,878,279
Hull	3,982	3,249,121	3,502	2,818,239
Glasgow	1,068	1,944,620	1,853	3,118,866
Newport	1,537	1,723,589	1,721	2,171,589
Plymouth	811	1,640,239	729	1,464,673

In 1908 approximately 685,000 passengers, 421,000 of whom were steerage passengers, travelled from Europe to America. The number crossing from America to Europe was 859,000, of whom 660,000 were steerage. The passengers from Europe to America show a falling off of 1,040,000 compared with the figures of 1907, but the travellers from America to Europe show an increase of 89,000.

THE ALL-RED ROUTE.

The name given to a project for establishing a shipping service entirely British between the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia and New Zealand. It owes its origin to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who suggested the idea at the Imperial Conference in May, 1907. The British, the Australian, and the New Zealand Governments accepted the proposal, but the many difficulties which the promoters of the scheme have to face have not yet been overcome. However, in answer to a question, Mr. Asquith said recently in the House of Commons "there is no reason to assume that these difficulties will prove insuperable." Negotiations are now being carried on for the establishment of a new and fast mail and passenger service between the United Kingdom and Canada, which will form the first instalment of the All-red Route.

SHIPPING.

The success of our foreign trade depends on many considerations, but it rests very largely upon the vitality of our shipping industry, the freedom and efficiency of our ports and their efficient organisation. Happily, our supremacy as the great carriers of the world's trade is unassailed; we still build the best and quickest vessels and still carry the produce of all nations from one end of the earth to the other. But our ports were not in an equally satisfactory position in spite of the great sums spent in providing new docks at Bristol and elsewhere. Now under the new regulations and the new authority constituted by Mr. Lloyd George for the port of London, it is hoped much will be done to make London the equal, if not the superior, of Hamburg, Antwerp, and other rival continental ports.

The Royal Commission appointed in 1906, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Arthur Cohen, to enquire into the operation of "Shipping Rings, and more especially into the question of deferred rebates, reported in 1909.

For some few years prior to 1906 the operations of the "Ring" which directed South African trade gave rise to dissatisfaction among traders in that country, and largely as a result of the action taken by Natal the subject was considered by an Inter-Colonial Conference, which decided that reform was necessary.

TIED TO THE "RINGS."

The cardinal principle of the "deferred rebate" system, which was one of the most important points for enquiry, is that a shipper who, during a particular period (six months in many cases) ceases to confine his shipments exclusively to the Conference lines loses his right to a rebate not only in respect of goods shipped during that period, but also in respect of goods shipped during the previous period. This has the effect of tying shippers to the "Ring" lines, to their disadvantage when the rates are raised. And it is also contended that it has resulted in the diversion of trade.

The Majority Commissioners are of opinion that the Conference lines are protected from competition, and that a monopoly, subject to considerable limitations, had been created.

Upon the question of the diversion of trade the Majority Report says: "Although the conference system has had the effect of maintaining rates from the United Kingdom at the same level as rates from the Continent, it has not in certain trades had the same effect with regard to the United States, where the system is not in operation. We consider that this is a grave defect in the system which has in the past led to diversion of orders from this country to the United States of America, and thereby discounted the benefits obtained from the system." It does not, however, consider that deferred rebates should be prohibited by law.

The Majority suggested that shippers and traders should combine to oppose the Conference where necessary, and suggested that in the case of South African shipping, the agents-general of the South African Governments should take part in the negotiations between the trades concerned and the Shipping "Ring." In cases where negotiations fail, it is suggested that the Board of Trade should endeavour to promote a settlement by arbitration, and in certain defined cases where the interests concerned were of Imperial importance, the Board of Trade might order an enquiry. Shipping conferences making use of the deferred rebate system should deposit copies of Conference agreements, and of any agreements with foreign lines at the Board of Trade, and should publish their tariff of rates, &c.

KEEPING UP THE RATES.

The Minority Report, presented by Sir David Barbour, Sir John Macdonell, Capt. Collins, Mr. H. Birchenough, and Mr. J. Barry, takes the view that the advantages claimed for the Conference and deferred rebate system are overrated. The system has created a monopoly on almost all the chief ocean routes; it has kept up rates beyond the open market level; injured the tramp steamers—the strongest element in the British mercantile marine; diminished the ports of sailing; given the United

States an advantage over the United Kingdom; and caused in the case of South Africa a diversion of British trade. The Minority Commissioners agree with the suggestion as to Board of Trade supervision, but urge wider powers for the Board, and the prompt presentation to Parliament of the reports of all enquiries, with an annual return relating to shipping conferences.

PILOTAGE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY.

The President of the Board of Trade has appointed the following gentlemen: Sir Kenelm E. Digby, G.O.B., K.O. (Chairman), Mr. Charles E. Brightman, Mr. Sanford D. Cole, Captain O. P. Marshall, Commander G. M. Marston, R.N., The Hon. T. H. W. Pelham, C.B., and Captain John Trenery, to be a Committee to enquire and report as to the present state of the law and its administration with respect to pilotage in the United Kingdom, and as to what changes if any are desirable.

Mr. E. A. Digby has been appointed Secretary to the Committee, and Mr. M. Wolf, of the Board of Trade, Assistant Secretary.

MINERAL OUTPUT.

Our mines are divided into three main classes: (1) Mines worked under the Coal Mines Regulation Acts; (2) mines worked under the Metalliferous Mines Regulation Acts; (3) quarries worked under the Quarries Act, 1894, or all quarries more than 20 feet deep. The total output in (1) during 1908 was 275,640,746 tons; in (2) 3,128,230 tons; and in (3) 44,732,016 tons. The coal raised during 1908 shows a decrease of 6,302,167 tons compared with the figures for 1907, and the average output at mines under the Coal Mines Act was 346 tons for each person employed underground, this being a decrease of 26 tons on the preceding year. The highest average output, 423 tons, was in East Scotland, and the lowest, 165 tons, was in Ireland. In England the Durham district, with 411 tons per man, takes the lead.

AVERAGE OUTPUT OF COAL AND IRONSTONE.		
10 years.	Tons.	Tons.
1878-1882	138,086,800	11,514,447
1883-1892	169,921,705	8,684,571
1893-1902	203,314,691	7,366,505
Output for 1905 ..	236,111,150	7,860,969

The output of ironstone fell steadily from 1876 to 1892, when only 5,644,486 tons were mined. Then, recovering, it rose slowly from 1892, the output in 1907 being larger than that of any single year since 1889. On the other hand, the output of coal has more than doubled between 1873 and 1908, the amount raised in the former year being only 123,680,131 tons.

AGRICULTURAL RETURNS OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1909.

The following statement of the Agricultural Returns of Great Britain for 1909 was issued by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries:—

CROPS.		
Distribution.	1908.	1909.
	Acres.	Acres.
Total area (excluding water)	56,211,830	56,211,830
Total acreage (crops and grass)*	82,211,386	82,183,073
Wheat	1,626,733	1,823,568
Barley	1,667,487	1,664,894
Oats	8,108,918	2,981,789
Rye	52,744	55,566
Beans	295,024	818,864
Peas	163,739	183,010
Potatoes	562,103	575,461
Turnips and swedes	1,550,897	1,553,542
Mangold	427,772	456,496
Cabbage	69,120	66,854
Kohl-Rabi	17,252	17,784
Rape	86,495	87,448
Vetches or tares	126,083	136,245
Lucerne	65,156	65,327
Other crops	115,116	122,799
Clover, &c. :—		
For hay	2,232,353	2,085,827
Not for hay	2,189,234	2,178,763
Total	4,421,587	4,214,590
Permanent grass* :—		
For hay	4,949,791	4,777,559
Not for hay	12,466,078	12,674,846
Total	17,415,869	17,452,405
Flax	236	295
Hops	38,921	32,539
Small Fruit	84,880	87,116
Bare fallow	315,252	289,141
Orchards	250,297	251,336

*Excluding 12,843,272 acres returned as mountain and heath land used for grazing in 1909, and 12,801,833 acres in 1908.

This acreage produced in 1909 7,694,853 quarters of wheat, being an average yield per acre of 33·76 bushels, and 7,625,952 quarters of barley, an average yield per acre of 36·63.

WHAT THE EMPIRE PRODUCED IN 1907.

Cereals.

Wheat	412,300,000 bushels.
Oats	372,500,000 "
Barley	114,200,000 "
Maize	83,800,000 "

The wheat is grown principally in the following countries:—

India	212,941,867 bushels.
Canada	92,561,571 "
United Kingdom..	56,531,198 "
Australia	44,655,673 "

Mineral Productions in 1907 (excluding coal).

Gold	12,100,000 ozs.
(valued at £50,500,000).	
Iron Ore	17,029,000 tons.
Pig Iron	10,680,000 "
Tin	£10,500,000 "
Diamonds	£8,951,000
Copper	£26,647,000
Silver	£2,938,000

The gold came chiefly from—

Transvaal	£27,410,219
Australia	13,515,100
Rhodesia	2,178,886

The iron ore came chiefly from—

United Kingdom	15,731,604 tons.
Newfoundland	809,700 "
Canada	277,675 "
Australia	155,239 "

The pig iron was produced in—

United Kingdom	10,114,281 tons
Canada	565,819 "

The copper came chiefly from—

Australia	£3,513,393
Canada	2,859,499
South Africa	653,407
United Kingdom	62,673

Other productions of the Empire—

Wine	11,400,000 gallons.
Sugar	6,232,400,000 lbs.
Tea	430,913,000 "
Coffee	45,106,000 "
Cotton	1,235,124,000 "
Jute	55,064,000 "
Rubber	11,940,000 "

The cotton was grown chiefly in—

India	1,222,460,060 lbs.
Southern Nigeria ..	4,089,530 "
Cyprus	1,964,452 "
Uganda	1,923,488 "
Nyasaland	1,025,920 "

The rubber was grown chiefly in—

Gold Coast	8,549,548 lbs.
Southern Nigeria ..	2,843,823 "
Federated Malay States ..	1,990,754 "

The wine was produced in—

South Africa	5,960,448 gallons.
Australia	4,450,083 "
Cyprus	962,672 "

The tea was chiefly produced in—

India	248,020,398 lbs.
Ceylon	179,843,462 "
Natal	2,965,838 "

The sugar was produced chiefly in India, the other principal producers in order of importance being—

Australia.	Fiji.
Mauritius.	West Indies.
British Guiana.	

Wool.

In 1907, 664,935,869 lbs. of wool were produced in Australia, and 181,000,000 lbs. of wool in the United Kingdom.

Number of horses and cattle in the different parts of the Empire in 1907:—

	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.
United Kingdom	2,089,027	11,630,142	80,011,833	3,967,163
India	1,308,027	91,666,361	18,029,800	—
Australia	1,871,714	10,180,214	87,654,263	754,101
Canada	1,020,116	7,193,386	2,771,547	8,381,510
New Zealand	352,832	1,816,299	20,983,772	241,123
South Africa	271,423	1,515,072	27,935,443	219,730
Cyprus	62,743	57,696	277,230	36,079
Jamaica	50,083	105,045	14,664	29,500
Ceylon	—	1,559,271	98,746	96,305

TARIFF REFORM.

BY PROFESSOR W. J. ASHLEY.

The movement in favour of a modification of the tariff policy of the United Kingdom has arisen, in the first place, from a conviction of the need of strengthening the links of Empire, and, in the second place, from a dissatisfaction with the commercial situation. And, as things are now in this country, these two influences converge necessarily in the direction of the same practical policy.

Now that the great self-governing Dominions are growing up into national statehood, the last vestiges of the old political dependence upon the Mother Country are inevitably dropping off one by one. If a British Empire is to remain in existence, the relation of tutelage on the one side and of subordination on the other must be replaced by federation on terms of political equality. But such a federation will have but faint chance of survival unless there is a sense of common interest in the several constituent parts; and of all the means of creating such a sense, some system of imperial trade reciprocity seems likely to be the most efficacious. For by common interest we must understand not only material or pecuniary interest, though that certainly is not to be despised. We must understand by it also that mutual knowledge, and mutual understanding, and habitual attention to what the people of the other constituent states are doing, which no amount of vague goodwill can produce, and which can only arise out of actual intercourse.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S COLONIAL POLICY.

It was Mr. Chamberlain who first among English statesmen of eminence advocated in 1903 a policy of Imperial Preference. Now that a few years have passed, and we can look back and see events in perspective, it is easy to recognise that the movement of events had long been tending that way. In one Colonial Conference after another, representatives of the Colonies had pressed a policy of imperial preference upon the unwilling attention of English politicians; and, finally, in 1897, Canada led the way by granting a preference to the products of the Mother Country without waiting any longer for some special favour in return. The occasion called for the man. The man who presented himself had been accustomed, during his whole political career, to repeat with energy all the familiar Free Trade arguments; he knew, if anyone, what a hold Free Trade had obtained on the minds of the English middle classes, and what a bogie Protection had become. That such a man should have felt the necessity of a new departure, and dared to advocate it, can only be explained by the impression produced upon him by his experience as Colonial Secretary. He had seen the Empire falling apart before his eyes; he had felt his way with such other possible methods of consolidation as were consistent with our present tariff policy, and had found "no road"; and it was then that he gave his serious attention to the method proposed by colonials themselves, and found in it the most practicable instrument for effecting his object.

TWO KINDS OF IMPERIALISM.

To some of my readers, I know perfectly well, my association of Tariff Reform with Imperialism will already have condemned it. Imperialism means to them nothing but what is bad—militarism, land grabbing all over the globe, disregard for the rights of others, a diversion of attention from pressing duties of social reform at home to the pursuit of "glory" across the seas. I have no space here to attempt to argue with them, and to try to convince them that there is a noble as well as an ignoble imperialism, just as there is an ignoble as well as a noble anti-imperialism. I would only ask them to believe that the strength of the Preferential movement, both here and in the Dominions, lies in an unselfish idealism—in the vision of a British Federation which shall use its vast influence for good, shall combine with the independence and strenuousness of life in new lands the noblest traditions of the Old Country, and shall furnish room, and to spare, for the creation of more comely industrial conditions than the world has yet seen. A sane Imperialism and a sane Social Reform are not opponents, but allies. With an Empire falling asunder, and with increasing economic insecurity, the work of the Social Reformer in England would be harder even than it is now.

COLONIAL PREFERENCE.

Since 1897, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have all followed the example of Canada, and granted preferential terms to the Mother Country. It must, of course, be recognised from the outset that this preference does not necessarily mean that all the products of this country can be advantageously exported to the Colonies in question. The duty which remains upon certain goods, in spite of the preference, may be high enough to exclude them. It should be clearly understood that the Dominions will

never leave without protection, even against England, any "infant industry" which seems *prima facie* to suit the country. But the Dominions are not, and for an indefinite time will not be, self-sufficing; they must draw large supplies of manufactured goods from outside. The question for them is simply whether they shall get them from the Mother Country or from foreign nations, and it is against these foreign rivals in the several colonial markets, and not against colonial manufacturers, that the preference in favour of the Mother Country is intended to operate. If the Mother Country will grant a preference in return there can be no doubt that the self-governing Dominions will be able to give her even greater advantages in her competition with other countries for the colonial market. Reciprocal preference might also, with mutual advantage, be extended to the commercial relations between the United Kingdom and India, and between the United Kingdom and the Crown Colonies and other Dependencies. But if the Mother Country will grant no preference in return to the Dominions, we may be quite sure that they will come to terms with other nations, and whittle away or abolish the present preference. There is nothing disrespectful to the Dominions in recognising that sentiment requires a certain amount of material aliment for its support.

RECIPROCITY.

There is some apparent excuse, no doubt, for the hesitation to reciprocate on the part of England. It may be urged that while the Colonies only take down a rail or two of the high tariff barrier against England, England raises no barrier at all against the importation of colonial products. That is quite true; but it is equally true that the open gate of England is open to all the world, and, therefore, in the nature of things, can give no special advantage to the Dominions, and evoke from them no special feeling of obligation or mutuality.

In order, therefore, to be in a position to grant a preference to the Colonies, the United Kingdom must impose duties on imports. And though there are other things besides food that the Colonies produce, and though the possibilities of preference are by no means limited to articles of consumption, still their exports to this country consist largely of food—such as the wheat of Canada—and Colonial preference, on any wide or satisfactory scale, therefore involves "food taxes." To a great many perfectly sincere people that is a sufficient objection to it. But the man who honestly lifts up hands of horror at the notion of "taxing the food of the people" is suffering from an intellectual superstition. In a country like England, where life is impossible without housing and clothing and firing and lighting, a tax on food is no worse than a tax which falls ultimately on some other necessary. Moreover, even necessities cannot be obtained without paying for them; and the mass of the people cannot pay for them unless they obtain employment. So that it ought to be granted that a policy which increased the price of food might, conceivably, at any rate, increase in even greater proportion the ability to purchase it. The possible increase in the price of food would certainly be less, whether by much or by little, than the amount of the tax, even in the immediate future; so much economists of all schools now recognise in their writings addressed to a scientific public, whatever politicians may say on the platform. The tariff actually proposed, and any that is at all likely in our time, could only send up the price of food by an inconsiderable amount; and the argument that it would be "the thin end of the wedge" is no more convincing in this case than in that of—let us say—the income-tax. Even this inconsiderable increase we might expect to disappear as the Colonies expanded their production of foodstuffs. And, such as it might be, it could readily be compensated for by a lowering of the tariff on tea and sugar and other necessities, real and "conventional," at present taxed.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION.

I began with the imperial argument, because that has been the starting point of the whole movement. But it is powerfully reinforced by the economic argument. Great Britain no longer enjoys the relative advantages which gave her a start in the industrial race; machinery is diminishing the part played by the old-fashioned skill, and means of communication and transportation are equalising equipment and technical knowledge all over the world. The old staple export trades are certainly not expanding in proportion to the population. One branch after another of our trade is being shut out of one foreign country after another by heavy duties; and Great Britain maintains the balance of international payments with increasing difficulty and at an increasing disadvantage. Her rivals already possess—the most dangerous of them—a larger home market together with free access to the market of England in addition; they are able, therefore, to benefit to a fuller extent, by the economies of large scale production, and tend, accordingly, to produce more cheaply. The power of "dumping" their goods

on the open English market enables them to tide more comfortably over periods of depression, and causes an amount of suffering to English work-people and of discouragement to English capitalists that is quite out of proportion to the "temporary dislocation" measured statistically. Great Britain is coming to live more and more on her exports of coal, and on the proceeds of her investments abroad and the earnings of her shipping. A large export of coal is a new phenomenon in the world, and even to many Free Traders not an altogether satisfactory one. To live on foreign investments and on freights is an old phenomenon; it was precisely the position of Holland in the eighteenth century, and one that did not conduce in the long run even to the prosperity of her working population. The best-qualified statistician of our shipping, the Secretary of the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, has recently stated, as the result of careful and elaborate calculations, that "of the total tonnage employed in the world, British tonnage represented 52 per cent. in 1894 and 44 per cent. in 1906." Further that "the shipping belonging to the countries wherein the ports were situated maintained its proportion of the total tonnage employed, namely, 20 per cent., whilst the shipping of other countries, that is shipping in direct competition with us as the carriers of the world, increased their percentage from 28 to 36." It does not look as if we could comfortably rely upon our shipping to continue to furnish "invisible exports"—as Sir Robert Giffen has appropriately christened freight earnings—in anything like their present proportion.

The purposes, therefore, of a prudent modification of our present tariff policy must be (1) to create new links, and strengthen the old ones, between the several parts of the Empire, and (2) to obtain a more secure basis for English industrial activity in an imperial market. And such a policy, while it will aim mainly at the two purposes stated, will have a subsidiary utility. The known possession of the power to retaliate on our competitors—while it may not, in the long run, prevent industries from being established in foreign countries behind a wall of high tariffs when those industries are really suited to the country in question—will cause the imposition of new duties on imports from England to be undertaken a little more cautiously and circumspectly than has hitherto been the case. A consciousness on the part of our foreign competitors that England is not quite defenceless will give our English industries a little more time to adjust themselves, if need be, to changing conditions, and will lessen the strain upon our trade unions and labour exchanges. We can hardly doubt, moreover, that the resumption on our part of the power to negotiate commercial treaties will be of considerable assistance to us in the struggle now beginning between this country and its great manufacturing competitors for the right of entry into the "neutral" markets.

FREE TRADE CREED.

Half a century ago Free Trade was part of an economic creed which maintained the efficacy of unrestrained "freedom" in every part of industrial and social life. It was generally supposed also to be part of the democratic ideal, and "Protectionism" was currently identified with the interests of a landowning aristocracy. But we live now in a different political and intellectual atmosphere. We have seen the necessity of substituting regulation for free competition in internal industry, and, accordingly, for thoughtful men, freedom in the commercial sphere can no longer carry with it a sacrosanct connotation; while the identification of Protection in the Australian Commonwealth with Liberalism and Labour sufficiently indicates that there is nothing necessarily "democratic" any longer about Free Trade.

In England, with our party system, we are very apt to look upon the movement of political life as an alternation of victories by one side or the other. But that is not really the way a nation's history is determined. One of the two historical parties in the State cannot associate itself with a large policy concerning the relations of the country to the world outside without profoundly affecting others beside itself. And it is already apparent that the Tariff Reform movement, even in its initial stages, has been fruitful in good for the country and the Empire. The mere fact that such a movement has been set on foot, with so large a measure of support, has had an effect on the minds of foreign statesmen, and has influenced them in their tariff policy. The discussion alike in France and in England of the tariff now before the French Chamber is full of instruction. And the appearance, not before it was almost too late, of the Tariff Reform movement in England has had an effect of even more vital importance: it has touched the imagination and called forth the sympathy of the peoples of the self-governing Dominions, and it has disposed them to wait more patiently for the time when the Mother Country will be ready to accept their overtures.

THE CASE FOR FREE TRADE AND THE CASE AGAINST PROTECTION.

By L. G. CHIOZZA-MONEY, M.P.

In order to do full justice to the case for Protection, I take the following definition of its object and method from a speech made by Mr. Balfour at Edinburgh on October 4th, 1904:—

"The object of Protection is to encourage home industries. The means by which it attains that object is by the manipulation of a fiscal system to raise home prices. If the home prices are not raised, the industry is not encouraged. If the industry is encouraged, it is by the raising of prices. That is, in a nutshell, Protection properly understood."

I do not think that Protection was ever more lucidly defined than in these brief, precise words.

The reader should observe that Mr. Balfour states (1) the object of Protection, and (2) the method of Protection. The object of Protection is the object of us all. We all desire, whatever our political convictions, to "encourage home industries." It is when we come to the method of encouragement that Free Traders and Protectionists part company. As Mr. Balfour says, the method by which Protection seeks to attain its object is "by the manipulation of a fiscal system to raise home prices." The Free Trader believes that there are many sound economic methods by which home industries may be encouraged, but he does not believe in encouragement by means of Protective Customs duties.

IMPORT DUTIES IN PRACTICE.

And the reason why the Free Trader objects to the Protectionist method is partly indicated in Mr. Balfour's definition, when he points out that protective duties raise price, i.e., are paid by the consumer. The Free Trader knows that it is quite possible for a nation to encourage an industry in which foreign competition exists by means of a Protective Customs duty. Indeed, it is most obvious that if A is in competition in the British market with a foreign competitor, it is a good thing for him personally if his Government will consent either to shut out the foreign goods altogether or to raise their price by means of a duty. If the Government will be so obliging to A, he can make more profit, and his particular trade is encouraged. But what of the unfortunate people out of whom A has been given the means of making monopoly profits? Let us suppose that A is in the leather trade. The Government has "encouraged" him by a leather duty to "raise home prices." But what do A's raised home prices mean to his customers, and who are the customers of the leather trade? Leather is not bought by the housewife or by the man in the street. Leather is bought by the following amongst other trades:—

- Boot and shoe makers.
- Saddlery and harness makers.
- Machine belt makers.
- Bookbinders.
- Upholsterers.
- Bag and trunk makers.
- Fancy leather goods makers.
- Cotton spinners and weavers.
- Glove makers.
- Hat makers.

To all these trades leather is an indispensable raw material of industry. If the Government decides to raise the price of leather in order to encourage the leather maker, it strikes a blow at all the above trades, and many others. The very method which helps the leather trade hurts many other trades which employ far more people than the leather trade itself.

Or let us suppose that it is the paper manufacture which a Protectionist Government decides to "encourage" by the "manipulation of a fiscal system to raise home prices." To raise the price of paper is most obviously to encourage the paper manufacturers. But who are the paper makers' customers? Paper is the raw material of:—

- Printers.
- Publishers.
- Lithographers.
- All trades which use paper bags, wrappers, &c.
- Photographers.
- Newspaper proprietors.

An import duty on paper would seriously injure these important trades, which, of course, employ many times the amount of labour occupied by the paper trade itself. When the "Western Morning News," a Protectionist newspaper, was found last year to be using foreign paper, it ingenuously explained

that it bought foreign paper to "protest" British industry. It explained that owing to "ring" prices for British paper, it was compelled to avail itself of Free Trade. The "Western Morning News" said:

"Something very like a 'ring' amongst British paper-makers . . . put up the prices of British-made paper to such an extent that it was impossible to continue to buy from them without a very serious addition to the cost of production of the paper. English newspaper proprietors, therefore, in order to protect themselves, were forced to import paper from abroad so long as the operations of the paper-makers' combination continued to maintain the price of British-made paper at a prohibitive price."

Nothing could be more illuminating than this confession that Free Trade is the true Protection of the paper-user. Given an import duty to "encourage" British paper-makers, and the "Western Morning News" would be robbed of the method by which, as it now confesses, it "protects" itself.

In view of these all-important, practical, common-sense considerations, let us re-write Mr. Balfour's definition of Protection in order to make it a statement in brief of the case for Free Trade.

"The object of Protection is to encourage home industries. The means by which it attains that object is by the manipulation of a fiscal system to raise home prices. If by this system the home prices in a particular industry are raised, the effect is obviously to discourage all the other industries which use its products as materials. As only the minority of trades encounter foreign competition, and as many of those trades produce articles which are raw materials of other trades, it follows that the method of manipulation of a fiscal system to raise home prices must be rejected as futile for the encouragement of British industry as a whole."

THE PROTECTION OF THE FEW.

The concluding part of this expansion of Mr. Balfour's definition, like the remainder, will bear the closest investigation. The point is of the utmost importance. Import duties are for the few, and not for the majority. Import duties are not really national; they are sectional and partial.

The highest type of Protectionist, the man who has no axe to grind and no trade in which he is personally interested to gain monopoly for, is the man who believes it possible to modify national production in the national interest by controlling external trade. But external trade is the minor and not the major part of the nation's activities. External trade should be properly regarded as the feeder of home trade. A moment's thought will show that by far the greater number of British workers are employed in trades and industries which are independent of foreign competition. What, then, becomes of the belief of the worthy type of Protectionist that by the expedient of import duties national production as a whole can be moulded? How, by a system which at the most can pretend to offer advantage to the minority of trades, by enabling them to charge higher prices to other trades, can an improved or healthier or larger national product be arrived at?

Let me develop this important point. Let the reader consider the two instances already given, leather and paper. If all the leather and paper used in Britain were made in Britain, the persons and capital employed would be far less than the persons and capital employed in the trades which they feed. But many of the trades which they feed are untouched by foreign competition, and could not be given any benefit under Protection. For example, the printing trades perform work which must almost entirely be done at home; this book, for example, and most books, all papers and journals, must necessarily be printed in the United Kingdom. So with bookbinding, upholstering, and other of the trades involved.

To take an extended view, however, we see that mining, the greatest industry of all, town-making with its subdivisions of house-building and road-making and sewer-making, &c., transport, with its subdivisions of shipping, railways, carrying, tram, and omnibus working, milk production, and other branches of agriculture, the enormous trades of clothing, the preparation of all sorts of foods, from bread downwards, printing and publication, the great industries of storing and of distribution, wholesale and retail, the manufacture and distribution of gas and electrical power, the storage and distribution of water, and a host of other manufacturing and miscellaneous industries are either altogether untouched, or are scarcely affected for practical purposes by anything which foreign or colonial competitors can do. If, therefore, it is the duty of a Government to "encourage home industries," it simply cannot do it by means of import duties. All we can do is to encourage some trades at the expense of other trades. We can tax yarn for the benefit of the spinner and injure the weaver. We can tax

cement and hurt the builder. We can tax steel and zinc and injure the tinplate maker. We can tax agricultural machinery and hurt the farmer. We can tax silk ribbon and kill the straw-hat trade. These and many other foolish things we can do by "the manipulation of a fiscal system to raise home prices," but we can do nothing by such a method to encourage the enormous trades above named, which find work for the great majority of the population.

HOW BRITAIN GAINS WEALTH.

Dirt has been defined as "matter in the wrong place." It is far more important to observe that **wealth is matter in the right place.** How is it that the United Kingdom, a nation which possesses few natural resources beyond coal and seaboard, is able to sustain such an enormous population? The reason is that she has had the wisdom to make herself a great Free Port. Possessing coal, the essential basis of power, and therefore of industry, she has drawn upon all the world for materials to work with her coal. Thus, she has become a great mart as well as a great hive of manufacturing industry, and in the process has built up a shipping which exceeds in magnitude that of all the rest of the world put together, including her own Colonies. In securing matter from all the world, placing it where it is useful and making it wealth, it should not be imagined that Free Ports alone have prevailed. To let produce come in is a negative thing. The positive part of the process has been the work of the engineer. Railways here and abroad, and steamships on the ocean, have been the positive instruments of moving matter to the right place. When the engineer has done his work, and made it possible to move goods cheaply from one country to another, it only remains for the statesman to allow free use of the engineers' work. From this point of view, Free Trade may be termed Full Use of the Railway, Steamship, Harbour, and Dock, while Protection may be termed An Attempt to Thwart the Engineer. Surely the absurdity of import duties is never more apparent than when it is remembered that the whole progress of mankind has proceeded *pari passu* with the improvement of transport, and that to levy an import duty on corn is as though one said: "There shall be no railway or ship to bring corn; it were better that railway and steamship had never been invented."

PROTECTION AND AREA.

The size of the area within which Protection is exercised, and the number of people and the natural products within the Protective area, have much to do with the intensity of effect of import duties. Generally, the smaller a protective area, and the smaller the number of people and the fewer the natural productions within it, the more severe and the more hurtful the effect of protective duties. Thus, Protection is a very much more serious thing for Britain than for either America or Germany, and especially is it a more serious thing for Britain than for America. America, indeed, is a world in herself, in which forty-five States or countries, with a total population of about ninety million people, have a great Free Trade home market. America has more native coal, iron, copper, lead, oil, &c., than any other country, and she is rich in the great majority of other industrial materials. We have to import where America can dispense with home trade. Yet it can be shown that Protection injures many American industries, although total prohibition of imports would leave America the richest country in the world. How different our own case! We are dependent on imports for the materials of our work in a degree which is unparalleled by any other great country, and Protection would be to us a special and crushing disadvantage, for our existing industries feed on free imports.

If Protection were true, then the smaller the protected area the better. One of the chief competitors of the Englishman is the Scotsman. One of the chief competitors of the Prussian is the Bavarian. One of the chief competitors of the New Englander is the man in the Southern States. If Protection is true, all these ought to be protected against each other. The case, indeed, is neatly illustrated by the familiar illustration of a town council being implored to protect local trade by only purchasing locally, those who make this ultra-Protectionist appeal forgetting that if every town in the world did that, all the towns of the world would be very much poorer than they are, since each would punish the other, while also punishing itself.

PROTECTION AND EMPIRE.

In this connection, we may usefully note that the idea of Protection is inconsistent with the conception of Empire. The British Empire covers one-third of the world, and Free Trade within it would mean Free Trade in one-third of the world. Obviously, if Protection is true, imports into England from Canada cause unemployment in England, and every time a British ship takes British goods to Australia we injure Australia. Those who preach Protection as good for the United Kingdom forget that they are *a fortiori* preaching Protection for India and the Colonies against the United Kingdom, for if our old-established industries need import duties, how much more must India and Ceylon and Canada and New Zealand need them?

PROTECTION AND EMPLOYMENT.

From what has been said, it will be understood how fallacious is the supposition that Protective import duties would increase employment. That unemployment exists under Free Trade is undoubted; that Protection would increase rather than diminish it I have already shown in passing. If we had no foreign records to go upon, we might argue on *a priori* grounds that unemployment must exist under Protection; as a matter of fact, we have foreign records, and we know that unemployment is rife in every Protectionist country. Recently the Washington State Department of Labour employed an official to investigate and describe methods of dealing with unemployment in Europe. If Protection were a cure for unemployment, the American official would have found in Europe no unemployed problem in Germany or Austria or France, and would have been compelled to limit his essay to the United Kingdom and Holland. As a matter of fact, the Bulletin of the Washington Bureau of Labour for May, 1908, shows that the report of the official referred to, Mr. W. D. P. Bliss, occupied nearly 200 pages, and that he found unemployment all over Europe. Indeed, he has less to say about this country than about many others. He shows that Protectionist countries, like ourselves, have to deal with unemployment as a very serious problem, and I note that he says: "In Germany, and to a less extent in France, the provision of municipal relief works has come to be the rule almost every winter in all the large, and not a few of the smaller, cities."

Unemployment arises from the fact that the industrial revolution has built up great machine industries which are as yet lacking in organisation. Employment depends upon individual bargains for the sale of labour, which necessarily fluctuate with season, and with the harvest at home and abroad, and with fashion, and with the introduction of new processes and machinery, and with changes of masters, and with combinations of capitalists, and with bankruptcies, and with the cyclical fluctuations of trade, which man has not yet learnt to control. Unemployment is therefore a terribly difficult problem to deal with, and no fiscal policy whatever can pretend to deal with it. The promises that are held out that trumpety import duties would find work for everybody can only be described as both culpably ignorant and wantonly cruel.

PROTECTION AND FOOD.

Protection has a peculiar menace for this country in regard to the food question. Food duties mean nothing to Protectionist America, because she easily grows more food than she needs. Protection does not mean a great deal for food prices in France, save in exceptional years, for she has twice our area, a smaller population, and a better climate. In Germany, food duties are a crushing burden upon the industrial classes, because she has a much more crowded population than France, and is compelled increasingly to import food. At the present moment the German workman is paying more for his rye bread (rye, of course, is a cheaper cereal than wheat) than the British workman pays for his wheaten bread. To Britain, food duties would be an even more severe burden than they are to Germany, because we have a much more crowded population. The food duties which Mr. Chamberlain proposed in Glasgow in October, 1903, of two shillings per quarter on corn, and five per cent. on meat and dairy produce would cost our nine million families about forty-five shillings per annum per family, although they appear so small. Yet they would yield to the Treasury only about one-third of what they cost the consumer, the balance going into the pockets of private interests.

PROTECTION, REVENUE, AND SOCIALISM.

We have heard recently a good deal of two very peculiar arguments for Protection: (1) That it is an alternative to the Lloyd-George Budget of 1909, and (2) that it is an alternative to Socialism.

As to Protection being good as a means of raising revenue, the argument is intrinsically absurd, for since the revenue of a great country must be large and progressive, it follows that if it is argued that Protective import duties yield a large and progressive revenue, they must be expected to admit an ever-increasing quantity of the imports which they are supposed to check. As a matter-of-fact, Germany gets much less revenue from import duties than from her national railways, and she has in addition to impose every tax that we know of, including a stiff graduated income-tax, and many which we do not know.

As for the argument that Protection is an alternative to Socialism, Protection is itself a Socialism, since it postulates that it is the duty of the Government to control trade. The absurdity of the suggestion that Protection is an alternative to Socialism will be obvious from the fact that after 30 years of Protection in Germany the Socialist Party is the largest by far in that country, and is rapidly increasing at the expense of the others.

In conclusion, it will be observed that throughout this article I have spoken of "Protection." I have declined to call Protection "Tariff Reform" because the true Tariff Reform was accomplished in this country between 1842 and 1860, when Peel and Gladstone swept away the barriers at our ports and gave us Free Trade.

L. G. CHIOZZA-MONEY.

USEFUL BOOKS.

I.—FREE TRADE AND GENERAL.

- Avebury, Lord. *Free Trade.* (Macmillan.) (1904.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Bastiat, F. *Sophisms of Protection.* (Putnam.) 4s.
- Chiozza-Money, L. G. *Elements of the Fiscal Problem.* (King.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Chiozza-Money, L. G. *100 Points for Free Trade.* ("Daily News.") 1d.
- Chiozza-Money, L. G. *100 Points against Tariff Reform.* ("Daily News.") 1d.
- Churchill, Winston. *For Free Trade.* (Speeches.) (Humphreys.) 1s. net.
- Cobden. *Political Writings.* (2 Vols.) (Fisher Unwin.) (1878.) 7s.
- Cobden. *Speeches.* (Macmillan.) (1878.) 6d.
- George, Henry. *Protection or Free Trade?* (Kegan Paul.) (1886.) 1s.
- Guyot, Yves. *The Comedy of Protection.* (Hodder & Stoughton.) 6s.
- Handbook to the Tariff Question.* Fourth and Revised Edition. (1908.) (Free Trade Union.) 1s. net.
- International Free Trade Congress: Report of Proceedings.* (Cobden Club.) 5s. net.
- Labour and Protection.* (Ed. by H. W. Massingham.) (Fisher Unwin.) 3s. 6d.
- Montagu, Hon. E. S., and Herbert, Auberon. (Lord Lucas). *Canada and the Empire:* (King.) (1904.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Morley, J. *Life of Cobden.* (Fisher Unwin.) (1882.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Pigou, A. C. *Protective and Preferential Import Duties.* (Macmillan.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Porritt, E. *Sixty Years of Protection in Canada, 1846-1907.* (Macmillan.) (1908.) 5s. net.
- Rea, Russell. *Free Trade in Being.* (Macmillan.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Robertson, J. M. *Trade v. Tariffs.* (Black.) (1908.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Smith, Adam. *Wealth of Nations.*
- Statistical Tables and Charts in continuation of Cd. 1761 and Cd. 2337 (Cd. 4954).* (Wyman.) 5s. 2d. net.
- The First Fiscal Blue Book.* (1903.) (Cd. 1761.) (Wyman.) 3s. 6d. net.
- The Hungry Forties: Life under the Bread Tax.* (Fisher Unwin.) (1908.) 6d.
- The Second Fiscal Blue Book.* (1904.) (Cd. 2337.) (Wyman.) 3s. 6d. net.

II.—TARIFF REFORM.

- Ashley, W. J. *The Tariff Problem.* (King.) (1903.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Balfour, A. J. *Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade.* (Longmans.) (1903.) 3d.
- Balfour, A. J. *Fiscal Reform.* (Speeches from June, 1880, to December, 1905.) (Longmans.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Chamberlain, J. *Speeches.* (Tariff Reform League.) 1s.
- Hirst, Margaret. *Life and Works of Friedrich List.* (Smith, Elder.) 7s. 6d. net.
- "Tariff Commission" Reports. 7 Vols. King.
- Tariff Reform League Speakers' Handbook.* (Tariff Reform League.) 1s.
- Vince, C. A. *Mr. Chamberlain's Proposals.* (1903.) (De La More Press.) 1s.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

It is only under the changed conditions of the past few years that Englishmen have begun to realise the immense importance of the question of transport and its bearing on our national supremacy in commercial matters. It is much more reasonable to suppose that our prosperity will be increased by the provision of cheap and rapid means of communication than to imagine that the same result can be achieved by some vaunted but impracticable scheme of taxing the foreigner. In a variety of ways the matter of transport has been forced under our notice, and it is now generally recognised that it must be considered with regard to public, and not, as has so often been the case in the past, with regard to private interests. Also the idea is spreading that the question is only a single one. It is not one problem for railways, another for roads, and another for canals; although all these present their own peculiar difficulties, the national aim should be to work and co-ordinate all with the sole object of augmenting the public welfare.

RAILWAYS.

Our most important means of communication are our railways. For some years now their position has been growing more unsatisfactory, a condition of things, we may remark in passing, which is not due to the Liberal Government, because, like so many of the evils which are traced to this source, it existed long before Mr. Asquith and his colleagues came into power. The railway employés were complaining, and with good reason, of inadequate pay and of excessive hours of labour. Matters reached a crisis in 1907, and a general strike of railway men seemed imminent, but through the intervention of Mr. Lloyd George, then President of the Board of Trade, an amicable arrangement was made and Conciliation Boards were established on most of the great railways, Boards which so far have been productive of excellent results. But the conditions of labour in our railways are still in serious need of improvement. Further reductions of hours of labour are demanded, not only in the interests of the railway servants themselves, but also in the interests of the travelling public, whose lives depend upon the vigilance of the men, while increases of pay are rendered imperative by the increasing cost of living and as a necessary return for the increased efficiency now demanded from the worker. Traders complain that preferential treatment is given to their foreign rivals in the matter of traffic rates, and shareholders grumble of inadequate returns on the money they have invested.

OVER CAPITALISATION.

Such being the disease, we may refer briefly to its cause before proceeding to discuss the remedy. The outstanding fact is that our railways are grossly

over-capitalised, and, although it is perfectly true that the shareholder only receives a miserable return on his capital, yet the whole amount paid in dividends amounts to a very large sum. The original capital expenditure has been increased without providing any asset to set off against such augmentation, and thus many millions of capital now rank for dividend which should either have been charged to revenue accounts or never called into being. Moreover, the railway companies, unlike the municipal corporations and other local authorities which raise money by authority of Parliament, do not provide a sinking fund for the amortisation of their capital outlay.

It may fairly be said that one-half of the capital of the railway companies ought never to have been created; in other words, extravagance in construction, inevitable though it doubtless was, has doubled the cost of our railways. Fictitious prices have been paid for land, enormous fees have been paid to lawyers, and whoever else may dislike the Budget of 1909, it ought to be welcomed by the railways, as it will enable them in the future to acquire land at something like its actual value.

A minor reason for the present unsatisfactory position of the companies is the large amount paid yearly for direction and for services little more than nominal.

RAILWAY AMALGAMATION.

To state the nature and cause of the complaint is comparatively easy, but what is the remedy? In the opinion of the companies themselves it is to be sought in amalgamation, in eliminating wasteful competition between the different lines. Hinted at by one or two well-known men in the railway world and put into practice on a small scale and in a tentative manner, this solution became a definite policy in 1907, when an arrangement was made for working the Great Northern and the Great Central Railways as a single undertaking. The Railway Commissioners, however, whose consent was necessary, declared that this arrangement was *ultra vires*, and on appeal this judgment was sustained. Undeterred by this reverse, a larger scheme was contemplated, and in 1908 the sanction of Parliament was sought for an amalgamation of the Great Northern, the Great Central, and the Great Eastern Railways. The policy of the Government on this matter was outlined by Mr. Churchill, who said during the debate on the Second Reading:—

"The immediate future of British railways depended upon amalgamation. Every amalgamation improved the case and prepared the way for that larger amalgamation which would come in the future. It was unthinkable that a universal amalgamation could possibly be carried out by any Government in this country without at the same time a larger and wider measure of public control being established than any

which at present existed. Amalgamation would not bar the future; it was the future. It could not be to the interests of the employes to be the servants of an unprosperous concern struggling with difficulties to maintain itself in a state of stagnation, and which had no means of raising fresh capital. It could not be the interest of traders or of the general public to be served by a railway which did not afford an investment, which nobody having an alternative would care to invest in, and it could not be anybody's interest that shareholders who had invested honest money in railway enterprises should not receive a reasonable, moderate, and fair return for the wealth they had devoted to this purpose."

The measure passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons on April 5th by a majority of 25 votes only, and it was evident that its further progress would be stoutly opposed, and that this opposition would not be confined to any single section of the House. It was referred to a committee, which, by an amendment moved by Mr. Alfred Mond, M.P., was instructed "to receive all petitions to be heard against the Bill," but as this entailed lengthy and very costly proceedings, the companies announced on the 23rd of April that it was their intention to withdraw it.

Meanwhile in Scotland the Caledonian, the North British Companies, and the Glasgow and South-Western, and in England the Midland and London and North-Western Companies had concluded working arrangements, which, being more restricted in their scope, did not require Parliamentary sanction. With regard to the English amalgamation, this was joined for certain parts of the country by the Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway, and in June, 1909, details of the amalgamation were given in a Parliamentary paper. Although their Bill had been withdrawn, the three companies concerned therein did not entirely abandon their scheme, and a working arrangement of a restricted nature which did not require Parliamentary sanction was entered into between them.

A certain amount of suspicion was generated by these proceedings, and a general sense of relief was felt when in June 1909, Mr. Churchill announced that a departmental committee of the Board of Trade would be appointed to consider this question. The chairman of this committee is Mr. Russell Rea, the interests of Labour are watched by Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., while Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., is another member of the committee. It is to report "what changes, if any, are expedient in the law relating to agreements among railway companies, and what, if any, general provisions ought to be embodied for the purpose of safeguarding the various interests affected in future Acts of Parliament authorising railway amalgamations or working unions."

THE RAILWAYS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	TOTAL PAID-UP CAPITAL.	
	1908. Million £.	1907. Million £.
Loans and Debenture Stock	350.5	346
Preference and Guaranteed Stock	468.4	458.9
Ordinary Stock	491.6	489.2
	1,310.5	1,294.1

It appears from this statement that the total amount of Railway capital returned as paid-up at the close of 1908 was 1,310 million pounds, of which about 195 millions, or approximately 15 per cent., was due to nominal additions. The nominal additions formed approximately 18½ per cent. of the "ordinary" stock, 13 per cent. of the "preference and guaranteed" stocks, and 12½ per cent. of the "loans and debenture" stock.

DIVIDENDS.

The average rates of dividends paid on the ordinary and preferential capital respectively fell from 3.31 per cent. and 3.46 per cent. in 1907 to 2.99 per cent. and 3.42 per cent. in 1908, the rates on the other classes of capital remaining practically the same.

No dividend whatever was paid during 1908 on

Ordinary Stock	£74,936,480
Preferential and Guaranteed Stock	22,017,547
Loans and Debenture Stock	1,035,571

RAILWAYS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1908.

	£
Receipts from passenger traffic	51,661,000
" " merchandise	29,195,000
" " live stock	1,495,000
" " minerals	28,199,000
Total goods traffic	58,889,000
Receipts from steamboats	9,331,000
Total receipts	119,891,000
Working expenditure—	
Maintenance of way, works, &c.	11,075,000
Locomotive power	21,848,000
Repairs and renewals of carriages and wagons	6,199,000
Traffic expenses	21,657,000
Rates and Taxes	4,884,000
Other	10,729,000
Total	76,392,000
Net receipts	43,499,000

For the first six months of 1909 the traffic receipts amounted to £40,072,334, a decrease of £576,930 compared with 1908.

CANALS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1905.

	Length in miles.	Capital paid up.	Total Revenue.	Total Expenditure.
Canals not owned by Railway Companies	3,310	£36,973,503	£2,037,187	£1,408,231
Canals owned by Railways	1,145	5,725,404	899,164	354,275
Canals controlled by Railways	218½	4,851,361	244,359	128,707
	4,673½	£47,550,268	£2,880,710	£1,891,213

LONDON RAILWAYS IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1909.

Company.	Passengers. 1909.	Passenger Receipts. 1909.
Metropolitan	49,647,166	£306,611
G.N. and City	6,041,755	38,436
Central London	18,989,109	143,658
Bakerloo	14,325,065	86,861
Charing Cross and Hampstead	14,862,882	100,787
G.N., Picc. & Brompton	19,155,883	151,073
District	32,949,895	254,020
Total	155,971,755	£1,081,446

MILEAGE.

There are 23,205 miles of railway line in the United Kingdom, an increase of 97 miles over 1907 and of 1,505 miles over 1899.

RAILWAY ACCOUNTS.

The Departmental Committee of the Board of Trade on Railway Accounts and Statistical Returns appointed, in 1906, with Mr. A. C. Cole as chairman, reported in 1909. Its recommendations included the abolition of the present burden laid on the railways of rendering half-yearly accounts, and a new set of regulations in the direction of uniformity and simplification.

CANALS.

In March, 1906, a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the present condition and financial position of the Canals of the United Kingdom, and especially on the possibility of making better use of them for purposes of trade. Lord Shuttleworth was chairman of the Commission, which among its other members included Lord Brassey, Lord Farrer, Sir John Brunner, Bart., M.P., Mr. Russell Rea, M.P., and Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P. A great deal of information was obtained from foreign countries, and in 1909 Mr. W. H. Lindley, M.Inst.C.E., issued an exhaustive report on the Waterways of France, Belgium, Germany, and Holland. In Germany the State owns the canals, but they are worked by private enterprise, and the cost of transport has been reduced to a very low figure. In France also the State owns the canals, and up to 1905 had spent £100,000,000 on improving her waterways. In Belgium the State owns most of the canals. Italy and Austria-Hungary are also spending large sums of money on improvements.

Of the 4,673½ miles of canals 3,640½ miles are in England and Wales, 184 miles in Scotland, and 849 in Ireland. The two longest canals are the Grand Junction and the Leeds and Liverpool canals. The former, 188½ miles in length, has a main line running from the Thames at Brentford to Branson in Northamptonshire, and has several arms.

THE POST OFFICE.

The head-quarters of this immense undertaking are at St. Martins-le-Grand, London, E.C. The Postmaster-General is the **Right Hon. Sydney Buxton, M.P.**; the secretary appointed in August, 1909, is **Sir Matthew Nathan, K.C.M.C.**; and the Second Secretary is **Mr. A. F. King, C.B.**

POST OFFICE BALANCE-SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st, 1909.

Postal Revenue	£18,125,364
Telegraph	3,099,724
Telephone "	1,522,442
	£22,747,530
Postal Expenses	£13,373,937
Telegraph "	4,218,659
Telephone "	1,567,570
Profit to National Exchequer ..	8,567,864
	£22,747,580

The postal revenue shows an increase of £29,121 over the figure for the previous year, and the telephone revenue one of £133,262, but the telegraph revenue shows a decrease of £1,216. The total increase in receipts—£167,167—is, however, more than balanced by the increase in expenses, which were £442,395 more than last year. The net revenue was therefore £275,199 less than in 1908-9.

The Post Office pays out the Old-Age Pensions, and does a great deal of work for the Inland Revenue Department, and in the collection of revenue generally. Arrangements have been made for the system of the National Telephone Company to be taken over by the Post Office on December 31st, 1911.

POST OFFICE FIGURES.

Number of postal packets delivered during 1908-9.

Letters ..	2,907,400,000	} or an average delivery of each person of 1,127 postal packets, and of 65.1 letters, or rather more than one each week.
Postcards ..	860,000,000	
Halfpenny Packets ..	953,200,000	
Newspapers ..	202,800,000	
Parcels ..	113,020,000	
	5,035,920,000	

19,222,475 registered letters and 1,053,500 registered parcels were sent, and the express service was employed 1,919,687 times. 39,509,000 postal packets were undelivered, and these contained £16,065 in cash and banknotes, and £696,325 in cheques, money orders, &c. Nearly half-a-million packets were

posted without address, and these contained cash and other valuables to the amount of £25,611. Remote parts of the United Kingdom now enjoy a more satisfactory service of letters, motor mail vans now performing 60 services or sets of services.

Foreign and Colonial Post.—In 1908 Abyssinia entered the Universal Postal Union, and the establishment in October, 1908, of the penny post to the United States increased the postage between the two countries by about 25 per cent. The cash-on-delivery service to the Colonies was begun in June, 1908, an average of 500 packets per month being sent by this system.

Postal and Money Order system.—The total amount of money sent through the Post Office in the year was over £94,000,000.

Inland Money Orders, 10,232,448 in number and £39,307,038 in value.

Foreign and Colonial Money Orders, 3,148,687 in number and £8,334,738 in value.

Postal Orders, 119,280,000 in number and £48,213,000 in value.

There was a decrease of 4.8 in the amount sent by postal orders during the year, a circumstance due, in part at least, to the cessation of the "Limerick" competitions.

From January 1st to March 31st 7,925,150 old-age pension orders were paid through the Post Office, the amount being £1,904,722.

Telegrams sent amounted to 84,825,000, a decrease of 1.3 per cent., due chiefly to the increasing use of the Telephone. There was, however, an increase of 275,000 in the number of telegrams, 9,421,000, sent abroad. There are 13,490 telegraph offices in the country. The Post Office had, on March 31st, 1909, 598 telephone exchanges, and 2,526 trunk circuits. 23,502,024 conversations took place over them, the average payment for each talk being 5.66d.

Post Office Savings Banks.—The Post Office holds a large sum of money for small investors, who receive interest thereon at the rate of 2½ per cent., or 6d. in the £. On November 6th, 1909, it held in this connection £164,194,850, an increase of over £4,000,000 during the year. It also held Government stock for depositors amounting to £21,472,693, an increase of just under £1,000,000 during the year. Annuities can be purchased through the Post Office, and other forms of life insurance effected.

In July, 1909, it was announced that the Post Office had come to an arrangement with the Marconi Company and Lloyd's to take over eight Wireless Telegraphy Stations. These are situated at Caister, the North Foreland, Niton, The Lizard, and Liverpool in England, and Roselare, Crookhaven, and Malin Head in Ireland, and the price paid for them, and for the use of the necessary patents is £15,000. Already more than 200 ships which sail around or near our coasts are fitted with the apparatus.

CONSULAR REFORM.

BY SIR J. H. YOXALL, M.P.

For nearly 10 years I have urged in the Press and in Parliament that the British Consular system needs reforming, and something in the way of amendment has been obtained. Sir Edward Grey has done something to improve the entrance examinations. While he was at the Board of Trade Mr. Lloyd-George arranged that the Consuls' Reports on trade openings and commercial conditions abroad should be improved and expedited, the reports being cabled home in cases of urgency, and the King's printers hurried on. Now Mr. Winston Churchill has appointed an Englishman to almost the most important of our Consular posts, which an alien formerly held.

I say nothing against aliens *per se*, but I fancy that people called Gautrag, de la Croix, Schoedelin, Wacongue, Cocoto, Eliopopulo, Sveaas, and so forth—there are hundreds of such Vice-consular names—are not so likely to know and care about the interests of British commerce abroad as British commercial men sent to fill their posts would do. Most of these foreign gentlemen act as our Consular representatives because they can speak some English, and because we can get their services cheaply, they having other fish to fry, of their own, as well. Some of them I personally know to be very efficient, e.g., our Consular representative at Nuremberg, and the one at Venice. But some of them I personally know to be of less than no help to our commerce at all.

The first great step in Consular reform would be to separate the Consular system from our Foreign Office. The diplomatic functions of Consuls and Vice-consuls have ceased to possess even the slight importance and warrant which, before the days of express trains and telegraphs, I suppose they used to have. But express trains and telegraphs have opened up new functions and opportunities for Consular and Vice-Consular activity in commercial matters; and to be fully useful in such affairs our Consular and Vice-consular representatives ought to be Britons, conversant with commercial matters, and responsible to our Board of Trade.

What are the obstacles in the way of this great instalment of reform? First of all stands £. s. d.; the theory still remains in practice also that our Consular system can be run on the cheap. While a diplomatic person costs us on the average, £1,600 a year, a Consular person costs us £20; I imagine that in order to keep the remuneration of *chargés d'affaires* and *attachés* up to the direct remuneration of Vice-Consuls is kept down. The Vice-Consuls eke out their average of £20 a year by an authorised system of charging fees. These fees check enterprise, disgust our merchants and exporters, handicap our exports, and induce an indifferent attitude towards any piece of work which may not mean a fee. The fee system exists because a proper salary system does not.

During the past few years many examples of the ill effect of the fee system have been communicated to me by British correspondents who know that I have been working at this question. A Midland firm wrote to our Consular representative in a South American port, making some enquiry as to a possible opening for their commodities. The reply was to this effect. "Seems to me you want a local representative here. You don't suppose I shall do that for you without pay?" Perfectly natural, that reply, of course; but if we had had a salaried Consul there he could have been brought to book for it. Again, an Englishman travelling on business in Spain lost his baggage and samples; he went to the British Consulate in an important city about it; he was told that he must write a letter to the Spanish authorities, and all that the Consul did for him was to translate the letter and charge him thirty-six shillings. In the third case a great manufacturing firm here had to suffer because H.B.M. Consul at a French port was too unwilling to claim and obtain the full benefit for them of the "most favoured nation" clause. It had never occurred to the firm to offer him a fee.

The second great reform would be one in personnel. When we send a Briton to a Consulate or Vice-Consulate he should never be a "broken-down gentleman," an ex-Party man, who has become poor, a fledgeling lawyer, or a "scion of family"; he should be an educated young commercial man. In 1905, for the first time, an entrance examination for the Consular service, based on international law and modern languages, was held. Up to 1907 only one British commercial man had been appointed after examination as a paid Vice-Consul. Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd-George arranged that all paid Vice-Consuls, between the examination and appointment and their departure abroad, are to "go through the Intelligence Department of the Board of Trade." All that is to the good, but it needs amplifying, and pushing along more vigorously; our Consular system has hardly yet begun to be anything but a branch of the Foreign Office, and the Foreign Office does not "talk shop" *con amore*. We need to establish the Consular system as the eyes and ears of British trade abroad.

The next step would be to appoint more Consuls and Vice-Consuls. In 1903 I showed a strangely-indifferent House of Commons that we had no Consular representatives at Limoges (earthenware), Lille, Roubaix (iron and textiles), Rheims (wine), Nancy (centre of Lorraine trade), St. Quentin (textiles), Malines (textiles), or in the iron manufacturing region between Liège and Aix la Chapelle. For Essen, Düsseldorf, Chefeld, Elberfeld, Solingen, Mulheim, and all that busy region we had but one trade representative, at £250 a year. Things are a little better in those districts now (speaking in terms of Consuls and Vice-Consuls), but only relatively better. Why there should have been only forty-seven British Consular representatives in all Germany, while there were eighty-five German Consular representatives in the much smaller area of these islands, is surely a thing which no sane person can be expected to understand. And when one still finds that at important German commercial and manufacturing centres our representatives are Germans, as also that in anti-Semitic districts our representatives are not seldom Semitic, the wonder grows that we "muddle along" so well.

Lastly, (for the present), in the list of reforms I mention better central organisation. Why is there a "commercial and sanitary department" in the Foreign Office? It is like the connection between shipping and divorce at the Law Courts. Why cannot we have a "Department of Foreign Commerce" at the Board of Trade, responsible for our Consular commercial efforts abroad? I have seen some of the printed reports sent from Washington daily to American Consular representatives here; I know how they cable to and fro, with what would seem to the Foreign Office here a reckless expenditure, the news of any pending contract, sudden opening, fresh chance, or promising prospect for American trade. I know, too, how the German commercial ministry cares for such things similarly, procuring advances of money, special railway rates, freight charges, and so forth, for the aid of German exporters, while we go muddling on, in days of collective effort elsewhere, as if our old "individual enterprise" alone could keep us up-to-date.

I wish Members of Parliament and the heads of great commercial firms, when taking holidays abroad, would make a point of enquiring into our Consular conditions in the places where the holiday leads them. I am not a great traveller, but often I have seen how badly off in that respect we are still. Liberal ministers have done something in the way of amendment; compared to their predecessors, they have done much; but much more remains to be accomplished.

USEFUL BOOKS.

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| <p>Annual Statement of Trade of United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and British Possessions, 1903, Compared with Four Preceding Years. Vol. 1. (Cd. 4687.) (Wyman.) 6s. net.</p> <p>Best, R. H., Davis, W. J., and Perks, C. The Brassworkers of Berlin and Birmingham: A Comparison. (King.) 1s. net.</p> <p>Bowley, A. L. England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century. (Sonnenschein.) (1893.) 2s. 6d.</p> <p>Bowley, A. L. National Progress in Wealth and Trade. (King.) (1904.) 2s. net.</p> <p>Cunningham, W. The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times. (1896.) (2 Parts.) (Cambridge University Press.) Part 1, The Mercantile System. 10s. net.</p> <p>Jawson, W. Harbutt. The German Workman: A study in National Efficiency. (King.) 6s. net.</p> | <p>Edwards, A. Clement. Railway Nationalisation. (Methuen.) 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p>Foreign Import Duties, 1908. Statement of Rates of Import Duties levied on Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom. (Cd. 4414.) (Wyman.) 3s. 8d. net.</p> <p>Hirst, F. W. Monopolies, Trusts, and Cartels. (Methuen.) 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p>Hobson, J. A. International Trade. (Methuen.) 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p>Lawson, W. R. American Industrial Problems. (Blackwood.) 6s. net.</p> <p>Pratt, E. A. British Canals: Is Their Resuscitation Practicable? (Murray.) 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p>Pratt, E. A. Railways and their Rates. (Murray.) 1s. net.</p> <p>Report of the Board of Trade on Wholesale and Retail Prices in the United Kingdom in 1902, with Comparative Tables. (H. C. 321.) (Wyman.) 2s. 1d. net.</p> <p>Schooling, J. Holt. The British Trade Year Book. (Murray.) 10s. 6d. net.</p> |
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SUMMARY TABLE

On Foreign Trade and Industry of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States, during the past four years.—Taken from Cd. 4954.

	Annual Average, 1905-8.				
	United Kingdom.	France.	Germany.	United States.	
POPULATION	43,882	39,243	61,873	85,092	Thousands.
BIRTH RATE	26·5	20·8	32·4	*	Per 1,000 of the
DEATH RATE	14·4	19·7	18·4	*	Population.
FOREIGN TRADE—					
AGGREGATE:					
Imports (Net):					Million £'s.
All Articles	519·3	222·7	387·9	253·5	
Manufactures only	124·8	41·8	77·8	109·0	"
Exports (Domestic):					"
All Articles	368·5	207·8	311·5	359·3	
Manufactures only	294·7	121·3	213·5	145·2	"
FOREIGN TRADE PER HEAD OF POPULATION:					
Imports (Net):	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
All Articles	11 16 8	5 13 6	6 5 5	2 19 7	
Manufactures only	2 16 11	1 1 2	1 5 2	1 3 8	
Exports (Domestic):					
All Articles	8 7 11	5 5 11	5 0 8	4 4 5	
Manufactures only	6 14 4	3 1 10	3 9 0	1 14 2	
EXPORTS (DOMESTIC) OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES TO ALL DESTINATIONS:					
Iron and Steel and Manufactures thereof	45·1	5·3	27·3	15·6	Million £'s.
Machinery	28·2	3·4	13·7	21·7	"
Cotton Yarns and Manufactures	99·2	12·6	20·8	7·5	"
Woollen Manufactures	20·4	8·6	13·5	0·10	"
EXPORTS (DOMESTIC) TO PRINCIPAL PROTECTED FOREIGN COUNTRIES:					
All Articles	133·6	105·8	175·4	121·7	Million £'s.
SHIPPING:					
Tonnage entered and cleared at Seaports	124,387	48,915†	41,209†	55,643	Thousand Tons
Tonnage on Register	11,232	1,397†	2,670 {	† 926	}
Tonnage built and added to Register	679	38†	139	† 383	
Tonnage sold to Foreigners	256	26†	73	† 116	"
Tonnage bought Abroad	26	28†	98	—	"
RAILWAYS:					
Mileage in operation	23,056	24,704†	34,443†	230,969†	Miles.
Passengers carried	1,244	459†	1,207†	804†	Millions.
Goods conveyed	489	144†	472†	1,445†	Million Tons.
Gross receipts	118·0	85·7†	128·2†	435·9†	Million £'s.
OUTPUT OF STAPLE ARTICLES:					
Cotton consumed:					
Total	16·7	4·3	8·2	20·4	Million Cwts.
Per head	42·6	12·2	14·8	26·8	Lbs.
Spindles employed	52,140	6,590	9,599	25,862	Thousands.
Wool, Sheep and Lambs', consumed: Total	485·0	537·3	383·4	491·8	Million Lbs.
Per head	11·1	13·7	6·2	5·8	Lbs.
Coal Output: Total	254·1	34·8	135·8	380·2	Million Tons.
Per head	5·79	0·89	2·19	4·47	Tons.
Pig Iron Output: Total	9·8	3·3	11·8	22·5	Million Tons.
Per head	0·22	0·08	0·19	0·26	Tons.
Steel Output: Total	6·0	2·5	10·9	20·2	Million Tons.
Per head	0·14	0·06	0·18	0·24	Tons.
Coal Consumption: Total	175·6	50·3	121·3	370·7	Million Tons.
Per head	4·00	1·28	1·96	4·36	Tons.
Pig Iron Consumption: Total ..	8·4	3·2	11·7	22·7	Million Tons.
Per head	0·19	0·08	0·19	0·27	Tons.
Wheat Consumed: Per head ..	361	511	† 201	401	Lbs.

* Cannot be given. † Average for three years only, ‡ "Gross Tonnage" for the United States.

¶ In addition large quantities of Rye are consumed in Germany.

¶ To those interested in political and social reform, or progressive thought,

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THE BRITISH NAVY.

(BY A NAVAL EXPERT.)

THE PROGRAMME OF 1909-10.

In March, 1909, Mr. McKenna, the First Lord of the Admiralty, informed the House of Commons that the German shipbuilding programme had been accelerated, and in the circumstances he asked for authority for the following programme:—

Definite: 4 Battle-ships (3 of these will be improved Dreadnoughts and 1 an improved Invincible), 6 Protected Cruisers (4 second-class of 4,200 tons displacement and 2 smaller), 20 Destroyers, and a number of Submarine Boats to cost half a million sterling. All these ships have been ordered.

Contingent on Foreign progress.—Four more Battle-ships, for which preparations "might" have to be made in advance, so as to enable them to be laid down on April 1st, 1910, and completed by March, 1912. In July it was announced that owing to the rapid progress made in Germany contracts would be placed for these vessels in the current financial year, and on October 8th it was announced that the cost of the preparatory work would be met out of the revenue of the financial year 1909-10.

NAVAL ECONOMIES.

In the five years following 1904, the high-water mark of naval expenditure, there has been, if that year be taken as the standard, an aggregate reduction of £28,015,961 in the cost of the Fleet, of which roughly £25,000,000 has been effected since the Liberal party came into power. This noteworthy reduction has dated from the assumption of office as First Sea Lord, at the invitation of Mr. Balfour's Government, of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, G.C.B., O.M. These economies have been due to a vast scheme of naval reform in the fleets at sea and in the establishments ashore, and to a careful scrutiny of the outlay in all the various naval departments. In his Memorandum of December, 1905, Lord Cawdor explained "that the estimates were no longer pre-

FIVE YEARS' ECONOMIES—£28,015,961.

Statement based on official figures showing the Gross Expenditure on Naval Services for the years 1904-5 to 1907-8, together with the Estimated Gross Expenditure for 1908-9, and 1909-10 (in millions to one decimal point).

	Annual Expenditure.				Est'd Expend.	
	1904-5	1905-6	1906-7	1907-8	1908-9	1909-10
Gross Expenditure	£38·2	£34·8	£33·2	£32·0	£33·9	£36·7
Abate: Annuity under the Naval Works' Act, 1895-1905	·6	1·0	1·0	1·2	1·2	1·3
	37·6	33·8	32·2	31·7	32·7	35·4
Expenditure from Loans	3·4	3·3	2·4	1·0	·9	—
Value of Stores drawn from stock without replacement in aid of cash expenditure ..	—	·8	1·0	1·2	·5	·2
Expenditure on behalf of Naval Services from Votes of other Departments	·4	·4	·3	·4	·4	·4
Total	£41·4	£38·3	£35·9	£34·3	£34·5	£36·0
Reduction as compared with Expend. in 1904-5	—	£3·1	£5·5	£7·1	£6·9	£5·4
Aggregate Reduction			£28·0			

pared in a haphazard method. They are considered in detail by a new committee, the 'Navy Estimates Committee,' composed of the First Sea Lord, the Financial Secretary, the Permanent Secretary and the Accountant-General.

"In determining the amounts required for the several services, two important considerations have to be allowed for:—Firstly, the whole object of the Navy estimates is to secure the fighting efficiency of the Fleet and its instant readiness for war; and secondly, the money asked for the Navy should be the least possible compatible with the above vital necessities.

"It is, therefore, especially necessary that the amounts allotted to the several votes should be governed by the relative importance of the several branches of the service, so as to secure the greatest efficiency of the fighting machine as a whole."

Even after the Estimates have been prepared and passed by the House of Commons, the Admiralty, carefully watching naval progress abroad, have, as opportunity has offered, repeatedly reduced the shipbuilding programme. The policy adopted has been to interpret the Two-Power Standard by continual study of foreign activity, with the result that it was determined by the Admiralty to drop the following vessels—originally included in the programmes—in sympathy with the retardation of foreign shipbuilding:—

1904.—(Unionist): One large armoured cruiser and 13 torpedo-boat destroyers.

1905-6.—(Unionist): One large armoured cruiser.

1906-7.—(Liberal): One battle-ship and 3 destroyers.

These are the first occasions in the history of the Navy when, on the initiative of the Admiralty itself, programmes already presented to Parliament have been thus reduced.

The following statement shows the naval outlay of the past years:—

FRUITS OF REFORM.

This unparalleled record of naval economy has been coincident with a vast strengthening of the fighting efficiency of the Fleet:—

(1) The greatest war fleet ever organized, comprising the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the Home Fleet, has been created. It is fully manned entirely with active-service ratings, and is always under training at sea. This command is complete in all its units—battle-ships, armoured cruisers, scouts, destroyers, submarines, and auxiliary vessels. Associated with it, but ready for detachment for service in distant waters without disorganising the defence in home waters, is the Atlantic Fleet.

(2) The ships in reserve, hitherto unmanned, have been reorganised: (a) The new reserve ships form the 3rd Division of the Home Fleet, and have always on board nucleus crews of about three-fifths of their war complements, including all the principal officers and all the skilled ratings. These ships carry out the same gunnery and other drills as fully commissioned vessels.

(b) The older reserve ships form the 4th Division of the Home Fleet, and have smaller nucleus crews.

The Admiralty's manning policy provides for these vessels (a) and (b) being raised to war strength at a few hours' notice by drafting on board proportions of active and reserve ratings.

(3) The Admiralty have devoted much attention to improving the conditions of life for the men at sea.

(a) The pay of the men of the Fleet has been increased. Whereas in 1905-6 the sum voted for wages, &c., of officers, seamen, and boys, coastguard, and Royal Marines was £6,691,000, in 1909-10 the amount was £7,230,200, with 8,100 fewer men borne. There are now 128,000 officers and active-service ratings.

(b) Never before in the history of the Navy have so many men of the lower deck obtained promotion to the commissioned ranks. The Board have thus given an illustration of the methods by which democratic ideas may be sympathetically met, and the men of the lower deck are encouraged to greater devotion to their duties without impairing, in fact, by actually adding to, the efficiency of the Navy.

(c) For those most deserving classes of naval ratings, the stokers, telegraphists, stewards, cooks, and police, new warrant ranks have been created, carrying high pay.

(d) The position of petty officers of the Fleet has been improved, and the pensions of chief petty officers increased.

(e) A boon has been conferred upon the Navy by a cessation of allotment stoppages. When men are on leave they now receive payment in lieu of the provisions which they would otherwise have drawn, this being a further concession, which is practically equivalent to an increase of pay for the men of the Fleet.

(f) The dietary of the Navy has been varied and improved, and steps taken to provide every large man-of-war with a bakery, so as to enable the men of the lower deck to be served with bread instead of hard biscuit when at sea.

(4) A complete system of mobile coast

defence by means of submarines and vessels specially adapted for laying mines has been introduced, with the result that the country was never more secure against raids than it is to-day.

(5) Whereas formerly a large proportion of the torpedo craft of the Fleet were kept in the dockyards without crews, and were thus liable to deteriorate, every torpedo-boat and destroyer in the British service is now provided either with a full crew and kept at sea almost continuously, or has a nucleus crew which takes it to sea for periodical practice cruises.

(6) In order to improve the training of officers who navigate His Majesty's ships, a School of Navigation has been established and provided with a large staff at Portsmouth.

(7) The War Course, which the late Admiral H. J. May established at Greenwich on very modest lines, has now become a well-equipped War College at Portsmouth, with branches at Chatham and Devonport. Admirals, captains, and commanders attend lectures and carry out war games, and the cruiser "Terpsichore" has been set aside as tender for the College so as to enable strategical and tactical problems to be studied on the open sea.

(8) Schools of instruction in signalling have been founded at the three ports.

(9) Attention has also been directed to the creation of an adequate, well-trained reserve for the Navy.

(a) The Royal Fleet Reserve has been created by passing stokers and seamen, entered in the Navy for limited service, into the Reserve after five years' service at sea. The decision thus to inaugurate, side by side with the long-service system—which is still the backbone of the Navy—a scheme for short service, has led to the creation of a well-trained reserve readily available in time of war, and will result in great economies owing to the saving in pensions and other expenditure.

(b) The Board of Admiralty have elaborated a system for the more efficient training of men of the Royal Naval Reserve, the old reserve force of the country drawn from the Merchant Navy. Formerly these men were trained at shore batteries and on board hulks, the fighting equipment of which was usually out of date. In place of this inefficient and expensive system, the men carry out their periodical training on board modern ships in commission, thus enabling them to handle the guns and other equipment which they would have to use in time of war.

(10) The morale of the Navy has been improved by getting rid of a large number of men of bad or questionable character.

(11) Immense sums have been spent in installing the most efficient wireless system in all vessels, which are able to communicate direct with the powerful "wireless" station at the Admiralty while hundreds of miles away. Orders to the Mediterranean are dispatched by these means.

(12) Large expenditure has been incurred in providing the Fleet with the best instruments for "controlling fire," and with machines for cooling the magazines.

(13) By attention to gunnery the hitting power of the Navy has been trebled.

(14) *Manœuvres* on a larger scale than ever before are now held each summer. In 1909 850 ships participated, all fully manned.

(15) Admirals at sea have been provided with large staffs for the first time to assist them in training their commands, and a WAR COUNCIL has been established at the Admiralty.

(16) The mechanical equipment at the Royal Dockyards has been modernised, resulting in vast economies and greater dispatch in building and repairing His Majesty's ships.

THE RACE IN DREADNOUGHTS: ENGLAND'S LEAD.

Attention has recently been mainly directed to the race in Dreadnoughts. One point is to be noted. The British Dreadnought was not a revolutionary ship because of its size, for it was actually smaller when laid down than a

ship already under construction in Japan—the "Satsuma"—and only slightly bigger than battle-ships building in Russia—the "Pervosvanni"—and her sister. Its novelty lay in its design; it mounted only big armour-piercing guns—12in. pieces—and small guns for repelling attack by torpedo craft. It had no secondary weapons such as the familiar 6in. gun, of which formerly battle-ships had usually carried a dozen or more. Owing to the progress of fire control and the development of the torpedo—which now has a range of 7,000 yards—it was held that the 6in. gun was no longer of value because the battle range would be so vast in order to keep the battle-ships outside the range of the torpedo.

At present the position of the leading Powers in vessels more or less corresponding to the Dreadnought type is as follows:—

DREADNOUGHTS BUILT, BUILDING, AND PROJECTED.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Name.	Displacement (tons).	Knots.	Laid down.	Completed or to be completed.
1.—Dreadnought	17,900	22.4	Oct. 2, 1903	Dec. 1906
2.—Indomitable	17,250	23.7	Mar. 1, 1906	June 1908
3.—Inflexible	17,250	23.4	Feb. 5, 1906	Oct. 1908
4.—Invincible	17,250	28.6	Apr. 2, 1906	Mar. 1909
5.—Belierophon	18,600	21.8	Dec. 3, 1906	Feb. 1909
6.—Téméraire	18,600	22.7	Jan. 1, 1907	May 1909
7.—Superb	18,600	21.62	Feb. 6, 1907	June 1909
8.—St. Vincent	19,250	21	Dec. 30, 1907	Feb. 1910
9.—Collingwood	19,250	21	Feb. 3, 1908	March 1910
10.—Vanguard	19,250	21	Apr. 3, 1908	March 1910
11.—Neptune	20,250	21	Jan. 19, 1909	Jan. 1911
12.—Indefatigable	19,000	25	Feb. 23, 1909	Feb. 1911
13.—Hercules	20,250	21	July 19, 1909	July 1911
14.—Colossus	20,250	21	Aug. 5, 1909	July 1911
15.—Orion	20,250	21	Nov. 1909	Nov. 1911
16.—Lion	21,500	25	Nov. 1909	Nov. 1911
17.—5	26,000	23	April 1910	March 1912
18.—6	26,000	23	April 1910	March 1912
19.—7	26,000	23	April 1910	March 1912
20.—8	26,000	23	April 1910	March 1912

GERMANY.

Name.	Displacement (tons).	Knots.	Laid down.	Completed or to be completed.
1.—Nassau	17,679	19.5	July 1907	Oct. 1909
2.—Westfalen	17,679	19.5	July 1907	Nov. 1909
3.—Rheinland	17,960	19.5	August 1907	Feb. 1910
4.—Posen	17,960	19.5	August 1907	March 1910
5.—Von der Tann	18,700	25	March 1908	August 1910
6.—Ostfriesland	19,000	19.5	Nov. 1908	March 1911
7.—Helgoland	19,000	19.5	Nov. 1908	March 1911
8.—E. Beowulf	19,000	19.5	Jan. 1909	March 1911
9.—G	18,700	25	Sept. 1908	March 1911
10.—H	18,700	25	Dec. 1908	June 1911
11.—E. Helmdal	19,000	19.5	Oct. 1909	March 1911
12.—E. Hildebrand	19,000	19.5	Oct. 1909	March 1911
13.—E. Frithjof	19,000	19.5	May 1909	Nov. 1911

U. S. A.

Name.	Displacement (tons).	Knots.	Laid down.	Completed or to be completed.
1.—Michigan	16,000	18.87	Dec. 1906	Oct. 1909
2.—South Carolina	16,000	18.5	Dec. 1906	Dec. 1909
3.—North Dakota	20,000	21	Dec. 16, 1907	July 1910
4.—Delaware	20,000	21	Nov. 1907	August 1910
5.—Florida	21,825	20.75	Mar. 9, 1909	July 1911
6.—Utah	21,825	20.75	Feb. 22, 1909	July 1911
7.—Wyoming	26,000	21	Nov. 1909	June 1912
8.—Oklahoma	26,000	21	Nov. 1909	June 1912

JAPAN.

Name.	Displacement (tons).	Knots.	Laid down.	Completed or to be completed.
1.—Satsuma	19,250	20	May 15, 1905	June 1909
2.—Aki	19,730	20.5	Mar. 15, 1905	June 1910
3.—Kawachi	20,800	20.5	Jan. 18, 1909	July 1911
4.—Huki	18,650	25	Dec. 1908	July 1911
5.—B. Cruiser	18,650	25	— 1909	Nov. 1911
6.—Settsu	20,800	20.5	April 1, 1909	July 1911

FRANCE.

Name.	Displacement (tons).	Knots.	Laid down.	Completed or to be completed.
1.—Voltaire	18,027	19.5	June 1907	April 1911
2.—Diderot	18,027	19.5	Oct. 1907	July 1911
3.—Condorcet	18,027	19.5	August 1907	July 1911
4.—Danton	18,027	19.5	Jan. 1908	April 1911
5.—Mirabeau	18,027	19.5	May 1908	July 1911
6.—Vergniaud	18,027	19.5	Nov. 1907	July 1912

ITALY.

Name.	Displacement (tons).	Knots.	Laid down.	Completed or to be completed.
1.—Dante Alighieri	18,302	23	June 6, 1909	June 1912
2.—Leonardo da Vinci	13,302	23	—	June 1912
3.—Michel Angelo	21,000	22	—	—
4.—Galileo-Galilei	21,000	22	—	—

GUNS.

The armament of these vessels varies:—

Britain: The Dreadnought carries ten 12in. guns, with twenty-four 3in., only eight of the big guns bearing on either broadside. In later ships—improved Dreadnoughts—all the big guns bear on either broadside, and the ahead and astern fire is increased, while the 4in. gun—20 in number—replaces the 3in. weapon. The Invincible and her sisters carry eight 12in. guns—all bearing on either broadside—and sixteen 4in.

America: The armament resembles that of British vessels, the "Michigan" and "South Carolina" having eight, and the four others ten 12in. guns, with twenty-two 3in. or fourteen 5in. guns as anti-torpedo weapons.

Germany: The earlier ships, in addition to twelve 11in. guns, mount a dozen 5.9in. quickfirsers. They are apparently over-gunned, with inade-

quate coal supplies. In later ships the armament is believed to have been changed.

France: These six vessels are enlarged Lord Nelsons, with four 12in., twelve 9.4in., and sixteen 3in. guns.

Japan: Details of armament are uncertain, but the vessels are believed to carry 6in. quickfirsers, in addition to twelve 12in. guns.

Russia, Brazil, and Italy: Twelve 12in. guns are carried in each of these ships, in association with sixteen to twenty-two 4.7in. guns.

The fighting power of a ship is judged not by the number of guns mounted, but by the maximum number which can be used at various bearings, and the fire of which can be effectively "controlled." It is noticeable that in the British and American Fleets, with practically the same efficient system of gunnery, the armament is on the simple all-big principle.

WORLD'S 76 DREADNOUGHTS.

In addition to the Powers mentioned above, the following are building or have projects for large armoured ships of the Dreadnought type:—

Russia: Four (all laid down in 1909).
Austria-Hungary: Four (none laid down).
Brazil: Three (two to be completed in 1910).
Chili: Two (not laid

down). Spain: Three (none laid down).
Argentina: Three (none laid down).

The Dreadnought was laid down in October, 1903, and now there are 76 vessels of the same type built, building, or projected.

In summary the present position of the principal Powers in Dreadnoughts is as follows:—

	Complete.	Launched.	Building.	Projected.	Total.
Great Britain	7	5	2	6*	20
Germany	2	6	5	—	13
France	—	4	2	—	6
United States	2	2	4	—	8
Russia	—	—	4	—	4
Japan	1	1	4	—	6
Brazil	—	2	—	1	3
Austria	—	—	—	4†	4
Italy	—	—	1	3	4

* Two to be laid down in November, 1909, and four in April, 1910.

† The money for these has not yet (Nov., 1909) been voted.

In 1910, in accordance with her Navy Law, Germany will lay down four more large armoured ships, two protected cruisers, 12 destroyers, and a number of submarines. Her estimated expenditure for the year will exceed £20,000,000.

PRE-DREADNOUGHT BATTLE-SHIPS.

(Launched since 1893.)

GREAT BRITAIN.		UNITED STATES.		GERMANY.	
	Tons.		Tons.		Tons.
2 Lord Nelson	16,500	2 Idaho	13,000	5 Deutschland ..	12,997
8 King Edward VII.	16,350	6 Louisiana	16,000	5 Braunschweig ..	12,997
8 Formidable	15,000	5 Virginia	14,943	5 Wittelsbach ..	11,643
9 Majestic	14,900	3 Maine	12,300	5 Kaiser Class ..	10,614
5 Duncan	11,000	3 Alabama	11,565	—	—
6 Canopus	12,950	2 Kearsage	11,540	—	—
2 Triumph	11,800	1 Iowa	11,310	—	—
40 Ships of	559,200	22 Ships of	392,755	20 Ships of	241,233

The strength of the other Powers in Pre-Dreadnought battle-ships is:—
Japan: Eleven of 152,444 tons. Russia: Eight of 112,092 tons. Italy: Eight of 95,418 tons. Austria: Six of 74,103 tons.

CRUISERS—BUILT AND BUILDING.

	1st Class.		2nd Class.		3rd Class.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
Great Britain	45	of 551,000	34	of 199,200	34	of 109,365
United States	15	of 180,595	3	of 20,620	14	of 48,799
Germany	9	of 93,545	6	of 34,215	32	of 107,055
France	15	of 169,027	12	of 78,541	21	of 66,773
Japan	13	of 138,052	4	of 23,306	15	of 51,783
Russia	6	of 63,336	8	of 52,610	2	of 6,391
Italy	7	of 61,210	3	of 17,303	13	of 36,759

TORPEDO FLOTILLAS—BUILT AND BUILDING.

	DESTROYERS.	TORPEDO BOATS.	SUBMARINES.
Great Britain	136*	145	65
United States	32	35	28
Germany	104**	74 (old)	8
France	75	264 (mostly old)	105
Japan	55	82	12
Russia	86	101	36
Italy	20	91	7

* 20 more ordered October, 1909.

** 12 more ordered 1909.

(These statistics are based on figures in the Naval Annual of 1909.)

NOW AND IN 1912.

In the "Nineteenth Century" for September, 1909, Mr. Archibald Hurd contrasted the strength of the British and German battle-ships in gun power, showing the number and the penetrative power of all their main guns according to an admitted formula.

(Theoretical penetration in inches of the best Krupp armour at 5,000 yards, using capped projectiles):—

GREAT BRITAIN.	GERMANY.
Guns. Penetration.	Guns. Penetration.
72=17½ inches	None
84=15 to 16 inches	None
68=11½ inches	40=12 inches
20=10 inches	None
72=8½ to 9 inches	40= 8½ inches
816 with a penetration varying from 17½ to 8½ inches	80=12 to 8½ inches

Continuing, Mr. Hurd gave the appended synopsis of the naval position:—

"At present the British Navy is above the Two-Power Standard. Next year it will still be above the Two-Power Standard."

"In 1911, the German, French, and American Fleets will be strengthened by a number of new ships—how many is subject for speculation, and not for definite assertion. In this year, owing to the fact that under last year's programme only two armoured ships were laid down for the British Fleet, our lead will decrease."

"In 1912, the German Navy will have benefited by the recent acceleration of shipbuilding, and the British margin of superiority in the most modern armoured ships might have almost disappeared had it not been determined to lay down eight British battle-ships of an improved Dreadnought type in the next six months."

"In 1913, the German Fleet will gain by at least four more large armoured ships; next year's British programme must neutralise this accession of German naval power."

COST OF THE GREAT FLEETS.

Nothing indicates better the extent of the present competition than the progressive expenditure of the Great Powers on their fleets as revealed in the following official figures:—

TOTAL NAVAL EXPENDITURE,
(IN MILLIONS STERLING CARRIED TO ONE DECIMAL.)

Year.	Britain.	Germany.	U.S.A.	France.	Russia.
1900	29.9	7.6	13.3	12.5	8.6
1901	30.9	9.5	16.0	13.1	9.3
1902	31.0	10.0	13.2	12.2	10.4
1903	33.7	10.4	16.8	12.5	12.3
1904	36.8	10.1	20.1	12.5	11.9
1905	33.1	11.3	24.4	12.7	12.3
1906	31.4	12.0	21.3	13.0	12.4
1907	31.4	13.6	21.2	12.4	8.8
1908	32.3	16.5	25.8	12.7	9.8
1909	35.1	19.5	28.1	13.3	9.8

EXPENDITURE ON NEW CONSTRUCTION AND ARMAMENTS.

1900	9.7	3.4	4.3	4.7	3.1
1901	10.4	4.9	5.2	4.9	3.0
1902	10.4	5.0	4.7	5.3	2.9
1903	11.4	4.9	5.3	5.7	3.2
1904	13.5	4.6	6.5	5.6	4.4
1905	11.2	4.0	11.3	5.7	4.5
1906	10.8	5.3	8.6	5.7	4.5
1907	9.2	6.2	6.7	5.1	2.8
1908	8.6	8.3	7.7	5.3	2.7
1909	10.2	10.7	10.0	6.7	1.3

PERSONNEL OF THE WORLD'S FLEETS.

FLEET.	ACTIVE STRENGTH.	EFFECTIVE RESERVES.*
	Men.	Men.
Britain.....	128,000	57,323
United States	44,500	None
Germany.....	50,500	50,000
France.....	56,800	60,000
Russia.....	56,398	40,000
Italy.....	29,000	33,000
Austria.....	14,208	20,000
Japan.....	40,000	Unknown

*In the case of foreign fleets the figures are approximate only.

In the British Fleet, only 1,638 seamen and 5,511 stokers are short-service, and all the remainder are long-service men—that is, engaged for 12 years. The average period of service in the Fleet is 10 years 9 months.

The period of service in the German Fleet is three years, with a small proportion of volunteers who serve longer; in France, Italy, the United States, and Austria it is about four years; in Russia five to seven years; and in Japan four years for conscripts and seven years for volunteers. Consequently, the British seamen serve for longer than the men of other fleets, and should be far more efficient. They cost about twice as much as conscripts.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

In home waters the fully-manned ships—Home and Atlantic Fleets—under Admiral Sir W. H. May and Vice-

Fleet or Squadron.	Battle-ships.	Armoured Cruisers.	Cruisers.	Destroyers.	Others.	Total.
Mediterranean	6	0	4	11	2	23
3rd Cruiser	0	4	0	0	0	4
4th Cruiser	0	3	0	0	0	3
China	0	4	2	6	13	28
Australia	0	0	9	0	0	9
Cape of Good Hope	0	0	3	0	0	3
East Indies	0	0	5	0	3	8
West Coast of America ..	0	0	0	0	2	2

COLONIAL CO-OPERATION.

As a result of the Imperial Defence Conference, held in London in the summer of 1909, it has been settled that New Zealand will continue to make an annual contribution to the maintenance of the Royal Navy, and in addition will present a Dreadnought-Cruiser, which will be stationed in the Pacific.

The Commonwealth of Australia will cease to pay a voluntary subvention to the Royal Navy, and will proceed to organise a Fleet of her own, receiving, temporarily, a subsidy from the Imperial Government. For the Dreadnought Battle-ship which was offered will be substituted a Dreadnought-

Admirals Prince Louis of Battenberg and Sir A. B. Milne, with 11 other admirals, comprise:—

22 Battle-ships and 14 Armoured Cruisers (including 7 of the Dreadnought type); 12 other Cruisers and Scouts; 48 Destroyers; 52 Submarines; 8 Auxiliaries.

In addition, the following—mostly older—vessels are kept in home waters on a peace footing, ready for rapid mobilisation:—

21 Battle-ships; 13 Armoured Cruisers; 49 other Cruisers, Scouts, and Gun-Boats; 75 Destroyers; 36 Coastal Destroyers; 12 Auxiliaries.

Total, 332, comprising the sea-going fleet in home waters on mobilisation.

There are also torpedo craft for the local defence of ports and harbours.

IN FOREIGN WATERS.

In foreign waters the following ships are maintained, all fully manned:—

Cruiser, which will also be stationed in Pacific waters.

The Dominion of Canada is about to found a small Navy of her own, consisting at first only of a few second-class cruisers and destroyers. Canada will take over the dockyards at Esquimaux and Halifax.

In conformity with the arrangement with the Australasian Dominions the existing Eastern Fleet will be reorganised, and will comprise three fleet units, each comprising 1 Dreadnought, 3 Second-class Cruisers, 6 Destroyers, and 3 Submarines, stationed (1) in the East Indies (Royal Navy); (2) in China waters (Royal Navy subventioned by New Zealand); (3) Australian waters (Australian Navy).

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(See also page 67.)

THE ARMIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

ORGANISATION OF ARMIES.

The organisation of armies has become fairly uniform in all civilised states. In the armies of to-day, in peace time, and taking a whole army together, the average proportions are about 150 cavalry men and 6 guns to every 1,000 infantry. In war, however, the infantry absorbs more reserve elements in proportion than the other arms, whose efficiency would be disturbed at the most anxious moment by the influx of fresh horses and unsupplied reservists, and the relative proportions might be roughly 100 cavalrymen and 4 guns per 1,000 infantry.

The higher units of organisation are: the **army corps**, of two or three divisions, with cavalry, artillery, and engineers, fighting strength about 50,000; the **division** (which is the highest unit in the British service) of two or three infantry brigades (12 battalions), the divisional artillery of 50-75 guns, and a few cavalry and engineers, strength, in combatants only, about 16,000; the **cavalry division** of two or three cavalry brigades with horse artillery; and the **brigade** (in the case of infantry 4-6 battalions, and in that of cavalry 6-12 squadrons). In the British service, besides cavalry brigades there are mixed brigades of cavalry, mounted infantry, and horse artillery, called **mounted brigades**. Abroad the artillery is organised in brigades of 12-15 batteries, but the British artillery "brigade" is a small unit of two or three batteries.

In Continental Europe the army corps is also the peace unit of organisation, with one large district permanently assigned to it for quarters, training, and sometimes recruiting. The usual smaller tactical units are the **battalion** (generally 1,000 rifles) of infantry, the **squadron** of cavalry (about 150 sabres), and the **battery** of artillery (4 to 8, usually 6, guns).

Several divisions or army corps in war are grouped as an army; four or five such armies with their own generals, staffs and organisation, would form the whole "field army" of France or Germany.

The command of the armed forces of the nation is always vested in the Sovereign or the President. In Germany it is the rule for the Sovereign to command the field army himself, and as naturally it often happens that the Sovereign is not the ablest soldier in his army, he is provided with a chief of the staff, who practically directs operations, though, of course, the Sovereign has to give the decisive word. In proportion as the commander is capable of directing operations himself the chief of the staff diminishes in importance. William I. of Prussia gave his most fateful orders in strict accordance with the advice of Moltke, while

Napoleon ordered every detail himself, and caused them merely to be registered by his chief of staff, whose first qualification was an extraordinary aptitude for transacting business. The staff or administrative machinery consists of the general staff—charged with matters directly affecting the operations; the personal staff (aides-de-camp), who constitute a general's "military family"; the routine staff, which deals with promotions, pay and pensions, casualties, &c.; and the quartermaster-general's staff, dealing with food, munitions of war, clothing, and so on. Barracks, finance, &c., are entrusted to different branches.

In Germany and Austria the chief of the general staff supervises the general staff work, and is the representative army adviser to the Sovereign, while the other staffs work under the Minister of War. But elsewhere the Minister of War, or sometimes a specially-designated "commander-in-chief," controls the whole under the Sovereign. In France, Great Britain, and elsewhere there is no commander-in-chief, but the Minister of War is the president of a responsible committee of senior generals.

Great Britain.—The forces of the Crown are divided into two classes, (a) **Regular**, (b) **Territorial**. The former Militia has been converted into "special reserves" for the regular army, and the Volunteers and Imperial Yeomanry consolidated as the Territorial Force (1907). All these are voluntarily enlisted.

THE REGULAR ARMY ON THE 1ST OCTOBER, 1908.

	Establishment.	Strength.
REGULAR ARMY:—		
British Establishment	173,516*	171,214
Indian Establishment	76,155	75,919
Staffs, Departments, &c	3,464	3,322
	253,135	250,455
RESERVES:—		
Army Reserve	142,000†	133,919
Special Reserve	80,301‡	71,536
Other Reserves	2,000	1,793
	224,301	207,278

* Not including Indian native troops on Colonial Service.

† Estimated Establishment.

‡ Including Irish Yeomanry (which was not transferred to Territorial Force) and remaining Militiamen.

In addition there were 4,195 officers and men of Indian native troops in Imperial pay in the Colonies and China.

The regimental establishments and strengths for the last ten years are shown in the following table, which includes all ranks, and native troops on Imperial service, &c.

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

	Establishment.	Strength.	+ or -	
Jan., 1900	249,466	301,544	+ 52,078	Extra for South African War.
" 1901	277,866	421,173	+ 143,337	
" 1902	284,429	397,682	+ 113,253	
" 1903	284,378	324,653	+ 40,275	Extra for Somaliland (borrowed Indian troops chiefly).
Oct., 1903	285,925	292,411	+ 6,486	
" 1904	281,429	287,240	+ 5,811	
" 1905	286,036†	272,133	- 13,903	
" 1906	286,141†	263,117	- 5,024	
" 1907	255,288†	248,487	- 6,801	
" 1908	255,221†	251,324*	- 3,897	

* Includes old Militia Permanent Staff transferred to the regimental strength of the Army.

† The Estimates allowed more men than were intended to be raised, as a working margin. The deficits shown are chiefly accounted for under this head.

Recruiting is conducted by a special recruiting staff and by the permanent staff of the non-regular forces.

Enlistments.—Since the Boer War many different terms of enlistment have been tried, but 7 years with the colours and 5 in the reserve has again become the normal for the infantry of the line.

	1905-6.	1906-7.	1907-8.
12 years colours....	1,722	1,561	1,551
9 colours, 3 reserve	17,710	—	—
7 colours, 5 reserve	6,769	25,376	24,856
6 colours, 6 reserve	304	3,176	3,589
3 colours, 9 reserve	7,473	2,057	3,449
Other terms	3,121	3,336	4,442
Re-enlisted after 12 years' service ..	1,266	48	87
Totals	38,365	35,554	37,974

For special reasons men are taken below the standard of height, age, &c. Numbers in 1905-6, 460; 1906-7, 696; 1907-8, 844.

TRADES, &c., OF MEN OFFERING THEMSELVES.

1907-8.	In-spected.	Re-jected.
Unskilled Labour	29,448	8,463
Skilled Labour	14,399	3,997
Occupations classified separately*	14,777	4,582
Professional, Students, &c.	366	77
Boys under 17	2,192	246
Total	61,182	17,365

* Such as carmen, porters, shop assistants, clerks.

The Militia and Special Reserve contributed to the regular army 12,409

recruits in 1905-6; 12,113 in 1906-7; 11,470 in 1907-8; also 603, 646, and 509 to the navy in the same years.

About one-half on joining were under 19, and three-quarters under 23.

ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTIONS (in the United Kingdom), 1907-8.

Recruits offering themselves	77,526
Rejected by recruiting authorities as unfit	27,170
Rejected by approving authorities as unfit	2,723
Failed to appear for examination, deserted before joining, &c.	10,464
Joined their corps	37,169

The difference between these totals and those shown under recruiting is probably accounted for by enlistments elsewhere than in U.K.

REJECTIONS, &c., WITHIN THREE MONTHS AFTER JOINING, 1907-8.

"Bought out"	904
"Not likely to become efficient"	689
Other causes	1,375
Total	2,668

DESERTIONS, 1907-8.

Deserted	2,938
Rejoined or recovered	1,728
Net loss	1,210

LENGTH OF SERVICE: Average about 4½ years

Length of service of men serving 1907-8 (excluding borrowed Indian native and Colonial troops), of 231,551 accounted for:—

	Under 1 yr.	Under 2 yrs.	Under 3 yrs.	Under 4 yrs.	Under 5 yrs.	Under 6 yrs.	Under 7 yrs.	Under 8 yrs.	Under 9 yrs.	Under 10 yrs.	Under 10-15	Over 15 yrs.
All arms....	34,717	29,316	27,282	21,132	14,772	14,485	18,005	20,406	6,818	5,868	21,834	16,816

AGES OF MEN SERVING.

	Under 18	18	19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	Over 39	Total.
At home	3,598	10,890	18,482	42,546	22,254	11,496	7,465	2,083	118,814
India	588	366	537	37,261	25,487	5,969	2,181	333	72,672
Colonies, Egypt, &c..	559	437	2,278	21,239	12,378	4,327	1,833	372	48,923
Total	4,745	11,693	21,297	101,046	60,619	21,792	11,429	2,788	235,409

Thus rather more than half of the home army consists of men of 20-29, and about one-sixth consists of men under 20. Six-sevenths of the army in India consists of men of 20-29 years of age, and three-quarters of the army in the Colonies.

On the whole, then, the present British army is a true short-service force, stiffened in the proportion of nearly one-fourth by men of nine years service and upwards. The terms of enlistment most suitable for the combined needs of home and oversea service have been found empirically, and are therefore likely to be maintained unless the governing conditions are modified.

One of the principal functions of a short-service army is the production of trained reserves. The numbers of the Army Reserve are, of course, much below those produced by a compulsory service system. But the average length of service for the British soldier is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ years, as against the Continental two or three, and one-quarter of the army has more than 9 years'

colour service. In these circumstances the strength of the reserves is satisfactory, especially as the Regular army at home is principally an expeditionary force for operations in distant lands, a form of warfare for which universal service armies are unavailable, and great numerical strength, generally, neither necessary nor desirable.

For any such vital quarrel as would call forth the full reserve strength of a Continental power, the Special Reserves and the Territorials, not to mention volunteers "for the war," equally come into the reckoning.

The Army Reserve is composed of men who have served with the colours and remain liable to be called out up to the expiry of the twelfth year from the date of their original enlistment.

Section D is composed of men who have completed their 12 years and re-engage for a further four years Reserve service. Section A is a part of the general Reserve, which undertakes to rejoin on emergencies not grave enough to justify a general mobilisation. Section B is the ordinary Reserve.

STRENGTH OF THE ARMY RESERVES (OCTOBER 1ST, 1908).

	Section A.	B.	D.	Total.
Cavalry	—	7,709	1,122	8,831
Infantry	4,016	73,459	13,154	90,629
Royal Horse and Field Artillery	626	11,188	1,167	12,981
Royal Garrison Artillery	—	7,612	1,115	8,727
Royal Engineers	415	3,888	401	4,704
Other Corps	453	7,135	489	8,077
	5,510	110,991	17,448	133,949

Ages of Reservists: 97,516 under 30; 32,305 under 35; 3,974 under 40; 154 over 40.

Owing chiefly to better sanitation the health of the Army in India is improving year by year.

	Per thousand.		
	1901-5.	1906.	1907.
Admissions to hospital	983.4	871.0	756.4
Deaths	12.07	10.43	8.18

South Africa is the healthiest station (admissions 398.4 per 1,000, deaths 4.07); next comes the United Kingdom, with 438.0 admissions and 3.14 deaths; the Mediterranean stations come third, with 523.0 and 4.29; the remainder are considerably more unhealthy. (Figures for 1907 from Army Medical Report.)

Employment of ex-Soldiers (1908).—Of 23,974 men discharged with "exemplary," "very good," and "good" characters, work was found by the War Office, the employment registers in the regimental districts, regimental associations, and societies (National Association for the Employment of Reserve and Discharged Soldiers, Soldiers and Sailors' Help Society, Army and Navy Pensioners' Employment Society), for 11,597 men. 9,383 others themselves obtained employment. The total number of ex-soldiers in police employment was 5,263, and in railway service 20,289. The duties of the War Office in this

Command and Officers.—The Army is controlled by the Army Council at the War Office, of which the Secretary of State for War is the head. Great Britain is divided into large "commands" and subdivided into "districts" for immediate command of troops.

The officers are recruited from the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; the Royal Military College, Sandhurst; from junior officers of the Special Reserve and Territorial Force, and University candidates. For the provision of large reserves of officers the **Officers' Training Corps** was formed in 1907, the University and School Volunteer and Cadet Corps being merged in it.

Punishments, &c., 1908.—Percentage of courts-martial held to average strength of the Army 31. Percentage of men fined for drunkenness (second and subsequent acts) 24,357, or 6.8 per cent.

Good Conduct Badges.—Men with one badge 52,519, with two 38,220, with three or more 8,584; percentage of men with badges to total strength 49.3. 3,535 good conduct medals (18 years' service with irreproachable character).

Health of the Army, 1908.—Deaths 1,141, or 4.9 per 1,000 of strength; invalided 2,455, or 10.4 per 1,000.

connection are to be taken over by the Territorial Force County Associations.

The **Special Reserve** of all combatant arms was formed from the Militia in January, 1908. Its function is to supply partially-trained drafts to the Regular Army in war. At present there is no intention of using special reserve battalions as units even in home defence, though it is urged with great force that to persist in this deprives us in a sudden mobilisation of about 100 battalions. The War Office, however, holds that these battalions are pure reservoirs, and does not allow ex-soldiers (who would be invaluable in a self-contained battalion) to join them on the expiry of their reserve service.

Apart from the Irish Horse (formerly Yeomanry), the Special Reserve is recruited on the following terms: Six years' liability; six months' initial training, and 15 days' annual training (with, in the infantry, six days' musketry as well); re-engagements for periods of four years allowed up to the age of 40; liability to foreign service in case of war. The establishment and strength (including Irish Horse), as already stated were respectively, 80,301 and 71,536 on the 1st October, 1908, but the new reserve is confronted with serious difficulties of various kinds, the most important of which perhaps is that of the officers.

All these forces are available for general service in peace or on mobilisation. Their regimental organisation is as follows: **Cavalry**, 3 regiments Household Cavalry, 7 Dragoon Guards, 3 Dragoons, 6 Lancers, 12 Hussars; **Royal Artillery**, 28 batteries of Royal Horse Artillery, 150 of Royal Field Artillery, 108 units Royal Garrison Artillery; **Royal Engineers**, 86 units; **Infantry**, Foot Guards, 3 regiments, Line, 69 regiments; **Army Service Corps**, 75 units; **Royal Army Medical Corps**, 34 units; **Army Ordnance Corps**, 23 units; &c. In addition there are various Colonial corps and (borrowed) Indian native regiments.

The strength of these by arms is as follows (1908):—

H'hold Cavalry	Line Cavalry	R.H. & R.F.A.	R.G.A.	R. E.	Foot Guards.	Line Infantry.
1,312	19,551	29,204	18,972	9,330	7,609	142,410
A.S. Corps.	R.A.M. Corps.	A.O. Corps.	A.V. Corps.	C. & I. Troops.	Total.	
6,858	5,098	2,594	872	8,014	251,324	

The British Army is essentially an overseas force, as we have said. The size of the home portion of it is chiefly regulated by the numbers of reinforcing drafts required to maintain the Indian and Colonial garrisons. The distribution in normal peace-time conditions is shown below (October 1st, 1908):—

92,835	in England and Wales . . .	125,286
4,487	„ Scotland	
26,096	„ Ireland	
1,868	„ Channel Islands	

75,919	in India	75,919
4,211	at Gibraltar	18,089
7,350	„ Malta	
5,985	in Egypt and Cyprus	
543	„ Crete	9,991
1,198*	„ Ceylon	
2,217**	„ Straits Settlements	
6,516†	„ North and South China	11,161
14,161	„ South Africa	
2,517‡	„ West Africa	
1,093§	„ Mauritius	3,610
1,230	„ Bermuda	2,452
1,172	„ Jamaica	
	On passage, &c.	1,816
		251,324

Incl. *779 **873 †2,848 ‡2,261 §127 ||100 Native or Colonial troops.

The troops at home are, however, far from being a mere reservoir. They are now fully organised as a field army of 6 divisions, 1 cavalry division, 2 mounted brigades, &c., with the following effective:—

Battalions.	Squadrons.	Companies Mounted Infantry.	Batteries.
74	44	36	84
Total Effective.	Guns (not including machine g'ns)	Other Vehicles.	Horses and Mules.
135,430	492	7,561	60,769

The peace establishment (British) of horses and mules is 30,515.

The lines of communication would require about 20,000 further troops, and a great number of horses and vehicles, though the latter would be requisitioned locally for the most part.

This "striking force" is small compared to the great first line armies of France and Germany, but it is as well equipped, and perhaps better trained, while it enjoys the great advantage of including no pressed men. Its marching powers were subjected, in the manoeuvres of 1909, to a test as severe as that of active service, and it emerged with the greatest possible credit from the trial. It is indeed conceivable that this, the only well-tempered professional army in Europe, would turn the scale in some future "battle of the nations." Further, as we have already said, the same need that would enlist the second reserves of the Continent would also bring into line the Territorial Force.

Territorial Force.—This was created in 1907-8 from the personnel of the former Volunteer Force, and is recruited in much the same way, from men who devote the time they can spare from their civil occupations to soldiering. This applies to the officers and men alike. Its establishment and strength on the 1st July, 1909, were as follows:—

	Establishment.		Strength.		Wanting to Complete	
	Officers.	N.C.O.'s & Men.	Officers.	N.C.O.'s & Men.	Officers.	N.C.O.'s & Men.
Cavalry (Yeomanry)	1,345	24,864	1,173	24,220	172	644
Royal Horse and Field Artillery	1,211	83,000	983	28,778	229	4,231
Royal Garrison Artillery	466	11,808	386	8,872	80	2,936
Royal Engineers	590	14,848	522	12,753	68	2,095
Infantry	5,069	191,966	5,013	187,114	556	27,852
Army Service Corps	322	8,619	276	7,401	46	1,213
Royal Army Medical Corps	1,468	18,919	1,067	11,588	401	2,381
Army Veterinary Corps	196	14	86	—	110	14
Total	11,267	302,047	9,505*	260,676	1,762	41,371

* Not including officers on the unattached list and others who would be available on mobilisation.

524 officers and 98,335 men were under 20 years of age at that date.

The term of service is 4 years (re-engagements allowed), with training liabilities amounting to a minimum of 10-20 (average 25-40) drills and a minimum of 7 days (14 allowable) in camp every year. The Force is organised as a self-contained army, in 14 divisions and 14 mounted brigades, and by units, into 56 regiments of yeomanry, 14 horse batteries, 56 brigades field and mountain artillery, 14 batteries heavy artillery, 192 battalions of infantry, 10 battalions cyclists, &c. At present there is no reserve, the peace and war strength being identical.

In the summer of 1909, however, steps were taken to begin the formation of a Territorial Reserve, the strength of which is to be about 80,000.

The new force has had many anxieties, some tangible encouragement, and a good deal of indiscriminating praise. Recruiting has, of course, been the principal difficulty, owing to the reluctance of many employers to let their men go to camp, to the counter-attraction of sport of all kinds, &c. Many of the methods used to obtain men can only be excused by the urgency of the occasion, and the general feeling that this was the last trial of the voluntary system. From a technical point of view, the most interesting and the most criticised ex-

periment was the wholesale creation of horse and field artillery. But the verdict of competent authorities, amongst them General Langlois, the creator of the magnificent French field artillery of to-day, was that these batteries would in time be a respectable, if now a rudimentary, force.

A special feature of the force is its peace-time administration by "County Associations," local committees, half military, half civil, which are supplied with the necessary funds, and, under the general supervision of the War Office, provide for the routine needs of the various services.

The Isle of Man local troops are still serving under the Volunteer Act. The Channel Islands Militia is a compulsory service force.

The *Army Estimates for 1909-10* indicated the following changes—decrease in the South African garrison, increase in the payment made by India for the upkeep of the British forces there, a slight reduction of 1,800 men on the establishment (obtained principally by the abolition of certain depôts at home), the re-conversion into fighting units of various field batteries told off for training the special reservists of that arm (these latter are to be diminished to 6,000), and a proposed horse census.

The *military expenditure for the British and Colonial establishments* provided for in the last two years is as follows:—

	1908-9.	1909-10.	+ or -
Number of men allowed for	185,000	183,200	- 1,800
EFFECTIVE SERVICES:—			
Pay, &c., of the Army	£ 9,422,000	\$ 8,527,000	- 895,000
Pay, &c., of the Medical Establishment	451,000	440,000	- 11,000
Special Reserve	840,000	897,000	+ 57,000
Territorial Force	2,005,000	2,307,000	+ 302,000
Educational Establishments	142,000	146,000	+ 4,000
Quartering, Transport, Remounts	1,833,000	1,665,000	- 174,000
Supplies, Clothing	5,912,000	4,275,000	+ 363,000
Ordnance, etc.	498,000	535,000	+ 37,000
Armament and Engineer Stores	1,490,000	1,644,000	+ 154,000
Works and Buildings	2,515,000	2,551,000	+ 36,000
Miscellaneous	653,000	660,000	+ 7,000
Total	23,767,000	23,647,000	- 120,000
NON-EFFECTIVE SERVICES:—			
Pensions, Gratuities, &c.	3,692,000	3,788,000	+ 96,000
Grand Total	£27,459,000	\$27,435,000	- £24,000

Indian appropriation in aid. 1909-10. Net £1,780,323.

The Indian Army, administered, under the Viceroy, solely (since the abolition of the Military Supply Department in 1909), by the Commander-in-Chief. It is organised into a Northern Army and a Southern Army (head-quarters, Rawal Pindi and Poona respectively). The Northern Army consists of five divisions (in all 16 infantry and three cavalry brigades), and three independent brigades on the north-western frontier; the Southern Army of five divisions (16 infantry and two cavalry brigades), and one independent brigade. One of the divisions is stationed in Burma and the independent brigade at Aden. Ceylon is not included. 4 of the 9 divisions in India and 3 independent brigades are stationed in the north-western section of India, a strategic distribution carried into effect by Lord Kitchener in 1907. These two Armies are composed of British and Native troops, in a proportion, roughly, of 1 British to 2 native soldiers. This was decided upon after the great Mutiny of 1857, since which date also

the native army has had no horse or field artillery. The Native Army is commanded by British, assisted by native officers, a cavalry or infantry regiment having normally 13 British and 18 native officers. The latter are, as a rule, veteran soldiers who have risen from the ranks.

The Army consists of

	British.	Native.
Cavalry regiments	9	39½
Infantry battalions	52	138*
Horse and field batteries ..	58	—
Mountain batteries	9	13
Heavy batteries	6	—
Royal Garrison Artillery Companies	23	1†
Royal Engineers' Companies	1	—
Sappers' and Miners' Companies	—	32

* Four of these employed on Imperial service out of India.

† N.W. Frontier garrison artillery.

Its numerical strength can be roughly tabulated thus:

	Northern Army.	Southern Army.	Total.
British Troops	42,000	84,000	76,000
British Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army	1,500	1,500	3,000
Native Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men (not including followers and certain non-combatants)	85,000	77,000	162,000
Total	128,500	112,500	241,000

In addition, there are about 32,000 volunteers (Europeans and Eurasians, chiefly employés of the railways), 34,000 reservists of the Native Army (this is a recent innovation, the generality of this army being a long-service force of professional soldiers), 20,000 Imperial Service Troops (organised and disciplined contingents belonging to the Native Princes and held at the Government's disposal by them), Frontier Militia, and some local levies. The non-combatant services are not included in the above. The local armies of the native states are numerically strong, but, with a few exceptions, ill organised and trained, and armed with inferior weapons.

Enlistment: Voluntary.—The term of service in the native army is 3 years, but it is usually extended (maximum 32 years). The army is a lifetime's career, and the soldier's home is the regiment. In most of the cavalry regiments the soldier provides his own horse (Silladar system). Races and tribes that have lost their fighting value have been systematically weeded out; thus the Madras regiments have come to consist in the main of Gurkhas, Punjabis, &c. The regimental organisation of the army is based largely upon religious and almost as much upon tribal and linguistic distinctions. A "class" regiment (of which there are 50) consists entirely of men of one religion or race. In a "class squadron" or "class company" regiment (120), each squadron or company is similarly homogeneous. There are few "mixed" units.

The cost of the British and Native Army in India, with all establishments, &c., belonging to them, is given by "Whitaker's Almanack," 1908, as, £21,059,000 for 1906-6, £21,586,000 for 1906-7, and £20,520,000 for 1907-8.

Dominions and Colonies.—Questions of Imperial defence will, in a few years, receive a definitive settlement, owing partly to the increasing interest taken by the Dominions in their local forces, and partly to the influence of the newly-created Imperial General Staff, the duty of which will be to correlate all measures of common offence and defence. The present time is, therefore, almost everywhere one of transition.

The Dominion of Canada has a complete military organisation on a large scale. Enlistment is voluntary, ultimate liability universal. The Permanent force numbered in 1907 2,737, the Active Militia 47,500, with reserves of ex-militiamen, rifle-club members, and cadet corps. Canada has its own Military College (Kingston), and its own Arsenal at Quebec.

In the various components of the new South Africa, the effectives and terms of service are very different. In the Transvaal the volunteers numbered 7,000, the cadets 2,000. In Cape Colony there are 611 permanent (Cape Mounted Rifles), and 5,000 volunteers, as well as rifle clubs and cadets. In Natal, which has a compulsory service system, in which, however, the ballot is only employed when volunteers are not forthcoming, the militia is about 3,000 strong, added to which there are police, rifle-club members, and cadets. Total

volunteers, or militia, more or less organised, about 15,000.

The Commonwealth of Australia, pending the introduction of a mild form of compulsory service, maintains a small permanent force, 1,328, a partially-paid militia 15,000, and an unpaid volunteer force of 5,000, besides rifle clubs and cadet corps. Total actually trained about 22,000. The new scheme, which will in all probability become law, would ultimately give an active reserve strength of 200,000.

New Zealand has a volunteer force and a universal service law. Strength of the volunteers 1908, 13,000. There are, further, rifle clubs and cadet corps.

Other local forces—besides Channel

Islands Militia (5,500), and the Bermuda Volunteers (300), maintained out of War Office funds—are the Ceylon Volunteers (2,333), Gold Coast Volunteers (1,000), &c.

TOTAL FORCES OF THE LARGER COLONIES.

	Permanent.	Organised Militia or Volunteers.
Canada	2,737	47,500
Australia	1,328	22,000
South Africa	611	15,000
New Zealand	—	13,000
Total	4,676	97,500

COMPARATIVE STRENGTHS OF EUROPEAN ARMIES.*

	Peace Establishments.	War Establishments, 1st line.	War Establishments, 2nd line.	War Establishments, 3rd line.	Remarks.
GREAT BRITAIN:—					
Home Army	130,000	160,000	180,000	—	(a) Includes 80,000 proposed Terr. Reserve.
Special Reserve	80,000	—		—	
Territorial Force	300,000	—	380,000 ^a	—	
COLONIES:—					
White Troops (b)	138,000 ^b	45,000 ^b	93,000	—	(b) Incl. Regular Forces (41,000) stationed therein.
(Regular and Volunteer and Militia)					
Other Troops (c)	13,000	13,000	—	—	(c) Imperial & Local.
INDIA:—					
White Troops	76,000	76,000	32,000 ^c	—	(e) Volunteers.
Native Troops	165,000	219,000 ^d	—	—	(d) Incl. Imp. Service Troops and Reserves, but not Feudatory armies or local levies.
Total British Empire ..	902,000	513,000	685,000	—	
France.....					
"Metropolitan" Army	611,000	1,350,000 ^d	1,000,000	2,000,000	(d) Including Colonial Expeditionary Force in France.
Colonies	61,000	61,000	—	—	
Germany.....	615,000	1,350,000	1,380,000	1,300,000*	*Practically includes only trained men. Liability covers about 3,000,000 more.
Austria	350,000*	607,000*	460,000	2,300,000†	*Combatants only.
Italy	240,000*	750,000†	320,900	2,300,000†	†Average of monthly strengths.
					†Minimum; increasing.
					‡Half untrained.
Russia:—					
In Europe	1,000,000	2,000,000	560,000	700,000	Potential strength, 3rd line, unknown.
In Asia	254,000	390,000			

* Excluding expenditure on armament, fortifications, &c., the cost of the individual soldier on the peace-time rolls in 1901 was given by the *Russkije Invalidi* (1905) as: Germany, £46; Italy, £45; France, £39. 15s.; Austria-Hungary, £38. 6s. (since increased); Russia, £28 17s. (since increased to £32). By adding votes 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, part of vote 8 and vote 11 of the British Army estimates for 1909-10 and dividing the total by the number of men on the establishment provided for, we obtain a similar figure for Great Britain, £92. 6s.

USEFUL BOOKS.

Annual Report of the British Army. (Wyman.) 6d.

Annual Return of the Territorial Force for 1903. (Cd. 4496.) (Wyman.) 5½d.

Army Estimates for 1909-10, Memorandum of Secretary of State for War relating to. (Cd. 4495.) (Wyman.) 1d.

Army List, Monthly. (Wyman.) 1s. 6d.

Baker, H. The Territorial Force (Introduction by Mr. Haldane.) (Murray.) 5s. net.

Clausewitz On War (Translated). Egan Paul.

Haldane, R. B. Army Reform and Other Addresses. (Fisher Unwin.) 7s. 6d. net.

Report of "Lord Esher's Committee." (4 parts.) (Wyman.) 1s. 2d. net.

Report of the Royal Commission on Militia and Volunteers. (Cd. 2061.) (Wyman.) 9d. net.

Report of the "War Commission." (Cd. 1789.) (Wyman.) 2s. 7d. net.

Return of the Territorial Force on July 1st, 1909. (Wyman.) 1d.

Statement relating to Militia and Special Reserve, 1908. (Wyman.) 1d.

Territorial Year Book (Hodder & Stoughton.) 1s.

SECTION IV.—PARLIAMENT AND POLITICS.

THE GOVERNMENT.

I.—THE LIBERAL CABINET AND ITS UNIONIST PREDECESSOR.

Office.	Salary.	Present Holder.	Holders of Office under Mr. Balfour, July, 1902—December, 1905.
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury.	£ 5,000	Herbert Henry Asquith (1)	Arthur James Balfour
Chancellor of the Exchequer.	5,000	David Lloyd George (2) ..	{ Charles Thomson Ritchie Joseph Austen Chamberlain
Lord High Chancellor....	10,000	Lord Loreburn (Robert Threshie Reid)	Earl of Halsbury
Lord Privy Seal.....	2,000 (3)	Earl of Crewe (4) (Robert O. A. Crewe-Milnes)	{ Arthur James Balfour Marquess of Salisbury
Lord President of the Council.	2,000	Viscount Wolverhampton (Henry Hartley Fowler) (5)	{ The late Duke of Devonshire Marquess of Londonderry
PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE :—			
Home Department	5,000	Herbert John Gladstone	Aretas Akers-Douglas
Foreign "	5,000	Sir Edward Grey, Bart.	Marquess of Lansdowne
Colonial "	5,000	Earl of Crewe (6)	{ Joseph Chamberlain Alfred Lyttelton W. St. J. Brodrick (Viscount Midleton)
War "	5,000	Richard Burdon Haldane	{ The late H. O. Arnold-Forster
Indian "	5,000	Viscount Morley of Blackburn (John Morley)	{ Lord George Hamilton Viscount Midleton
First Lord of the Admiralty	4,500	Reginald McKenna (7) ..	{ Earl of Selborne Earl Cawdor
Secretary for Scotland....	2,000	Lord Pentland..... (John Sinclair)	{ Lord Balfour of Burleigh Andrew Graham Murray (Lord Dunedin)
Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.	4,425	Augustine Birrell (8)....	{ Marquess of Linlithgow George Wyndham Walter Hume Long
Postmaster-General	2,500	Sydney Buxton	{ J. Austen Chamberlain Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby)
President of the Board of Trade.	2,000 (13)	Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (9)	{ Gerald W. Balfour Marquess of Salisbury
President of the Local Government Board.	2,000 (13)	John Burns	{ Walter H. Long Gerald W. Balfour
President of the Board of Education.	2,000	Walter Runciman (10) ..	Marquess of Londonderry
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.	2,000	Herbert Louis Samuel (11)	Sir William H. Walrond (Lord Waleran)
First Commissioner of Works.	2,000	Lewis Vernon Harcourt (12) ..	{ Lord Windsor (Earl of Plymouth)
President of the Board of Agriculture.	2,000	Earl Carrington (Charles R. Wynn-Carrington)	{ The late Robert W. Hanbury Earl of Onslow Hon. Ailwyn Fellowes

1. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman held these offices from the formation of the Government until April, 1908, when he was succeeded by Mr. Asquith.

2. Mr. Lloyd-George left the Board of Trade and succeeded Mr. Asquith as Chancellor of the Exchequer in April, 1908.

3. Lord Crewe does not take the salary of this office as he receives £5,000 a year as Colonial Secretary.

4. The late Marquess of Ripon filled this office from the formation of the Government until October, 1908, when it passed to Lord Crewe.

5. The Earl of Crewe held this office from the formation of the Government to April, 1908, when he was succeeded by the late Lord Tweedmouth; in September, 1908, Lord Tweedmouth resigned and was succeeded by Lord Wolverhampton, previously Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

6. Lord Elgin, who was Colonial Secretary under Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, left office in April, 1908, and was succeeded by Lord Crewe.

7. Mr. McKenna, previously Minister for Education, succeeded the late Lord Tweedmouth in this office in April, 1908.

8. Mr. Birrell left the Education Office and became Irish Secretary in January, 1907, in succession to Mr. James Bryce, who was appointed British Ambassador at Washington.

9. Mr. Churchill, previously Under-Secretary for the Colonies, succeeded Mr. Lloyd-George in this office in April, 1908.
 10. Mr. Birrell was President of the Board of Education from December, 1905, to January, 1907, when he was succeeded by Mr. McKenna, previously Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Mr. McKenna was transferred from the Education Office to the Admiralty in April, 1908, being succeeded in the former post by Mr. Runciman, who had previously succeeded him at the Treasury.

11. Sir Henry Fowler (Lord Wolverhampton) held this office from December, 1905, to October, 1908, when he became Lord President of the Council. Lord Fitzmaurice of Leigh (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was then Chancellor until July, 1909, when he was succeeded by Mr. Samuel, previously Under-Secretary for Home Affairs.

12. Mr. Harcourt was appointed First Commissioner in December, 1905, but he did not become a member of the Cabinet until April, 1907.

13. Future holders of this office will enjoy a salary of £5,000 a year.

It will thus be seen that the present Cabinet consists of 19 members. Mr. Balfour's Cabinet consisted of 18. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the First Commissioner for Works were not included in it, but on the other hand the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who is not a member of the present Cabinet, was.

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OUTSIDE THE CABINET.

Office.	Salary.	Holder.
	£	
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	2,000	Charles Edward Henry Hobhouse
Patronage Secretary to the Treasury	2,000	Joseph Albert Pease
Junior Lords of the Treasury	1,000	Cecil William Norton
	1,000	John Henry Whitley
	1,000	John William Gulland
	Unpaid	Oswald Parlington
UNDER SECRETARIES:—		
Home Department	1,500	Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman
Foreign "	1,500	Thomas McKinnon Wood
Colonial "	1,500	John Edward Bernard Seely
War "	1,500	Lord Lucas (Auberon Thomas Herbert)
Indian "	1,500	Master of Ellbank (Hon. A. W. C. O. Murray)
Financial Secretary to the War Office ..	1,500	Francis Dyke Acland
Financial Secretary to the Admiralty ..	2,000	Thomas James Macnamara
Civil Lord of the Admiralty	1,000	George Lambert
PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES TO THE		
Board of Trade	1,200	Harold John Tennant
Local Government Board	1,200	John Herbert Lewis
Board of Education	1,200	Charles Philip Trevelyan
Paymaster-General	Unpaid	Richard Knight Causton
Attorney-General	7,000	Sir William Snowdon Robson, K.C.
	and fees	
Solicitor-General	6,000	Sir Samuel Thomas Evans, K.C.
	and fees	
SCOTLAND:—		
Lord Advocate	5,000	Alexander Ure, K.C.
Solicitor-General	2,000	Arthur Dewar, K.C.
IRELAND:—		
Lord-Lieutenant	20,000	Earl of Aberdeen
Lord Chancellor	8,000	Sir Samuel Walker, Bart.
Attorney-General	5,000	Richard Robert Cherry
Solicitor-General	2,000	Redmond Barry
Vice-President of the Board of Agriculture	1,350	Thomas William Russell

THE FOLLOWING OFFICIALS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Office.	Salary.	Holder.
	£	
Lord Chamberlain	2,000	Viscount Althorp (Charles Robert Spencer)
Lord Steward	2,000	Earl Beauchamp
Master of the House	2,500	Earl of Granard
Treasurer of the Household	700	Sir Edward Strachey, Bart.
Comptroller of the Household	700	Earl of Liverpool
Vice-Chamberlain	700	John Michael Fleetwood Fuller

Bills have recently been introduced for providing the Government with two additional members. These are a Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture and an Assistant Postmaster-General.

LEADERS AND WHIPS.

The Prime Minister is ipso facto the leader of the House in which he sits. If he is a member of the Upper House, the First Lord of the Treasury usually acts as leader of the Lower House. At the present time the head of the Government in the House of Lords is Lord Crewe, who succeeded the Marquess of Ripon in that capacity in April, 1903.

The business of the House of Commons is arranged, after consultation with the Prime Minister and his colleagues, by the Chief Government Whip, officially known as the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury. This official, now Mr. J. A. Pease, is assisted by other Whips, usually six in number. They are the four junior lords of the Treasury, the Treasurer of the Household, and the Vice-Chamberlain, who, according to custom, act as Government Whips. The Chief Whip has also to arrange for the attendance of a sufficient number of members of his own party to prevent the Government from suffering defeat, and with one of his colleagues he acts as "teller" when a division takes place. There are also Whips in the House of Lords, and the Opposition have a Chief Whip, who also is assisted by subordinates, but his duties are naturally not so onerous.

Both Chief Whips are also the heads of their respective party organisations, and the Chief Whip's office is the recognised centre of the party organisation.

POLITICAL PENSIONS.

These are regulated by an Act of 1869 and fall into two main classes: (1) A person who has held an office worth £5,000 a year for not less than four years is entitled to a pension of £2,000 a year; (2) a person who has held an office worth not less than £2,000 a year, but less than £5,000 a year, for six years is entitled to draw one of £1,200 a year. Thus all who have held Cabinet appointments for these periods fall into one class or the other. The First Lord of the Admiralty, although his salary is £4,500 a year, is specially included in Class I., and the Lord High Chancellor is entitled to a sum of £5,000 a year, after leaving office; he receives this for discharging the duties of a lord of appeal in the House of Lords. There is, however, an important restriction on the number of these pensions. The Act says "no pension under this Act shall be granted

in any class while four pensions of that class are subsisting; nor shall more than one pension under this Act be granted in the same year."

At present there are 2 first-class and 3 second-class pensions in existence. They are drawn by:—

	Amount.	Pension granted.
	£	
Viscount Cross....	2,000	Jan. 1st, 1887
Lord George Hamilton*	2,000	April 12th, 1903
Mr. Henry Chaplin, M.P.	1,200	Nov. 26th, 1900
Lord Balfour of Burleigh	1,200	Oct. 26th, 1903
Mr. Gerald W. Balfour	1,200	Dec. 11th, 1903

* Lord George Hamilton did not, of course, draw this pension during the years (1895-1903) when he was a member of the Unionist Cabinet.

THE GOVERNMENT RECORD.

The Liberal Party, then led by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, took office in December, 1905, and at the beginning of the following year, parliament having been dissolved, a general election took place, when Sir Henry and his colleagues obtained in the most decisive fashion a vote of confidence from the country. 380 of their supporters were returned to the House of Commons, and thus not only had they an overwhelming majority over the 156 Unionists, but a clear majority in the unlikely event of all other parties combining against them.

FIRST SESSION, 1906.

The principal measures passed by the Government during its first year of office were as follows:—

Trade Disputes Bill.—This Act gave protection to the funds of the Trade Unions, which had been in jeopardy since the decision of the judges in the famous Taff Vale case. It allowed a reasonable liberty to the Unions in the question of picketing, and after some minor differences of opinion between the

Government, or a section thereof, and the Labour Party, who, in this matter, had the hearty support of a large number of unofficial Liberals, had been removed, the bill was sullenly accepted by the House of Lords and became law.

Workmen's Compensation Act.—This repealed the Compensation Acts of 1897 and 1900, and, based upon the general principle that all workers, unless expressly excluded, are included in its provisions, it is estimated that it brought something like six million persons, hitherto outside, within the scope of the Act. The largest class which, for the first time, received compensation in case of accident was the domestic servant class.

Agricultural Holdings Act.—This measure introduced originally by a private member, the Hon. T. C. Agar-Robartes, as the Land Tenure Act, was taken over by the Government, under whose auspices it became law. It provided that tenants should receive compensation for repairs carried out by them and also in cases when they were

disturbed in their tenancy without adequate cause. It arranged for simpler methods of arbitration in cases of dispute between landlord and tenant and in general was a measure giving just and reasonable security to the cultivators of land.

Education (Provision of Meals) Act.—This was introduced by Mr. W. T. Wilson on behalf of the Labour Party, being at a later stage accepted by the Government. It provides that Local Authorities may in certain eventualities provide food for children attending school, and may spend the proceeds of a halfpenny rate thereon, subject, of course, to the consent of the Board of Education. The House of Lords removed Scotland from the scope of the Act, which then became law.

Merchant Shipping Act.—This compels foreign ships trading to British ports to conform to our regulations with regard to seaworthiness and other important matters. It conferred marked benefits on sailors, especially in matters of food and illness.

Minor bills passed during the Session were: One for abolishing the property qualification hitherto necessary to enable a man to become a justice of the peace for a county; another, the result of a long agitation, establishing a Public Trustee, who at a reasonable rate of payment, is able to give the security of the State to many who would otherwise be at the mercy of a fraudulent or negligent executor or trustee; and another intended to put a stop to bribery and secret commissions in commercial life.

Two important measures failed to become law.—The Education Bill, introduced by Mr. Birrell, did not satisfy a certain section of Radical opinion, but it was generally recognised as a fair and statesmanlike attempt to solve a difficult problem. It failed, however, to win the approval of the House of Lords. Whatever were the differences of opinion among Progressives about the Education Bill there were none whatever about the Plural Voting Bill introduced by Mr. Harcourt, but this, too, was rejected by the Peers.

SECOND SESSION, 1907.

This Session was briefer than the previous one, and did not attract such an exceptional amount of public interest, but it saw a number of very useful measures passed into law. The chief of these were:—

Small Holdings and Allotments Act.—This enables County Councils to acquire, under compulsion if necessary, land for small holdings, and in cases where a council is unwilling to act the Board of Agriculture can carry the matter through.

Patents and Designs Act.—This consolidated and amended the whole of the law relating to patents. Perhaps its most valuable provision is one compelling the foreign holders of British patents to work them in this country, and providing a method for revoking

them if they are not worked within a reasonable time. The details of the Act are, as may be expected, highly technical, but in the opinion of men of all parties and of no party it confers a distinct benefit on British commerce.

Territorial and Reserve Forces Act.—This measure was an important step in the scheme of Army Reform initiated by Mr. Haldane, which, after long years of muddle at the War Office, is providing the nation with an efficient army, its success being generally recognised as a blow at the agitation for conscription.

Criminal Appeal Act.—This established a court of criminal appeal, and provided assistance for those unable to pay for legal advice.

During this session the Bill legalising Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister passed into law, and another measure enables a woman to act as mayor, councillor, alderman, or chairman of a council.

The House of Lords was less destructive perhaps in 1907 than in 1906, but our hereditary legislators threw out two Bills relating to Scotland. One of these provided for a valuation of land preliminary to a readjustment of local taxation, and the other would have established a system of small agricultural holdings. A Bill setting up an Irish Council, a measure of devolution, was introduced into the House of Commons, but this failed to meet the views of the Irish Party, and it was withdrawn, as its successful working depended upon the loyal co-operation of the majority of the Irish people.

THIRD SESSION, 1908.

During the earlier part of this session Mr. Asquith succeeded Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister. The changes in the Cabinet necessitated by Sir Henry's retirement were very few, as all its members, except the Earl of Elgin, took office under the new Premier.

The chief measures passed during 1908 were:—

Old Age Pension Act.—This measure, promised for years by both parties alike, provides persons over 70 years of age with pensions of 5s. a week, subject to certain limitations for those already in possession of means.

Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Bill.—The object of this measure is sufficiently indicated by its title. The agitation for an Act of the kind had been going on for many years, and the action of the Liberal Government in passing it through Parliament undoubtedly prevented serious trouble in an important industry, and was, moreover, an act of justice and humanity to a large body of men working under difficult and dangerous conditions. The House of Lords passed the Act by 121 votes to 44. It may be noticed here that the predictions so freely made that the passing of the Bill would seriously increase the price of coal have been completely falsified.

Irish Universities Bill.—This dissolved the Royal University of Ireland, an examining body only, and established in its stead two universities, one in Dublin and the other in Belfast. The one in Dublin is intended especially to satisfy the demand of the Roman Catholics for some university education. The successful passage of this measure, which was welcomed by Mr. Balfour, was regarded as a personal triumph for Mr. Birrell.

Other measures of the session were the important **Children Act**; a Bill providing for the establishment of a single authority for the **Port of London**, described elsewhere; and another giving greater freedom to **Friendly Societies**.

The chief measure rejected by the House of Lords during 1908 was the **Licensing Bill**, upon which a great deal of time and care was spent in the House of Commons. A second Bill, to provide for a valuation of land in Scotland, was so seriously altered by the Peers that it was officially withdrawn, and a new **Small Landowners' Bill** for Scotland was rejected outright by the same body. A new **Education Bill**, another attempt to settle this

question, was introduced by Mr. Runciman, but it was strenuously opposed, although it passed its Second Reading by a majority of 166. Negotiations took place between representatives of the Church of England and of the Non-conformists with a view to accommodating the differences between them, but these were of no avail, and on the 7th of December Mr. Asquith announced the withdrawal of the Bill. The **Housing and Town Planning Bill** and the **Irish Land Bill** were introduced into the House of Commons, but as there was little time for their consideration, both were withdrawn on the understanding that they would be introduced next session.

Parliament was prorogued on the 20th of December, 1908. The King's Speech on this occasion dealt with our relations with foreign powers, the unrest in India, and the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada. It referred in some slight detail to the principal measures passed into law, and regretted that with regard to licensing and national education "notwithstanding the time and labour which have been given to their consideration, no settlement has been attained."

REVIEW OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION, 1909.

As was forecasted in speeches made by the Prime Minister and his colleagues the chief interest of this parliamentary session centred in finance, and the greater part of its time was devoted to the consideration of Mr. Lloyd-George's momentous Budget.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

Parliament was opened by **Feb. 16th.** the King on the 16th of February. The speech from the throne referred to the recent visit of the King and Queen to Berlin, to negotiations with the United States concerning the waterways near the Canadian boundary and the vexed question of the fishing rights in North America, to the serious state of affairs in Persia, and very briefly to the Balkans. Mention was also made of the recent earthquake in Sicily and Calabria, of a desire to benefit further the people of India, and of the proposed union of the South African Colonies.

Most important was the paragraph concerning finance, which was addressed as usual to the House of Commons alone. It said that owing to various causes and to "an increase which has become necessary in the cost of my Navy, the expenditure of the year will be considerably in excess of that of the past twelve months." In consequence of this "less time than usual will, I fear, be available for the consideration of other legislative measures." Nevertheless, His Majesty indicated that a number of Bills would be laid before Parliament. The following is the list:—

Irish Land Bill.

Housing and Town Planning Bill.

These Bills, withdrawn owing to want of time in the previous session, would be introduced again.

The new measures proposed relate to the following questions:—

Disestablishment of the Welsh Church.

Labour Exchanges.

Trade Boards for the Prevention of Sweating.

Parliamentary Elections and Registration in London.

Old-Age Pensions Act. Amendment.

Scottish Fisheries.

Also measures "to amend the law in regard to inebriates, to the supply of milk, and to the hours of work in shops."

The Address thanking the King for his speech was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Liverpool, and seconded by Lord Hemphill; in the Commons a similar duty was performed by Mr. F. E. N. Rogers and

Feb. 17th. Mr. W. W. Benn. Then, while the Upper House discussed the condition of Ireland, an amendment regretting the inadequate provision made for dealing with the serious evil of unemployment was introduced in the Lower House on behalf of the Labour Party by Mr. G. N. Barnes. Mr. Burns and Mr. Churchill defended the policy of the Government, and the amendment was lost by a majority of 104. **Tariff Reform** was the subject of the chief opposition amendment to the

Feb. 18th. Address. This was entrusted to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who regretted that no reform of the tariff to promote "the growth and stability of our home trade" was contemplated. Mr. Masterman. Mr. Lloyd.

George, and Mr. Churchill were the spokesmen of the Government; on the other side Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Balfour spoke in addition to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, while the participation of Lord Robert Cecil in the debate served to show that one of the keenest intellects in the Unionist Party was still determinedly hostile to Tariff Reform. Eventually the **Feb. 19th.** amendment found 109 supporters, but was rejected by a majority of 169.

The question of the House of Lords was raised by Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, who wished the Government **Feb. 22nd.** to deal at once with the veto of the peers. Mr. Asquith, in reply, declared that he and his colleagues had no desire "to shirk or postpone the issue," which he said would be submitted to the electors "at the earliest possible moment consistent with the discharge by this Parliament of the obligation I have indicated." Mr. Balfour spoke for the Opposition, and Mr. Ponsonby found 47 supporters against 225.

The condition of Ireland **Feb. 23rd.** was raised in an official Opposition amendment moved by Earl Percy, who was followed on the same side by Mr. J. H. M. Campbell, Sir E. Carson, and Mr. Balfour. Mr. Birrell defended his policy, and he was supported by Mr. Cherry, the Attorney-General for Ireland, and by the Prime Minister. The case for Ireland was put by Mr. John Redmond and Mr. Dillon, and 118 Unionists composed the minority in favour of the amendment. Other amendments were then introduced. Mr. Mackarness raised the question of discontent in India, and Lord Helmsley that of Local Taxation; Sir Gilbert Parker regretted that no mention was made in the **Feb. 24th.** Speech of the serious state of affairs on the Congo, and Mr. Claude Hay did not like the virtual suspension of important parts of the Aliens Act. The Address was agreed to in the House of Commons on the 25th of **Feb. 25th.** February, the House of Lords having meanwhile given a Second Reading to the Indian Councils Bill, and discussed the question of Australasia and Naval Defence.

Having disposed of the Address the first work of the **Feb. 26th.** Commons was to give a Second Reading to the Temperance (Scotland) Bill, a measure introduced by Mr. D. V. Pirie for the purpose of giving Scotland some measure of local option with regard to the drink traffic. The early days of March were occupied **Mar. 1st.** with the Supplementary Estimates for the Civil Service, and with the Army Estimates, introduced on March 4th. when Mr. Haldane made his annual statement. A break in the discussion of financial questions gave an opportunity for passing the Daylight Saving

Bill by a majority of 36. The **Mar. 5th.** education dispute at Swansea was discussed in the House of Lords on the 10th of March, and in the Commons on the following **Mar. 10th.** day, when the peers finally passed the Indian Councils Bill. The Commons gave a Second Reading to a Sunday Closing Bill, and on the 16th of March Mr. McKenna introduced the Navy Estimates, which had been most **Mar. 16th.** eagerly awaited, and which led to a very spirited discussion. The Lords were engaged meanwhile in discussing a variety of matters, and on the 30th of March the royal assent was given to the Consolidated Fund Bill, which had passed its Second Reading in the Commons on the 25th.

General interest was aroused by Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Representation of the People Bill, which passed its Second **Mar. 19th.** Reading by a majority of 35, and then, the Navy Estimates having been formally approved, Mr. Churchill introduced the Trade Beards Bill, and a Second Reading was given to the Sweated Industries Bill, introduced by Mr. J. W. Hills. On the 29th the Government were confronted with a vote of censure on the Navy question. Mr. Arthur Lee moved that **Mar. 29th.** "the declared policy of his Majesty's Government respecting the immediate provision of battleships of the newest type does not sufficiently secure the safety of the Empire." Sir Edward Grey, in a speech which attracted great attention, spoke of a superior British navy as "a matter of life and death to us," and referred to the burden of armaments which "if it goes on at this rate, must lead to national bankruptcy." Mr. Asquith also spoke, and the policy of the Government was approved by 353 votes to 135. The Irish Land Bill was read a second time in the Commons, and the Hops Bill in the Lords. During the month the short time available for motions by private members was occupied with discussions on the equalisation of London rates, on the relations of wealth and taxation, on moral instruction, and on the Income Tax.

In the early days of April **April 1st.** the House of Commons gave a Second Reading to the Indian Councils Bill, to a measure introduced by Mr. O. H. Roberts for closing licensed premises on election days, to the Housing Bill, and to a Bill for the amalgamation of the Great Eastern, the Great Northern, and the Great Central Railways. On the 7th the House, after discussing a variety of questions on the motion for the adjournment, broke up for an Easter holiday. Returning to work on the 19th, Mr. Harcourt introduced the London Elections Bill, and after three minor measures had been considered and approved, the Prime Minister

introduced the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. Later the Indian Councils Bill was passed through April 21st. Committee and finally approved; the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill, described by Mr. Runciman as "a proposal for public charity," was rejected; and the Trade Boards Bill was given a Second Reading.

April 30th. The Unemployed Workmen Bill, a measure introduced by the Labour Party, was rejected by a majority of 113. During this time the House of Lords had passed the Army Annual Bill and had discussed the question of the royal declaration on accession, which Roman Catholic peers regarded as offensive to their religion.

On the 29th of April Mr. Lloyd-George made his Budget statement. As this important measure is dealt with in detail elsewhere it will be sufficient here, in this summary, merely to indicate the principal stages in its progress through Parliament. In May, while the Commons were approving of the Budget resolutions, the Lords gave a Second Reading to the Child Murder Bill, but rejected the Cruelty to Animals Bill, introduced by the Bishop of Hereford. The Commons then found time to discuss the question of the Government of London, and during the consideration of the Civil Service Estimates the administration of the Small Holdings Act was criticised, while a few days later on the same vote the question of Old-Age Pensions in Ireland was raised. The Coal Mines (Checkweighers) Bill

having been approved, a resolution was passed on the 12th of May by a majority of 150 in favour of the payment of members of Parliament and of election expenses, and a Bill for the removal of the disabilities of Roman Catholics was passed by a majority of 10. The Peers were chiefly concerned at this time with the state of our defences. A resolution on this subject proposed by the Earl of Wemyss was lost by a small majority, but when a day later the Duke of Bedford moved for an enquiry into "the condition of the Special Reserve," the Government, resisting the motion, suffered defeat. Speaking during this debate, Earl Roberts asserted "we have no army." The Commons agreed to the amendments made by the Peers in the Indian Councils Bill, discussed the question of unemployment, and allowed Mr. Churchill to introduce the Labour Exchanges Bill. On May 25th, the Indian Councils Bill received the royal assent.

On May 26th, the resolutions on which the Budget is founded, having been passed, Mr. Lloyd-George introduced his Finance Bill. On May 26th, the resolutions on which the Budget is founded, having been passed, Mr. Lloyd-George introduced his Finance Bill.

On the same evening Captain C. C. Craig moved a resolution deprecating "any modification of the Two-Power standard"; Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna defended the policy of the

Government, and at the instance of Sir William Collins the House accepted the Prime Minister's statement "with confidence." On May 27th it was

May 27th. moved that the House should adjourn for Whitsuntide.

This motion gave as usual an opportunity for raising a variety of questions, and before members left for the holidays there were brief debates on such different subjects as Persia and Small Holdings, general aspects of Foreign and Colonial policy, and the conduct of Admiral Sir John Fisher (now a peer) in allowing some letters to be circulated.

Returning to work on June 3rd, House of Commons voted certain supplies and at subsequent sittings gave Second Readings to the London Elections Bill and the Finance Bill, which was approved by a majority of 157 on June 10th. The Scotch House Letting and Rating Bill found only 13 opponents, and, after the administration of the Home Office had been discussed when voting supplies, it was decided to apply the closure to the Irish Land Bill and the Housing and Town Planning Bill.

The Labour Exchanges Bill passed its Second Reading and the Trawling Bill its Third Reading. Then two other small measures having been discussed and the Prime Minister having made a statement about the deportations from India the Committee stage of the Finance Bill began on June 21st. Time was found, however, in the midst of the discussions on the Land Clauses of the Budget, to discuss the question of the Irish Land Commission and for the Report stage of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday

June 28th. Bill. The House of Lords devoted two sittings to a discussion on the military administration of India, and to giving approval to the Assurance Companies Bill.

During July the House of Lords was busier. While the Commons were discussing the Navy estimates and the earlier clauses of the Finance Bill, and were voting money for Labour Exchanges and attending to other miscellaneous matters, the Peers gave Second Readings to a number of measures, including the Trawling Bill, the Hops Bill, and the County Courts Bill, and in academic fashion discussed the question of Small Holdings, the relations between Russia and Persia, and the Territorial Army.

On July 9th the House of Commons began to consider the Irish Land Bill in Committee, and three days later the Lords made sympathetic reference to the death of their former leader, Lord Ripon. These speeches were followed by a debate on the National Service Bill, introduced by Earl Roberts. This attempt to introduce a system of compulsory military

July 13th. service in the United Kingdom found 103 supporters, when an amendment declaring the House was "not prepared to proceed further" with it was moved by the Duke of Northumberland. Supported by Lord Lansdowne, who, in addition to declaring "I do not believe public opinion in this country is ripe for such a change," said "I can never bring myself to believe that we are so absolutely and completely at the mercy of the invader as the noble and gallant Earl (Roberts) would have us believe," the amendment was carried by 20 votes.

July 14th. The Lords then turned their attention to more pacific subjects. They discussed the question of the Divorce Laws, Agricultural Education, and the appointment of magistrates, and in Committee considered the Hops Bill, the Scotch Milk Bill, and the County Courts Bill. Meanwhile the Committee stage of the Finance Bill had engaged the attention of the Commons, but time was found for further votes for the Civil Service, for the final stage of the Trade Boards Bill, and for a debate on the

July 20th. infringement of the privileges of Parliament by the Duke of Norfolk, who had written a letter to Mr. A. Profumo when this gentleman was standing as a candidate at a bye-election in Derbyshire. On

July 26th. July 26th the Navy Estimates being down for discussion, Mr. McKenna announced that the Government had decided to lay down four additional Dreadnoughts, a policy rendered imperative, he said, "by an examination of the state of foreign shipbuilding programmes." On behalf of those who have agitated for a reduction of armaments, Mr. J. E. Ellis moved to reduce the vote by £100, and he found 98 supporters in the division lobby. On the following day the House of Lords passed the Bill giving a constitution to a United South Africa, and the Colonial Under Secretary, Colonel Seely, made a statement on the same question in the House of Commons.

July 29th. Rules of Procedure and the question of Home Defence were then discussed, and afterwards the Labour Exchanges Bill was finally approved and sent to the House of Lords.

Aug. 2nd. At the beginning of August in the House of Commons the voting of the Civil Service Estimates gave opportunity for a discussion on military airships and for another on the excessive hours worked by Railwaymen. On

Aug. 4th. the 4th Mr. Gladstone introduced the Shops Bill, a measure for improving the conditions under which shop assistants work, and the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill gave an opportunity for discussing questions such as the Territorial Reserve, the administration of the Old Age Pensions Act, and the treatment of the Suffragettes in prison.

During these proceedings the Lords made rapid progress with the South Africa Bill, the Labour Exchanges Bill, the Trawling Bill, and other measures; then in the Lower House the Master of Elibank having made a statement about the Indian Budget, bills were introduced to provide the

Aug. 6th. Board of Agriculture with a secretary and the Postmaster-General with an assistant. The next few days were occupied in discussing the Land Clauses of the Budget, after which on the 16th the

Aug. 16th. South Africa Bill was read a second time, and three days later it passed through its final stages. The Prime Minister made a statement on the 20th about the future business of the Session; after this the Trawling Bill and two other measures were considered before the Committee stage of the Irish Land Bill began.

Aug. 26th. The National Development Bill was introduced, and the concluding days of August were occupied in the Commons with the consideration of the Housing and Town Planning Bill in Committee, and in the Lords with the Trade Boards Bill and the Assurance Companies Bill.

September found the Commons still in Committee on the Land Clauses of the Finance Bill, the debate being interrupted to give a Second Reading to the Development Bill, during which Lord Robert Cecil's amendment was rejected by 137 votes to 17. On September 10th the Housing Bill passed its

Sept. 10th. Third Reading and was sent to the Lords, where the Trade Boards Bill was considered in Committee. Still discussing the Budget, the Commons passed from Land Taxes to Death Duties, and then to Income-Tax. Having read the Housing Bill a second time, the Lords discussed the report of the Poor Law Commission, and the Commons finished the Irish Land Bill, which passed its

Sept. 17th. Third Reading by a majority of 123. On the 20th the Royal Assent having been given to the South Africa and the Labour Exchanges Bills, the question of disturbances at meetings held by the Budget

Sept 20th. Protest League and similar organisations was raised by the Earl of Malmesbury; and the Lords finally passed the Trade Boards Bill and passed the Housing and Town Planning Bill through Committee. The Finance Bill occupied the last week in September in the Commons, while the Lords discussed the establishment of a School of Oriental Languages, read the Irish Land Bill a

Sept. 30th. second time, and considered the Scotch House Letting and Rating Bill in Committee.

In the early days of October both Houses were in Committee, the Lords amending the Irish Land Bill and the Commons dealing with the final clauses of the Finance Bill. On the 7th the Commons agreed to the amendments from the

Oct. 7th.

Peers on the Trade Boards Bill, and on the 8th they passed the Development Bill through its final stages. The Lords did the same with the Housing and Town Planning Bill, and then went into Committee on the Irish Land Bill, and discussed the question of the compulsory acquisition of land, while on the 8th the Commons adjourned until the 18th, after Mr. Asquith had visited the King at Balmoral. The

Lords having read the Development Bill a second time, turned to the Irish Land Bill, and then to the Committee stage of the former measure. When the House of Commons met again it gave a final approval to the London Elections Bill, and then dealt with the Report stage of the Finance Bill, which engaged the attention of members until the 29th.

On the 25th the Lords passed the Irish Land Bill as amended by them, and did the same to the Development Bill. November opened in the House of Commons with the consideration of the changes made by the Peers in the Housing and Town Planning Bill; then the Third Reading Debate of the Finance Bill began, the Lord Advocate, Mr. Ure, taking the opportunity of defending himself against the attack made on his veracity by Mr. Balfour.

The Finance Bill passed its Third Reading on November 4th by a majority of 230, and was introduced in the House of Lords a few days later, after which the Peers proceeded to reject the London Elections Bill. The Commons refused the amendments introduced by the Lords into the Irish Land Bill, and then adjourned until November

23rd. The Lords, however, continued to sit, their time being occupied with considering the Irish Land Bill, returned from the Commons, and the Housing and Town Planning Bill. Negotiations with regard to both Bills took place between the opposing parties, and on November 19th the Housing Bill was finally

amended and passed by the peers. On the previous Tuesday—November 16th—the Marquess of Lansdowne gave notice of the following amendment to the Finance Bill: "That this House is not justified in giving its consent to this Bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country."

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The 670 members are divided thus:—

	Coun- ties.	Boroughs.	Universities.	Total
England ...	234	226	5	465
Wales ...	19	11	—	30
Scotland ...	93	31	2	72
Ireland ...	83	16	2	103
	677	284	9	670

DISTRIBUTION OF PARTIES.

	At the General Election of 1906.	On Nov. 25th, 1909.
Liberal ...	879	862
Labour and Socialist...	51	56
Nationalist ...	83	83
Unionist ...	156	168
Speaker ...	1	1
Vacant ...	—	2*
	670	670

* Portsmouth and Uxbridge, Middlesex.

During 1909 the Liberal party lost four seats, three—Central Glasgow, Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon, and Bermondsey—to the Unionists, and one—Sheffield, Attercliffe—to the Labour Party. Moreover, the election of Mr. J. G. Hancock, for Mid Derbyshire, in place of the late Sir J. A. Jacoby, transferred a seat from the Liberals to the Trade Union Group.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Essays in Liberalism. By Six Oxford Liberals. (Cassell.) o. p.
 Samuel, Herbert. Liberalism: Its Principles and Proposals. (De La More Press.) o. p.
 Ten Years of Tory Government. 1895 to 1905. (Liberal Publication Department.) 3s. 9d. net.
 The Government's Record. 1906-8. (Liberal Publication Department.) 1s. net.
 The Liberal View. (Articles by Members of the Eighty Club.) (King.) (1904.) 2s. 6d. net.
 Towards a Social Policy. Suggestions for Constructive Reform. ("Nation" Office.) 1s. 9d. net.
 Watson, Dr. Spence. The National Liberal Federation. Introduction by Mr. Birrell. (Fisher Unwin.) 5s.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW

OF SOCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, & EDUCATIONAL QUESTIONS AFFECTING WOMEN

(Started in 1858 as "Englishwoman's Journal.")

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THE PRINCIPAL PUBLIC BILLS, SESSION 1909.

From a Return issued November 1st, 1909.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills.

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Access to Mountains (Scotland)	Mr. Bryce	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
* Army Annual	Mr. Secretary Haldane ..	<i>Royal Assent</i> , April 30
* Assistant Postmaster-General	Mr. Hobhouse	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
* Assurance Companies [Lords]	Mr. Churchill	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Asylums Officers' Superannuation	Sir William Collins ..	<i>Passed</i> , Aug. 26
Bank Holidays	Mr. Levy Lever	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Banks (Unclaimed Balances and Securities).	Mr. Bottomley	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Bastardy	Mr. Arnold Herbert ..	Reported without Amendment by the Select Committee on Bastardy Orders, July 27
Bishopric of Sheffield	Mr. Stuart-Wortley ..	As amended by the Standing Committee to be considered, Monday, Nov. 1
* Board of Trade	The Prime Minister ..	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
* Buildings and Engineering Works	Mr. Herbert Samuel ..	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
Burial Places (Exemption from Rates) (Scotland).	Mr. Laidlaw	2nd Reading, Monday, Nov. 1
Cheap Trains	Mr. Bowerman	Committed to a Standing Committee, Aug. 18
* Checkweighing in Various Industries ..	Mr. Secretary Gladstone	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
* Child Murder (Trial) [Lords]	Mr. Attorney-General	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Oct. 4
* Cinematograph	Mr. Secretary Gladstone	Lords' Amendments to be considered, Mon., Nov. 1
Coal Mines (Checkweighers)	Mr. Robert Pearce ..	As amended by the Standing Committee to be considered [<i>Dropped</i>]
* Coal Mines Regulation	Mr. Secretary Gladstone	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
* Colonial Naval Defence	Mr. McKenna	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
* Consolidated Fund (Appropriation) ..	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Aug. 18
* Consolidated Fund (No. 1)	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Mar. 15
* Consolidated Fund (No. 2)	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Mar. 30
* County Councils Mortgages	Mr. Burns	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Criminal Appeal	Sir David Brynmor Jones.	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Criminal Law Amendment	Mr. P. Whitwell Wilson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Crofting Parishes (Scotland) [Lords] ..	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Brought from the Lords, Sept. 21
* Customs and Inland Revenue	Mr. Dobson	<i>Passed</i> , Oct. 4
Daylight Saving	Mr. Dobson	Reported without Amendment from the Select Committee, Aug. 24
* Development and Road Improvement Funds.	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Lords' Amendment to be considered, Mon., Nov. 1
* Diseases of Animals [Lords]	Sir Edward Strachey ..	<i>Passed</i> , Oct. 29
Dogs (Exemption)	Mr. Ellis Griffith	Adjourned Debate on 2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Dogs' Protection	Sir Frederick Banbury	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
* Dublin Police	Mr. Birrell	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
East India (Deportations)	Mr. Mackarness	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Ecclesiastical Disorders	Mr. Seaverns	<i>Withdrawn</i> , April 28
Education (Administrative Provisions)	Mr. Edward Dunn ..	2nd Reading put off for six months, April 23
* Education (Administrative Provisions) [Lords].	Mr. Trevelyan	Committee, Mon., Nov. 1
Education (Conditions of Grant)	Mr. Massie	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Education (England and Wales)	Mr. Robinson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Education of the Blind	Mr. Steadman	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
* Election of Aldermen in Municipal Boroughs.	Mr. Burns	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
* Electric Lighting Acts (Amendment) [Lords].	Mr. Churchill	Agreed to by the Lords with Amendments, Oct. 26
Episcopal Endowments	Sir George Kekewich ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
* Established Church (Wales)	The Prime Minister ..	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
* Expiring Laws Continuance	Mr. Hobhouse	Committee, Mon., Nov. 1
Factory and Workshop Act (1901) Amendment.	Mr. Jowett	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]

Title of Bill.	Brought In by	Progress.
Factory and Workshop Act (1901) Amendment (No. 2).	Mr. Jowett	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
*Finance	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer	3rd Reading, Tues., Nov. 2
*Fisheries (Ireland)	Mr. T. W. Russell ..	<i>Agreed to by the Lords</i> , Oct. 21
Foreign Trawlers (Regulation)	Mr. Williamson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities.	Sir Charles Dilke	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Gambling in Options (Prohibition) ..	Mr. Field	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Grocers' Licences (Abolition)	Mr. Robinson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Handloom Weaving	Mr. Sloan	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
Health Resorts and Watering Places (Ireland).	Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh ..	<i>Agreed to by the Lords with an Amendment</i> , Oct. 26
Hours of Labour (Surface-men)	Mr. Summerbell	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
+*House Letting and Rating (Scotland)	The Lord Advocate ..	Lords' Amendments to be considered, Mon., Nov. 1
*Houses of Parliament	Mr. Attorney-General ..	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
Housing of the Working Classes	Mr. Bowerman	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Housing, Town Planning, &c.	Mr. Burns	Lords' Amendments considered, Nov. 1
*Indian Councils [Lords]	Mr. Buchanan	<i>Royal Assent</i> , May 25
Infant Life Protection	Lord Robert Cecil	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Intercommunion	Sir George Kekewich ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Irish Land	Mr. Birrell	Lords' Amendments to be considered, Mon., Nov. 1
*Isle of Man (Customs)	Mr. Hobhouse	<i>Passed</i> , Aug. 6
*Labour Exchanges	Mr. Churchill	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Sept. 20
Law of Murder (Amendment)	Mr. George Greenwood ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Leaseholds (Enfranchisement)	Mr. Maclean	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Licensed Premises (Election Days) Closing.	Mr. Charles Roberts ..	As amended by the Standing Committee to be considered, Mon., Nov. 1
Local Authorities (Taxation and Purchase of Land).	Mr. Scott	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Mar. 17
Local Education Authorities (Medical Treatment).	Mr. Walter Guinness ..	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
*Local Government (Audit of Accounts) (Ireland).	Mr. Birrell	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Sept. 6
Local Government Qualification (England and Wales).	Dr. Shipman	Adjourned Debate on 2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
*Local Registration of Title (Ireland) ..	Mr. Birrell	<i>Passed</i> , Oct. 19
*London Elections	Mr. Harcourt	<i>Passed</i> , Oct. 18 (<i>Rejected by the House of Lords</i> , Nov. 8).
*London Electric Supply	Mr. Churchill	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
*Lunacy (Ireland)	Mr. Birrell	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Sept. 6
*Marine Insurance (Gambling Policies)	Mr. Churchill	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
Mercantile Corporations and Companies (Municipal Franchise).	Sir William Holland ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Merchandise Marks (Ireland)	Mr. T. W. Russell ..	<i>Agreed to by the Lords</i> , Oct. 21
Metropolitan Ambulances	Sir William Collins ..	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
*Milk and Dairies	Mr. Burns	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
Money Lenders	Mr. Atherley-Jones ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Municipal Corporations (Qualification of Clergymen) [Lords]	Mr. Dickinson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Nationalisation of Railways and Canals	Mr. William Thorne ..	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Mar. 30
National Military Training	Captain Kincald-Smith ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Naval Discipline	Mr. McKenna	<i>Passed</i> , Oct. 26
*Naval Establishments	Mr. McKenna	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
Necessitous Mothers (Assistance)	Mr. Robert Harcourt ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Nurses Registration	Mr. Munro Ferguson ..	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Nurses Registration (No. 2)	Mr. Findlay	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Oaths	Mr. Bramsdon	<i>Passed</i> , Sept. 7
Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Acts (1875 and 1885) Amendment.	Mr. Edward Dunn	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Parliamentary Seats (Peers of Scotland)	Mr. MacNeill	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Pawning Industrial Tools	Mr. Tyson Wilson	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
*Places of Worship (Enfranchisement)	Mr Solicitor-General ..	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
*Places of Worship (Enfranchisement) (No. 2)	Mr Solicitor-General ..	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1

+ Title changed to "Small Dwelling-Houses in Burghs Letting and Rating (Scotland)."

Title of Bill.	Brought in by	Progress.
Plumage (Prohibition of Sale or Exchange of).	Sir William Anson	<i>Withdrawn</i> , June 10
*Police	Mr. Secretary Gladstone	<i>Passed</i> , Sept. 30
*Police (Liverpool Inquiry)	Mr. Secretary Gladstone	<i>Passed</i> , Oct. 27
Police (Weekly Holiday)	Mr. Remnant	Reported from the Select Committee on Police Forces Weekly Rest Day, May 4
Postal Packets (Lotteries)	Mr. Beale	<i>Withdrawn</i> , May 18
Post Office (Lotteries and Obscene Matter).	Mr. Beale	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Prisons (Scotland) [Lords]	The Lord Advocate	Committee, Mon., Nov. 1
Prohibition of Vivisection	Sir George Kekewich	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Public Health Act (1875) Amendment (Water Rights).	Mr. Leif Jones	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Public Health Officers	Sir Walter Foster	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Public Houses Improvement [Lords]		<i>Brought from the Lords</i> , Aug. 5
*Public Works Loans	Mr. Hobhouse	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Aug. 18
Purchase of Land (England and Wales)	Mr. Collings	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Railways (Eight Hours)	Mr. Hudson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Representation of the People	Mr. Howard	Committee [<i>Dropped</i>]
Restraint of Trades (Shops)	Mr. Seddon	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Rights of Way	Mr. Cowan	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal, &c.	Mr. London	Committee [<i>Dropped</i>]
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday	Mr. Brigg	As amended by the Standing Committee to be further considered, Mon., Nov. 1
Sale of Margarine	Mr. Kilbride	As amended by the Standing Committee to be considered, Mon., Nov. 1
Salmon, Trout, and River Tweed Fisheries.	Sir John Jardine	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
School Attendance (Ireland)	Mr. Murphy	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Sea Fisheries Regulation (Scotland)	Mr. Morton	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
*Secretary of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.	Mr. Hobhouse	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
Settled Land	Mr. Hills	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
*Shops (No. 2)	Mr. Secretary Gladstone	<i>Withdrawn</i> , Aug. 20
Small Holdings	Mr. Corrie Grant	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Small Holdings and Allotments (Scotland) [Lords].		<i>Brought from the Lords</i> , July 28
*South Africa [Lords]	Colonel Seely	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Sept. 20
*Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Act, 1908, Amendment [Lords]	The Lord Advocate	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Sunday Closing (Shops)	Sir John Kennaway	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Superannuation	Mr. Hobhouse	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Sept. 20
Sweated Industries	Mr. Hills	Adjourned Debate on Amendment to 2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Telegraph (Arbitration)	Mr. Buxton	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
Temperance (Scotland)	Mr. Pirie	As amended by the Standing Committee to be considered, Mon., Nov. 1
Theatres and Music Halls	Mr. Robert Harcourt	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Town Tenants	Mr. Dickinson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Trade Boards	Mr. Churchill	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20
*Trawling in Prohibited Areas (Prevention).	The Lord Advocate	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Sept. 20
Trustees' Accounts	Mr. Stewart-Smith	3rd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Unemployed Workmen	Mr. Hodge	2nd Reading put off for six months, April 30
*Vagrancy	Mr. MacNeill	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Vivisection (Abolition)	Mr. Hodge	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Weekly Rest-day	Mr. Charles Price	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Wild Animals in Captivity Protection (Scotland).	Mr. Cathcart Wason	Lords' Amendment agreed to, Oct. 28
Wild Birds Protection	Sir Frederick Banbury	2nd Reading, Mon., Nov. 1
Women's Enfranchisement	Mr. Snowden	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
Women's Enfranchisement (No. 2)	Mr. Dickinson	2nd Reading [<i>Dropped</i>]
*Workmen's Compensation (Anglo-French Convention).	Mr. Secretary Gladstone	<i>Royal Assent</i> , Oct. 20

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES.

Arranged in alphabetical order, with Number of Electors in 1909, Votes polled by each Party at the General Election of 1906, and at subsequent Bye-elections, and the name of the Sitting Member.

I.—ENGLISH COUNTIES (234 MEMBERS).

Asterisk (*) denotes General Election. Italic letter Bye-election.

Constituency	Electors 1909	Votes Polled in 1906 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Bedfordshire—Luton	10,127	7,240	5,387	—	T. G. Ashton, L.
Biggleswade	14,110	6,002	4,203	—	A. W. Black, L.
Berkshire—Abingdon	9,163	3,943	3,767	—	B. A. Strauss, L.
Newbury	12,884	5,388	4,936	—	F. C. Mackarness, L.
Wokingham	14,064	4,760	6,075	—	Ernest Gardner, U.
Buckinghamshire—Aylesbury ..	11,962	4,463	5,675	—	Hon. L. W. Rothschild, U.
Buckingham	12,654	6,253	4,673	—	F. W. Verney, L.
Wycombe	15,921	6,839	5,626	—	T. A. Herbert, L.
Cambridgeshire—Chesterton	10,679	4,829	4,316	—	Hon. E. S. Montagu, L.
Newmarket	10,269	4,666	3,883	—	Sir C. D. Rose, Bart., L.
Wisbech	11,518	5,125	4,080	—	A. C. Beck, L.
Cheshire—Altrincham	18,200	8,358	5,667	—	Sir W. J. Crossley, Bart., L.
Crewe	15,657	7,805	5,297	—	Right Hon. James Tomkinson, L.
Eddisbury	11,378	5,315	4,192	—	Hon. A. L. Stanley, L.
Hyde	12,076	5,545	4,482	—	C. D. Schwann, L.
Knutsford	11,948	5,296	4,596	—	A. J. King, L.
Macclesfield	9,204	4,251	3,757	—	Col. W. B. Brocklehurst, L.
Northwich	13,204	6,343	4,551	—	Rt. Hon. Sir J. T. Brunner, Bt., L.
Wirral	21,530	8,833	7,132	—	W. H. Lever, L.
Cornwall—Bodmin	11,834	4,969	3,876	—	F. Freeman-Thomas, L.
Camborne	9,316	4,614	2,384	109(S.)	A. E. Dunn, L.
Launceston	10,082	4,358	2,736	—	G. Croydon Marks, L.
St. Austell	11,022	Unop.	—	—	Hon. T. C. Agar-Robartes, L.
St. Ives	9,309	4,244	3,052	—	Sir C. J. Cory, Bt., L.
Truro	10,068	4,187	3,683	—	G. Hay Morgan, L.
Cumberland—Cockermouth	11,348	3,903	4,593	1,436	Sir J. S. Randles, U.
Egremont	9,016	4,067	3,255	—	Hugh Fullerton, L.
Eskdale	11,024	4,467	4,230	—	Hon. G. W. A. Howard, L.
Penrith	8,826	—	Unop.	—	Rt. Hon. J. W. Lowther, U.
Derbyshire—Mid.	13,244	4,735	4,392	—	J. G. Hancock, Lab.
N.E.	17,029	7,065	5,475	—	W. E. Harvey, Lab.
South	16,995	7,961	6,468	—	H. H. Raphael, L.
West	11,903	—	Unop.	—	Earl of Kerry, U.
Chesterfield	15,849	—	5,590	7,254	James Haslam, Lab.
High Peak	11,951	5,619	5,272	—	O. Partington, L.
Ilkeston	18,924	9,655	5,858	—	Rt. Hon. Sir Walter B. Foster, L.
Devonshire—Ashburton	11,676	4,632	5,191	—	Capt. E. F. Morrison-Bell, U.
Barnstaple	13,235	6,510	4,465	—	E. J. Soares, L.
Honiton	10,329	3,711	4,854	—	Rt. Hon. Sir J. H. Kennaway, Bart., C.B., U.
South Molton	8,576	Unop.	—	—	G. Lambert, L.
Tavistock	15,063	6,405	5,196	—	H. C. Fownes Luttrell, L.
Tiverton	9,575	3,970	4,455	—	Hon. L. Walrond, U.
Torquay	11,042	4,866	4,396	—	Sir F. Layland-Barratt, Bt., L.
Totnes	9,065	2,998	5,226	—	F. B. Mildmay, U.
Dorset—East	14,439	6,104	6,085	—	C. H. Lyell, L.
North	8,523	4,153	3,508	—	A. W. Willis, L.
South	11,235	5,035	4,411	—	Sir T. L. Scarisbrick, Bart., L.
West	7,588	2,834	3,671	—	Col. R. Williams, U.
Durham—Mid	15,139	—	Unop.	—	John Wilson, Lab.
N.W.	17,851	9,146	3,992	—	L. A. Atherley-Jones, K.C., L.
S.E.	17,945	—	Unop.	—	Hon. F. W. Lambton, U.
Barnard Castle	12,139	—	3,888	5,540	Arthur Henderson, Lab.
Bishop Auckland ..	14,143	7,430	3,056	—	J. M. Paulton, L.
Chester-le-Street	22,933	4,606	4,895	8,085	J. W. Taylor, Lab.

a July 24, 1906. b Feb. 5, 1908. c Aug. 3, 1906. d July 15, 1909. e Jan. 30, 1907.
f April 15, 1908. g July 22, 1909. h Jan. 17, 1908.

Constituency	Electors 1909	Votes Poll'd in 1906 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Durham—Houghton-le-Spring ..	18,821	9,429	3,639	—	R. Cameron, L.
(con.) Jarrow	18,469	8,474	3,930	4,698	Pete F. Curran, Lab.
		*8,047	—	5,093	
Essex—S.E., or Tilbury	23,712	9,230	7,170	—	Rowland Whitehead, L.
Chelmsford	12,787	63,587	6,152	—	Capt. E. G. Pretyman, U.
		*4,461	4,915	—	
Epping	11,923	4,030	5,204	—	Rt. Hon. Lt.-Col. M. Lockwood, C.V.O., U.
Harwich	14,011	5,650	5,308	—	A. Levy Lever, L.
Maldon	11,273	4,773	4,824	—	T. R. Bethell, L.
Romford	51,043	21,534	12,679	—	Sir J. H. Bethell, L.
Saffron Walden	9,032	4,203	2,935	—	Rt. Hon. J. A. Pease, L.
Walthamstow	39,812	16,011	11,074	—	John A. Simon, K.C., L.
Gloucestershire—Forest of Dean	10,877	Unop.	—	—	Rt. Hon. Sir C. Dilke, Bart., L.
Cirencester	9,797	4,517	4,011	—	R. W. Essex, L.
Stroud	10,897	5,401	4,221	—	C. P. Allen, L.
Tewkesbury	13,543	5,194	5,321	—	Hon. M. Hicks-Beach, U.
Thornbury	14,789	7,370	5,240	—	A. Rendall, L.
Hampshire—Andover	11,151	4,524	4,609	—	Capt. W. V. Faber, U.
Basingstoke	12,945	4,693	4,852	467 I.L.	A. C. Salter, K.C., U.
		*4,705	4,825	—	
Fareham	18,317	6,331	7,683	—	A. H. Lee, U.
New Forest	11,820	4,949	4,901	—	Sir R. H. Hobart, K.C.V.O., C.B., L.
Petersfield	11,094	4,233	4,349	—	W. G. Nicholson, U.
Hereford—Leominster	9,731	3,892	3,864	—	Edmund Lamb, L.
Ross	10,787	43,928	4,947	—	Capt. P. A. Clive, U.
		*4,497	4,185	—	
Hertfordshire—Hertford	11,667	4,758	4,836	—	Abel H. Smith, U.
Hitchin	10,642	4,167	4,081	—	Julius Bertram, L.
St. Albans	13,537	5,304	5,856	—	Col. E. H. Carlile, U.
Watford	17,461	7,612	6,196	—	N. Micklem, K.C., L.
Huntingdon—South	5,247	2,426	1,957	—	S. H. Whitbread, L.
Ramsey	6,982	3,184	2,803	—	A. C. Forster-Boulton, L.
Kent—Ashford	14,173	5,614	5,995	—	Laurence Hardy, U.
Dartford	21,076	9,532	6,728	—	James Rowlands, L.
Faversham	14,061	6,925	5,091	—	T. B. Napier, L.
Medway	15,147	6,061	6,167	—	Col. C. E. Warde, U.
St. Augustine's	16,747	4,794	7,655	—	Rt. Hon. A. Akers-Douglas, U.
Sevenoaks	18,724	6,855	7,219	44 I.L.	H. W. Forster, U.
Isle of Thanet	12,456	8,961	5,154	—	H. H. Marks, U.
		—	925	—	
Tonbridge	16,924	7,170	5,887	—	A. P. Hedges, L.
Lancashire, North—N. Lonsdale	9,739	—	4,121	—	G. B. Haddock, U.
		—	U.T.R.	—	
		—	3,942	—	
		—	U.F.T.	—	
Blackpool	21,910	7,078	10,131	—	W. W. Ashley, U.
Chorley	14,056	5,416	6,803	—	Lord Balcarras, U.
Lancaster	14,759	6,524	5,640	—	N. W. Helme, L.
N.E. or Accrington	16,031	7,209	—	4,852 S.	Sir J. F. Leese, Bart., L.
		—	—	619 Lab.	
Clitheroe	22,115	—	—	12,035	D. J. Shackleton, Lab.
		—	—	3,823 I.	
Darwen	17,383	7,767	7,792	—	John Rutherford, U.
Rossendale	13,142	6,581	4,662	—	Rt. Hon. L. V. Harcourt, L.
S.E. or Eccles	18,475	5,841	5,246	3,985	Sir G. H. Pollard, L.
Gorton	18,020	—	4,341	8,566	John Hodge, Lab.
Heywood	11,220	5,351	4,245	—	Sir E. H. Holden, Bart., L.
Middleton	15,193	7,018	5,485	—	W. R. D. Adkins, L.
Prestwich	21,398	10,187	6,024	—	Sir F. Cawley, Bart., L.
Radcliffe-C.F'n'w'th	13,898	6,719	5,117	—	T. C. Taylor, L.
Stretford	26,958	11,131	8,307	—	Henry Nuttall, L.
West Houghton	19,206	—	6,134	9,262	W. Tyson Wilson, Lab.
S.W. or Bootle	23,117	7,481	7,821	—	Col. T. M. Sandys, U.
Ince	13,899	—	3,410	8,046	Stephen Walsh, Lab.
Leigh	13,868	7,175	5,169	—	J. F. L. Brunner, L.
Newton	14,775	—	5,893	6,434	James Seddon, Lab.
Ormskirk	13,478	3,891	6,207	—	Hon. A. Stanley, C.V.O., U.
Southport	16,304	6,607	6,367	—	J. M. Astbury, K.C., L.
Widnes	11,632	4,165	5,017	—	Col. W. Hall Walker, U.

* July 4, 1907.

b Dec. 1, 1908.

c May 11, 1906.

d Jan. 31, 1908.

Constituency	Electors in 1903	Votes Poll'd in 1903 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lb.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Leicestershire—Bosworth	13,515	7,678	3,627	—	Rt. Hon. Sir C. B. McLaren, Bt., L.
Harborough	17,712	8,350	6,382	—	R. C. Lehmann, L.
Loughborough	13,727	6,803	5,023	—	Sir Maurice Levy, L.
Milton	16,632	7,800	6,033	—	H. de R. Walker, L.
Lincolnshire—Brigg	13,217	^a 5,273	5,389	—	Sir Berkeley Sheffield, Bart., U.
		^b 5,753	4,027	—	
Gainsborough	12,794	5,922	5,071	—	Major L. Renton (now U.)
Horncastle	10,327	4,100	4,250	—	Lord Willoughby de Eresby, U.
Louth	10,124	4,551	3,572	—	Sir R. W. Perks, Bart., L.
Sleaford	10,518	4,355	4,062	—	Arnold Lupton, L.
Spalding	14,673	5,800	4,180	—	H. R. Mansfield, L.
Stamford	9,923	4,018	4,559	—	Lord J. Joicey-Cecil, U.
Middlesex—Brentford	20,135	6,506	6,053	—	Dr. V. H. Rutherford, L.
Ealing	24,400	6,982	8,261	—	Herbert Nield, U.
Enfield	27,604	9,790	7,674	—	James Branch, L.
Harrow	33,356	11,393	10,977	—	James Gibb, L.
Hornsey	22,890	^b —	Unop.	—	Earl of Ronaldshay, U.
		^c 7,289	8,859	—	
Tottenham	29,207	9,959	7,009	—	Percy Alden, L.
Uxbridge	17,194	6,284	6,429	—	
Monmouthshire—North	14,906	^d 13,871	—	—	Rt. Hon. Reginald McKenna, L.
		^e Unop.			
West	19,293	—	^f 16,880	—	T. Richards, Lab.
			Unop.		
South	17,947	^g 7,503	^h 6,216	—	Col. Sir Ivor J. C. Herbert, Bt., L.
Norfolk—East	11,383	5,631	3,435	—	Sir R. J. Price, L.
Mid	9,899	4,197	4,170	—	Lord Wodehouse, L.
North	10,974	5,155	3,628	—	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Brampton
					Gurdon, L.
N.W.	11,455	5,772	2,972	—	Sir George White, L.
South	9,705	4,677	3,519	—	A. W. Scames, L.
S.W.	8,960	4,416	3,513	—	R. Winfrey, L.
Northamptonshire—East	17,276	9,017	5,414	—	Sir F. A. Channing, Bart., L.
Mid	13,942	6,307	5,067	—	H. Mansfield, L.
North	10,621	—	4,195	4,880	Geo. Nicholls, Lab.
South	9,211	4,136	3,814	—	T. N. A. Grove, L.
Northumberland—Berwick-on-					
Tweed	9,444	5,102	2,862	—	Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Grey, Bt., L.
Hexham	11,280	ⁱ 5,401	4,244	—	R. D. Holt, L.
		^j 5,632	3,547	—	
Tyneside ..	25,090	11,496	6,885	—	J. M. Robertson, L.
Wansbeck ..	18,596	—	3,210	10,386	Charles Fenwick, Lab.
Notts.—Bassetlaw	11,694	5,365	4,834	—	F. H. Newnes, L.
Newark	11,164	4,444	4,772	—	J. R. Starkey, U.
Mansfield ..	20,185	Unop.	—	—	A. B. Markham, L.
Rushcliffe ..	19,270	9,044	5,460	—	Rt. Hon. J. E. Ellis, L.
Oxfordshire—Banbury	7,948	3,992	2,796	—	Hon. E. Fiennes, L.
Henley	10,407	4,562	4,050	—	Philip Morrell, L.
Woodstock ..	10,289	4,585	4,144	—	E. N. Bennett, L.
Rutland	4,142	^k 1,362	2,213	—	John Gretton, U.
		^l 1,564	2,047	—	
Shropshire—Ludlow	10,414	4,218	4,978	—	Rowland Hunt, U.
Newport	10,741	^m 4,377	5,328	—	Beville Stanier, U.
		ⁿ 4,682	4,848	—	
Oswestry	10,081	4,508	5,011	—	W. Clive Bridgeman, U.
Wellington ..	8,696	4,806	3,114	—	C. S. Henry, L.
Somerset—Bridgwater	10,396	4,422	4,405	—	H. G. Montgomery, L.
East	9,717	4,553	3,890	—	J. W. H. Thompson, L.
Frome	12,914	6,297	4,552	—	Sir J. E. Barlow, Bart., L.
North	13,206	6,626	4,380	—	W. H. B. Hope, L.
South	9,959	5,164	3,247	—	Sir E. Strachey, Bart., L.
Wellington ..	10,094	4,286	4,558	—	Rt. Hon. Sir A. Acland-Hood,
					Bart., U.
Wells	12,489	5,146	4,761	—	T. B. Silcock, L.
Staffordshire—Burton	11,855	4,572	5,613	—	R. F. Ratcliff, U.
Handsworth ..	23,346	8,636	13,407	—	E. C. Meysey-Thompson, U.
Kingswinford ..	13,974	5,470	6,311	—	H. S. Staveley-Hill, U.
Leek	11,972	5,749	4,275	—	Robt. Pearce, L.
Lichfield	10,464	5,421	2,991	—	T. C. T. Warner, L.
North-West ..	16,031	^o —	5,047	7,396	Albert Stanley, Lab.
		^p 7,667	5,557	—	
West	11,933	5,586	4,708	—	H. D. McLaren, L.

^a Feb. 26, 1907. ^b June 5, 1907. ^c March 27, 1907. ^d June 11, 1907.
^e May 14, 1908. ^f July 31, 1907. ^g Feb., 1907.

Constituency	Electo- rate 1909	Votes Polled in 1908 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab. &c.	
Suffolk—Eye	10,529	41,568	4,871	—	Harold Pearson, L.
Lowestoft	14,991	6,510	4,905	—	Edward Beauchamp, L.
Stowmarket	11,090	4,801	4,583	—	G. A. Hardy, L.
Sudbury	10,072	4,201	4,065	—	W. C. Heaton-Armstrong, L.
Woodbridge	12,800	5,527	5,348	—	R. L. Everett, L.
Surrey—Chertsey	16,653	6,865	6,266	—	F. J. Marnham, L.
Epsom	18,119	6,221	7,316	—	Wm. Keswick, U.
Guildford	15,705	6,430	5,630	—	W. H. Cowan, L.
Kingston	19,336	6,637	7,656	—	George Cave, K.C., U.
Reigate	15,418	6,067	5,848	—	H. C. Brodie, L.
Wimbledon	26,442	63,299	10,263	—	Rt. Hon. H. Chaplin, U.
		*7,409	9,523	—	
Sussex—Chichester	11,946	4,174	5,197	—	Lord Edmund Talbot, U.
Eastbourne	13,970	5,933	5,303	—	Hon. Hubert Beaumont, L.
East Grinstead	11,505	4,793	4,631	—	C. H. Corbett, L.
Horsham	11,297	4,286	4,908	—	Earl Winterton, U. (Bt., C.B., U.)
Lewes	16,932	5,458	7,172	—	Rt. Hon. Sir H. Aubrey-Fletcher,
Eye	13,573	4,964	6,122	—	G. L. Courthope, U.
Warwickshire—Nuneaton	16,934	—	5,849	7,677	Wm. Johnson, Lab.
Rugby	12,188	5,181	4,907	—	J. Corrie Grant, K.C., L.
Stratford-on-Avon	10,628	62,747	5,374	—	P. S. Foster, U.
Tamworth	17,255	*4,921	4,178	470 I. L.	
		4	Unop.	—	F. A. Newdigate-Newdegate, U.
		*4,842	7,561	—	
Westmorland—Appleby	6,558	2,894	2,889	—	Leif S. Jones, L.
Kendal	6,717	2,899	2,647	—	D. Stewart-Smith, K.C., L.
Wight, Isle of	15,773	7,453	5,892	—	Godfrey Baring, L.
Wiltshire—Chippenham	8,962	4,937	2,971	—	Sir J. Dickson-Poynder, Bt., L.
Cricklade	15,273	7,294	5,716	—	John Massie, L.
Devizes	9,230	4,247	3,633	—	F. E. N. Rogers, L.
Westbury	10,268	5,264	8,788	—	J. M. F. Fuller, L.
Wilton	8,848	4,272	8,548	—	L. L. Morse, L.
Worcestershire—East	21,928	5,763	10,129	—	Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, U.
North	17,653	6,908	6,429	—	J. W. Wilson, L.
Bewdley	10,493	—	Unop.	—	Stanley Baldwin, U.
		*2,718	5,912	—	
Droitwich	11,248	5,165	4,611	—	C. B. Harmsworth, L.
Evesham	10,310	4,293	4,385	—	Col. C. W. Long, U.
Yorkshire—East Riding.					
Buckrose	10,565	5,236	8,634	—	Sir Luke White, L.
Holderness	10,663	4,411	4,440	—	A. S. Wilson, U.
Howdenshire	10,400	4,150	4,763	—	Col. H. B. Harrison-Broadley, U.
Yorkshire—North Riding.					
Cleveland	13,922	76,296	5,325	—	Rt. Hon. H. L. Samuel, L.
		*Unop.	—	—	
Richmond	10,506	4,468	4,360	—	F. D. Acland, L.
Thirsk and Malton	13,270	5,044	5,818	—	Viscount Helmsley, U.
Whitby	11,040	4,709	4,780	—	Hon. Gervase Beckett, U.
Yorkshire—West Riding.					
Barkston Ash	10,676	4,246	4,894	—	G. R. Lane-Fox, U.
Barnsley	20,370	Unop.	—	—	Joseph Walton, L.
Colne Valley	12,229	93,495	3,227	3,648	Victor Grayson, Soc.
		*Unop.	—	—	
Doncaster	20,641	9,315	5,646	—	C. N. Nicholson, L.
Elland	13,644	7,609	3,962	—	C. P. Trevelyan, L.
Hallamshire	19,474	—	6,807	8,375	John Wadsworth, Lab.
Holmfirth	12,623	6,850	2,677	—	H. J. Wilson, L.
Keighley	13,451	5,322	3,229	6,102	Sir John Briggs, L.
Morley	15,797	Unop.	—	—	A. E. Hutton, L.
Normanton	16,064	—	—	Unop.	F. Hall, Lab.
Osgoldcross	17,803	8,482	4,858	—	Sir J. Compton-Rickett, L.
Otley	13,101	6,307	4,658	—	J. H. Duncan, L.
Pudsey	14,974	75,831	8,444	1,291	J. J. Oddy, U.
		*7,043	8,541	—	
Ripon	12,775	5,646	5,332	—	H. F. B. Lynch, L.
Rotherham	20,034	Unop.	—	—	Sir W. H. Holland, Bt., L.
Shipley	16,335	Unop.	—	—	P. H. Illingworth, L.
Skipton	13,549	5,834	5,601	—	William Clough, L.
Sowerby	12,603	6,482	4,034	—	J. S. Higham, L.
Spenn Valley	11,650	5,956	3,092	—	Rt. Hon. Sir T. P. Whittaker, L.

a April 8, 1906. b May 14, 1907. c May 5, 1909.
 1 July 9, 1909. g July 18, 1907.

d Jan. 16, 1909. e Feb. 20, 1908.
 h June 20, 1908.

H.—ENGLISH BOROUGHES (226 MEMBERS).

Constituency	Electo- rate 1909	Votes Pollcd in 1906 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Ashton-under-Lyne	8,597	4,310	3,342	—	A. H. Scott, L.
Aston Manor	11,821	2,431	7,134	—	Evelyn Cecil, U.
Barrow-in-Furness	10,223	—	3,395	5,167	Charles Duncan, Lab.
Bath (2 members)	7,919	4,102	3,123	—	Donald Maclean, L.
		4,069	3,088	—	G. P. Gooch, L.
Battersea (Bor. of Battersea and Clapham)	18,475	—	5,787	7,387	Rt. Hon. J. Burns, L.
Bedford	6,014	2,771	2,278	—	Percy Barlow, L.
Bermondsey (Bor. of Southwark)	12,233	3,231	4,278	1,435 S.	John Dumphreys, U.
		*4,775	3,016	—	
Bethnal Green—N.E.	8,669	4,127	2,130	—	Sir E. A. Cornwall, L.
S.W.	7,789	3,542	2,064	—	E. H. Pickersgill, L.
Birkenhead	17,953	7,074	5,271	2,118 (Prot.)	Henry Vivian, Lib. and Lab.
Birmingham—Central	10,086	2,075	5,864	—	E. Parkes, U.
East	14,937	—	5,928	5,843	Sir J. B. Stone, U.
North	8,630	1,275	5,172	—	J. T. Middlemore, U.
South	11,298	—	5,541	2,641	Viscount Morpeth, U.
West	12,339	2,094	7,173	—	Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain, U.
Edgbaston	13,423	3,103	7,269	—	Sir F. W. Lowe, U.
Bordesley	17,225	—	7,763	3,976	Rt. Hon. J. Collings, U.
Blackburn (2 members)	22,477	8,892	10,291	10,282 (C.) (U.) (Soc.)	Sir W. H. Hornby, Bart., U. Philip Snowden, Lab.
Bolton (2 members)	21,361	10,953	6,693	10,416	Geo. Harwood, L.
					A. H. Gill, Lab.
Boston	4,007	1,801	1,694	—	G. H. Faber, L.
Bow and Bromley	12,472	4,596	3,974	—	Stopford W. Brooke, L.
Bradford—Central	10,910	4,954	3,614	—	Sir G. S. Robertson, L.
East	15,853	6,183	4,277	3,090 S.	Sir W. E. B. Priestley, L.
West	14,972	3,580	4,147	4,957	F. W. Jowett, Lab.
Brighton (2 members)	21,366	9,062	8,188	—	E. A. Villiers, L.
		8,919	8,176	—	E. A. Ridsdale, L.
Bristol—East	15,167	7,933	3,129	—	C. E. H. Hobhouse, L.
North	13,463	6,953	4,011	—	Rt. Hon. A. Birrell, K.C., L.
South	16,131	7,964	5,272	—	Sir W. H. Davies, L.
West	10,082	3,902	4,267	—	Geo. A. Gibbs, U.
Brixton (Bor. of Lambeth)	11,597	4,521	4,233	—	J. H. Seaverns, L.
Burnley	17,080	5,298	4,964	4,932 S.	Fredk. Maddison, Lab.
Bury (Lanc.)	9,575	4,626	3,499	—	Geo. Toulmin, Lab.
Bury St. Edmunds	2,795	741	1,631	—	Hon. W. Guinness, U.
		*1,047	1,481	—	
Camberwell, North	13,980	6,314	3,497	—	Dr. T. J. Macnamara, L.
Cambridge	9,441	4,232	3,924	—	S. O. Buckmaster, K.C., L.
Canterbury	3,887	1,262	2,210	—	J. Henniker Heaton, U.
Carlisle	7,433	Unop.	—	—	F. W. Chance, L.
Chatham	14,824	—	4,020	6,692	John Jenkins, Lab.
Chelsea	11,836	4,660	4,031	—	E. J. Horniman, L.
Cheltenham	8,213	3,910	3,509	—	J. E. Sears, L.
Chester	8,018	3,524	3,477	—	Alfred Mond, L.
Christchurch	10,581	4,634	4,067	—	A. A. Allen, L.
Clapham (Bor. of Battersea and Clapham)	22,424	7,816	7,912	—	P. M. Thornton, U.
Clerkenwell (Bor. of Finsbury)	8,129	—	2,799	3,493	W. C. Steadman, Lab.
Colchester	7,148	3,122	2,812	—	Sir Weetman D. Pearson, Bt., L.
Coventry	15,694	6,554	5,462	—	A. E. W. Mason, L.
Croydon	26,470	8,041	11,989	886	Sir R. Hermon-Hodge, Bt., U.
		*7,241	8,248	4,112	
Darlington	9,848	—	4,575	4,087	H. Pike Pease, U.
Deptford	15,105	726	4,977	6,236	C. W. Bowerman, Lab.
Derby (2 members)	19,777	10,239	6,421	10,361	Richard Bell, Lab.
			6,409	—	Sir T. Roe, L.
Devonport (2 members)	12,919	6,923	5,239	—	Rt. Hon. Sir Hudson Kearley, Bart., L.
		6,527	5,080	—	Sir J. W. Benn, L.
Dewsbury	14,315	4,594	4,078	2,446	Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, L.
		*6,764	2,954	2,629	

a Oct. 28, 1909.

b Aug. 24, 1907.

c March 29, 1909.

d April 23, 1908.

Constituency	Elector- ate 1909	Votes Poll'd in 1906 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Dover	6,339	1,705	3,289	—	Rt. Hon. G. Wyndham, U.
Dudley	17,311	8,296	7,542	—	A. G. Hooper, L.
Dulwich (Bor. of Camberwell) ..	17,712	5,430	6,709	—	A. Bonar Law, U.
		*6,282	6,639	—	
Durham	2,608	—	1,313	—	J. W. Hills, U.
		—	U.T.R.	—	
		—	680	—	
		—	U.F.T.	—	
Exeter	10,318	4,463	4,384	—	Sir G. Kekewich, K.C.B., L.
Finsbury, East	4,934	2,461	1,772	—	J. Allen Baker, L.
Fulham	21,096	8,037	7,407	—	Timothy Davies, L.
Gateshead	19,319	—	5,126	9,651	John Johnson, Lab.
		—	—	(& Lib.)	
Gloucester	8,543	3,921	8,619	—	Rt. Hon. Russell Rea, L.
Grantham	8,523	1,663	1,554	—	A. Priestley, L.
Gravesend	6,723	1,413	8,102	873	Sir G. Parker, U.
Greenwich	13,110	4,906	3,565	—	R. S. Jackson, L.
		—	U.T.R.	—	
		—	2,356	—	
		—	U.F.T.	—	
Grimsby, Great	17,541	4,040	6,349	2,248	Sir G. Doughty, U.
Hackney—Central	9,359	3,998	3,382	—	Sir A. Spicer, Bart., L.
North	11,731	4,655	4,431	—	T. Hart-Davies, L.
South	13,591	6,736	3,257	804 Ind	Horatio Bottomley, L.
Haggerston (Bor. of Shoreditch) ..	8,169	61,724	2,867	986 (S.)	Hon. R. Guinness, U.
		*2,772	2,371	—	
Halifax (2 members)	15,403	9,354	5,041	8,937	J. H. Whitley, L.
		—	—	—	Jas. Parker, Lab.
Hammersmith	14,819	4,562	5,111	885 (S.)	Sir W. J. Bull, U.
Hampstead	11,849	4,461	4,934	—	J. S. Fletcher, U.
Hanley	16,731	—	4,287	9,183	Enoch Edwards, Lab.
Hartlepool, The	14,198	Unop.	—	—	Sir C. Furness, Bart., L.
Hastings	8,999	c3,477	4,495	—	A. P. Du Cros, U.
		*3,935	4,848	—	
Hereford	4,027	1,692	1,934	—	J. S. Arkwright, U.
Holborn (Bor. of Finsbury)	8,697	2,706	3,861	—	J. F. Remnant, U.
Hoxton (Bor. of Shoreditch)	9,052	2,753	8,489	—	Hon. Claude Hay, U.
Huddersfield	18,704	d5,762	4,814	5,422	A. J. Sherwell, L.
		*6,302	4,891	5,813	
Hull—Central	8,338	—	4,845	3,167	Sir H. S. Klng, K.C.I.E., U.
East	14,143	6,881	4,519	—	T. R. Ferens, L.
West	21,806	e5,623	5,882	4,512	Hon. Guy Wilson, L.
		*3,652	6,405	—	
Hythe	6,638	2,347	8,240	—	Sir E. A. Sassoon, Bart., U.
Ipswich (2 members)	12,460	6,396	4,591	—	Sir D. F. Goddard, L.
		6,290	4,232	—	F. D. Cobbold, L.
Islington—East	11,133	4,477	3,710	—	G. H. Radford, L.
North	12,445	5,284	4,418	—	D. S. Waterlow, L.
South	8,223	3,606	1,991	—	T. Wiles, L.
		—	U.F.T.	—	
		—	870	—	
		—	U.T.R.	—	
West	8,703	4,119	8,618	—	Rt. Hon. T. Lough, L.
Kennington (Bor. of Lambeth) ..	10,152	4,639	3,054	—	Stephen Collins, L.
Kensington—North	9,885	4,416	3,358	—	H. Y. Stanger, K.C., L.
South	9,305	1,624	4,835	—	Earl Percy, U.
Kidderminster	4,610	2,354	2,083	—	E. B. Barnard, L.
King's Lynn	3,694	1,506	1,184	—	Lieut. C. Bellairs (now C.)
		—	U.F.T.	—	
		—	772	—	
		—	U.T.R.	—	
Lambeth, North	6,690	2,895	1,904	—	H. Myer, L.
		—	1081 U.	—	
Leeds—Central	8,420	4,188	8,119	—	R. Armitage, L.
East	9,539	—	2,208	4,299	Jas. O'Grady, Lab.
North	22,623	9,593	7,108	—	R. H. Barran, L.
South	15,508	f5,274	4,915	2,451	Wm. Middlebrook, L.
		*6,200	2,126	4,030	
West	18,920	9,258	4,650	—	Rt. Hon. H. J. Gladstone, L.
Leicester (2 members)	25,332	g10,766	7,206	—	J. R. Macdonald, Lab.
		*14,745	7,504	14,685	F. Thomasson, L.

a May 15, 1906.

b Aug. 1, 1908.

c March 3, 1908.

d Nov. 3, 1906.

e Nov. 29, 1907.

f Feb. 13, 1908.

g March 30, 1906.

Constituency	Elector-ate 1903	Votes Poll'd in 1906 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Lewisham	24,457	8,006	9,639	—	Major E. F. Coates, U.
Limehouse	6,654	2,981	2,007	—	William Pearce, L.
Lincoln	11,092	5,110	3,718	—	C. H. Roberts, L.
			U.F.T. 1,163		
			U.T.R.		
Liverpool—Abercromby	7,102	2,933	2,734	—	Rt. Hon. Col. J. E. B. Seely, L.
Everton	9,663	2,884	3,949	—	J. S. Harmood-Banner, U.
Exchange	5,658	2,291	2,170	—	Rt. Hon. R. R. Cherry, K.C., L.
Kirkdale	10,563	a —	4,000	3,330	C. McArthur, U.
		* —	3,749	3,157	
Scotland	5,626	—	1,117	2,808 N.	T. P. O'Connor, N.
Toxteth, E.	9,510	Unop.	—	—	Austin Taylor, L.
W.	8,987	—	3,873	2,592	R. P. Houston, U.
Walton	15,618	5,153	5,862	—	F. E. Smith, K.C., U.
West Derby	11,475	3,600	5,447	—	W. W. Rutherford, U.
London (City) (2 members)	29,831	b —	Unop.	—	Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, U.
		c 4,134 (F.T.)	15,474	—	Sir F. G. Banbury, Bart., U.
		* 10,877	31,638	—	
Maidstone	6,148	2,709	2,841	—	Viscount Castlereagh, U.
Manchester—East	12,942	6,403	4,423	—	T. G. Horridge, K.C., L.
North	10,439	5,718	3,262	—	Sir C. E. Schwann, Bart., L.
North-East	10,009	—	2,954	5,386	J. R. Clynes, Lab.
North-West	12,071	d 4,988	5,417	276 (S.)	W. Joynson-Hicks, U.
		* 5,639	4,398	—	
South	15,359	8,002	3,770	—	A. A. Haworth, L.
South-West	8,341	—	2,875	4,101	G. D. Kelley, Lab.
Marylebone—East	6,734	2,167	2,827	—	Lord R. Cecil, K.C., U.
West	8,597	2,791	3,446	—	Sir S. E. Scott, Bart., U.
Middlesbrough	21,339	—	6,870	9,251	J. Havelock Wilson, Lab.
				1,380 S.	
Mile End	5,677	2,295	2,169	—	B. S. Straus, L.
Monmouth District	12,622	4,531	3,939	1,678	Lewis Haslam, L.
Morpeth	9,653	—	1,919	5,518	Rt. Hon. Thomas Burt, Lab.
				L&Lab	
Newcastle-under-Lyme	10,260	5,155	2,948	—	J. C. Wedgwood, L.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne (2 mems.) ..	37,483	e 11,720	13,863	2,971 S.	Geo. Renwick, U.
		* 18,423	11,942	18,869	Walter Hudson, Lab.
			+ 11,223	—	
Newington, West	9,606	4,446	2,425	—	Capt. C. W. Norton, L.
Northampton (2 members)	12,132	4,479	4,073	2,544 S.	H. W. Paul, L.
		4,244	4,000	2,368 S.	Dr. J. G. Shipman, L.
Norwich (2 members)	21,382	10,972	7,460	11,059	G. H. Roberts, Lab.
					L. J. Tillett, L.
Norwood (Bor. of Lambeth)	13,496	4,748	5,567	—	G. F. S. Bowles, U.
Nottingham—East	13,014	6,020	4,290	—	Sir H. J. S. Cotton, L.
South	13,894	—	5,514	6,814	A. Richardson, Lab.
West	17,232	18,107	5,262	—	Sir J. H. Yoxall, L.
Oldham (2 members)	34,617	7,397	11,989	—	Rt. Hon. A. Emmott, L.
		16,072	11,891	—	J. A. Bright, L.
Oxford City	9,100	3,810	3,910	—	Viscount Valencia, C.
Paddington—North	11,157	3,825	2,419	—	L. G. Chiozza-Money, L.
			817 I. U.	—	
South	6,520	1,502	2,919	—	Sir T. G. Fardell, U.
Peckham (Bor. of Camberwell) ..	14,943	f 4,476	6,970	—	H. C. Gooch, U.
		* 5,903	3,564	—	
Penryn and Falmouth	3,105	1,345	1,248	—	Sir J. Barker, Bart., L.
Peterborough	6,381	3,326	2,167	—	G. G. Greenwood, L.
Plymouth (2 members)	18,158	9,021	6,547	—	T. W. Dobson, L.
		8,914	6,234	—	C. E. Mallett, L.
Pontefract	3,464	1,837	1,030	—	Sir T. W. Nussey, Bt., L.
Poplar	11,175	4,546	2,235	—	Rt. Hon. Sydney Buxton, L.
Portsmouth (2 members)	32,643	10,500	7,970	8,172	Sir T. A. Bramsdon, L.
		10,236	7,752	1,859	
				(Naval)	
Preston (2 members)	19,464	8,538	7,303	10,181	J. T. MacPherson, Lab.
			6,856	—	Harold Cox, L.
Reading	11,096	5,407	4,710	—	Rufus D. Isaacs, K.C., L.
Rochdale	14,748	5,912	4,449	2,506	A. G. C. Harvey, L.
Rochester	5,647	2,967	2,374	—	E. H. Lamb, C.M.G., L.

a Sept. 27, 1907.

b June 15, 1906.

c Feb. 27, 1906.

d April 24, 1908.

e Sep. 24, 1908.

f Mar. 24, 1908.

Constituency	Electors in 1909	Votes Polled in 1906 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Rotherhithe (Bor. of Southwark)	10,401	4,192	2,321	—	H. W. Carr-Gomm, L.
St. George's, Hanover Sq.	9,092	a —	Unop.	—	Rt. Hon. A. Lyttelton, U.
		*2,191	4,284	—	
St. George's	3,340	1,685	1,084	—	W. W. Benn, L.
St. Helens	12,907	—	4,047	6,083	Thomas Glover, Lab.
St. Pancras—East	9,589	4,208	2,327	—	H. O. Lea, L.
North	9,031	4,094	2,043	—	W. H. Dickinson, L.
South	5,542	2,109	2,048	—	P. W. Wilson, L.
West	8,553	3,230	2,545	—	Sir W. J. Collins, L.
Salford—North	9,810	4,915	3,728	—	W. P. Byles, L.
South	8,560	4,230	3,378	—	Hilaire Belloc, L.
West	14,966	7,329	5,119	—	G. W. Agnew, L.
Sallsbury	3,434	1,646	1,605	—	Sir E. P. Tennant, Bt., L.
Scarborough	6,169	3,128	2,619	—	W. Russell Rea, L.
Sheffield—Attercliffe	16,676	b3,175	3,880	3,531	J. Pointer, Lab.
		*6,523	+2,803	—	
		5,730	—	—	
Brightside	12,651	5,409	4,408	—	J. T. Walters, L.
Central	8,899	c —	Unop.	—	J. F. Hope, U.
		*8,290	4,217	—	
Ecclesall	13,813	5,392	5,856	—	Samuel Roberts, U.
Hallam	13,595	5,546	5,465	—	Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-Wortley, U.
Shrewsbury	4,853	1,955	2,395	—	Sir O. L. Hill, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., U.
Southampton (2 members)	19,574	7,032	5,754	2,146	Lt.-Col. I. Philipps, L.
		6,255	5,535	—	W. Dudley Ward, L.
South Shields	18,387	9,717	8,431	—	Sir W. S. Robson, K.C., L.
Southwark, West	8,046	3,057	2,592	—	Rt. Hon. R. K. Causton, L.
Stafford	3,984	1,947	1,636	—	Sir C. E. Shaw, Bart., L.
Stalybridge	7,906	3,836	3,382	—	J. F. Cheetham, L.
Stepney	4,678	d1,350	2,299	—	F. L. Harris, U.
		& Lab.	—	—	
		*1,853	2,490	—	
Stockport (2 members)	13,113	6,544	4,591	7,299	G. J. Wardle, Lab.
			4,038	—	Sir James Duckworth, L.
Stockton-on-Tees	12,635	3,675	5,330	2,710	Col. Sir R. Ropner, Bart., U.
Stoke-upon-Trent	14,909	—	4,288	7,660	John Ward, Lab.
Strand	8,227	1,854	3,935	—	Hon. W. F. D. Smith, U.
Sunderland (2 members)	28,779	13,620	7,879	13,430	Rt. Hon. James Stuart, L.
			7,244	—	T. Summerbell, Lab.
		U.F.T.	—	—	
Taunton	3,808	e —	1,976	1,035	Hon. Wm. R. W. Peel, U.
		*1,503	1,842	—	
Tynemouth and North Shields	9,946	4,286	3,522	—	H. J. Craig, L.
Wakefield	6,245	1,247	2,285	2,068	E. A. Brotherton, U.
Walsall	14,587	7,092	5,893	—	Major E. Martin Dunne, L.
Walworth	8,410	3,187	2,418	—	C. J. O'Donnell, L.
Wandsworth	37,000	11,888	12,433	—	Sir H. Kimber, Bart., U.
Warrington	10,832	5,599	4,099	—	A. H. Crosfield, L.
Warwick and Leamington	6,572	3,011	2,802	—	T. H. Devereux Ferridge, L.
Wednesbury	13,334	6,150	5,206	—	Clarendon G. Hyde, L.
West Bromwich	11,201	5,475	4,259	—	Dr. A. E. W. Hazel, L.
West Ham—North	15,760	6,838	5,094	—	C. F. G. Masterman, L.
South	26,530	—	4,973	10,210	Will Thorne, Lab.
Westminster	7,555	2,054	3,167	—	W. A. Burdett Coutts, U.
Whitechapel	4,089	1,925	1,569	—	S. Montagu Samuel, L.
Whitehaven	2,809	1,507	1,194	—	W. J. D. Burnyeat, L.
Wigan	9,422	1,900	3,573	3,205	Sir F. S. Powell, Bart., U.
Winchester	3,096	1,272	1,322	—	Hon. G. V. Baring, U.
Windsor	3,268	1,376	1,504	—	J. F. Mason, U.
Wolverhampton—East	10,567	f4,514	4,506	—	G. B. Thorne, L.
		*5,610	2,745	—	
South	10,221	4,823	4,137	—	Sir Henry Norman, L.
West	13,360	—	5,588	5,756	T. F. Richards, Lab.
Woolwich	13,121	—	6,883	9,028	W. Crooks, Lab.
Worcester	8,699	g3,069	4,361	—	E. A. Goulding, U.
		*3,752	3,881	—	
Yarmouth, Great	9,555	3,835	4,071	—	Arthur Fell, U.
York (2 members)	13,688	6,413	6,108	4,573	Hamar Greenwood, L.
			6,094	—	G. D. Faber, U.

a June 15, 1906.

b May 4, 1909.

c April 21, 1908.

d May 10, 1907.

e Feb. 23, 1909.

f May 5, 1908.

g Feb. 7, 1908.

III.—ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES (5 MEMBERS).

Constituency	Electorate 1909	Votes Poll'd in 1908 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Cambridge University (2 mems.)	7,137	—	0,026 1,653 U.F.T.	—	S. H. Butcher, U. J. F. P. Rawlinson, U.
London University	5,772	1,816	1,840	—	Sir P. Magnus, U.
Oxford University (2 members)	6,782	—	Unop.	—	Rt. Hon. J. G. Talbot, U. Sir W. R. Anson, Bart., U.

IV.—WELSH COUNTIES (19 MEMBERS).

Anglesey	10,266	5,138	2,638	—	Ellis J. Griffith, L.
Brecknockshire	12,840	5,776	8,499	—	Sidney Robinson, L.
Cardiganshire	13,926	5,829	2,960	—	M. L. Vaughan-Davies, L.
Carmarthenshire—East	11,794	Unop.	—	—	Abel Thomas, K.C., L.
West	9,453	Unop.	—	—	John Lloyd-Morgan, K.C., L.
Carnarvonshire—Arfon	9,948	5,945	2,533	—	William Jones, L.
Elffion	9,428	aUnop.	—	—	Ellis W. Davies, L.
Denbighshire—East	11,670	*Unop.	—	—	
		56,265	8,544	—	E. G. Hemmerde, K.C., L.
		c5,917	8,126	—	
		*Unop.	—	—	
West	10,040	Unop.	—	—	Sir John H. Roberts, Bt., L.
Flintshire	12,638	6,294	3,572	—	John Herbert Lewis, L.
Glamorganshire—East	22,946	Unop.	—	—	Sir Alfred Thomas, L.
Mid	19,062	Unop.	—	—	Sir Samuel T. Evans, K.C., L.
South	22,187	—	6,096	10,514	Wm. Brace, Lab.
Gower	14,838	4,542	1,939	4,841	J. Williams, Lab.
Rhondda	16,979	Unop.	—	—	W. Abraham, Lab.
Merionethshire	9,371	Unop.	—	—	Sir A. Osmond-Williams, Bt., L.
Montgomeryshire	8,014	Unop.	—	—	David Davies, L.
Pembrokeshire	11,464	d5,465	8,223	—	Walter F. Roch, L.
		*5,886	2,606	—	
Radnorshire	5,864	2,186	2,011	—	Sir Francis Edwards, Bt., L.

V.—WELSH BOROUGHES (11 MEMBERS).

Cardiff District	28,882	12,434	9,429	—	Hon. Ivor Guest, L.
Carmarthen District	6,716	3,902	1,608	—	W. Idewellyn Williams, L.
Carnarvon District	5,611	3,221	1,997	—	Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd-George, L.
Denbigh District	5,005	2,538	1,960	—	A. Clement Edwards, L.
Flint District	3,938	1,899	1,523	—	T. W. Howell Idris, L.
Merthyr Tydvil (2 members)	22,663	13,971	—	10,187	David A. Thomas, L.
		7,778	—	—	J. Keir Hardie, Lab.
Montgomery District	3,804	1,641	1,458	—	John David Rees, C.V.O., C.I.E., L.
Pembroke and Haverfordwest	7,137	3,576	2,527	—	Owen C. Phillips, L.
Swansea District	12,628	Unop.	—	—	Sir David Brynmor-Jones, K.C., L.
Swansea Town	12,605	5,535	4,081	—	Sir George Newnes, Bart., L.

VI.—SCOTTISH COUNTIES (39 MEMBERS).

Aberdeenshire—East	12,501	eUnop.	—	—	Jas. Murray, L.
		*6,149	4,219	—	
West	10,753	5,949	2,791	—	J. McD. Henderson, L.
Argyllshire	10,932	4,507	3,012	—	J. Stirling Ainsworth, L.
Ayrshire—North	16,014	4,587	5,603	2,684	Hon. Thomas H. Cochrane, U.
South	17,873	7,853	6,611	—	W. P. Beale, K.C., L.
Banffshire	8,189	f3,901	1,892	—	Capt. Walter Waring, L.
		*4,101	1,901	—	
Berwickshire	5,591	2,975	1,624	—	Harold John Tennant, L.
Buteshire	8,612	1,637	1,517	—	Norman Lamont, L.
Caithness	3,864	2,636	483	—	Robt. Leicester Harmsworth, L.
Clackmannan and Kinross	7,935	4,027	2,648	—	Rt. Hon. Eugene Wason, L.
Dumbartonshire	18,259	7,404	6,937	—	James Dundas White, L.
Dumfriesshire	9,455	4,814	8,481	—	P. A. Molteno, L.
Edinburgh (Midlothian)	16,572	8,348	5,131	—	Lord Dalmeny, L.
Elgin and Nairn	5,732	3,006	1,546	—	Sir Arch. Williamson, Bt., L.
Fife—East	10,268	4,723	8,279	—	Rt. Hon. Herbert H. Asquith, L.
West	16,998	6,692	1,776	—	John Deans Hope, L.
Forfarshire	12,778	g6,422	3,970	—	James Falconer, L.
		*6,796	3,277	—	

a June 5, 1906. b April 2, 1909. c April 14, 1906. d July 16, 1908.

e Feb. 28, 1906.

f Feb. 16, 1907.

g Feb. 27, 1909.

Constituency	Electo- rate 1909	Votes Poll'd in 1903 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
Haddingtonshire	7,582	8,469	2,289	—	Rt. Hon. R. B. Haldane, K.C., L.
Inverness-shire	9,853	8,818	1,810	—	Sir John A. Dewar, Bt., L.
Kincardineshire	7,147	8,661	1,963	—	Capt. Hon. Arthur C. Murray, L.
		*8,877	1,524	—	
Kirkcudbrightshire	5,806	2,715	2,418	—	Major Gilbert McMicking, L.
Lanarkshire—Mid	17,179	7,246	4,470	758 I.	James Caldwell, L.
N.E.	21,123	9,486	4,838	4,658	Alexander Findlay, L.
Govan	17,854	6,096	5,224	4,212	Robert Duncan, U.
N.W.	19,622	4,913	5,588	8,291	W. Mitchell-Thomson, U.
Partick	23,320	9,477	7,960	—	Robert Balfour, L.
South	10,358	4,816	3,541	—	Sir Walter Menzies, L.
Linlithgowshire	11,003	5,282	2,761	—	Rt. Hon. Alexander Ure, K.C., L.
Orkney and Shetland	7,615	8,837	1,021	—	J. Cathcart Wason, L.
Peebles and Selkirk	8,972	1,955	1,549	—	Master of Elibank (Hon. A. W. C. O. Murray), L.
Perthshire—East	7,853	3,738	2,648	—	Rt. Hon. T. B. Buchanan, L.
West	8,456	6,890	3,087	—	D. C. Erskine, L.
Renfrewshire—East	19,656	6,896	6,801	—	Sir Robert Laidlaw, L.
West	13,334	5,858	4,490	—	Sir Thos. Glen-Coats, Bt., L.
Ross and Cromarty	8,101	8,883	1,773	—	J. Galloway Weir, L.
Roxburghshire	5,944	2,820	2,514	—	Sir John Jardine, L.
Stirlingshire	19,796	9,475	5,806	—	Donald M. Smeaton, C.S.I., L.
Sutherland	2,885	1,383	933	—	A. O. Morton, L.
Wigtownshire	6,674	2,127	2,866	—	Capt. Viscount Dalrymple, U.

VII.—SCOTTISH BURGHS (31 MEMBERS).

Aberdeen—North	10,460	4,848	931	1,934	Capt. D. V. Pirie, L.
South	13,167	63,779	8,412	1,740	George B. Esslemont, L.
		*6,778	2,334	—	
Ayr Burghs	7,963	3,505	8,766	—	George Younger, U.
Dumfries District	3,984	61,877	1,585	—	J. W. Gulland, L.
		*2,035	1,402	—	
Dundee (2 members)	19,207	67,079	4,370	4,014 +655	Alexander Wilkie, Lab.
		*9,276	8,865	Pr'hb. 6,833	Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, L.
		+6,122	+8,813	—	
Edinburgh—Central	6,875	3,935	1,857	—	Charles E. Price, L.
East	11,710	64,627	4,069	—	Sir James Puckering Gibson, Bart., L.
		*6,606	2,432	—	Arthur Dewar, K.C., L.
South	18,789	78,185	6,964	—	
		*8,945	5,985	—	James Avon Clyde, K.C., U.
West	9,232	9 —	Unop.	—	
		*3,643	8,949	—	
Elgin District	5,093	2,742	786	—	J. E. Sutherland, L.
Falkirk District	12,835	5,158	8,176	1,763	J. A. Murray Macdonald, L.
Glasgow—Blackfriars and Hutchesontown ..	8,604	2,058	2,974	3,284	G. N. Barnes, Lab.
Bridgeton	10,574	5,585	4,019	—	J. W. Cleland, L.
Camelachie	10,059	2,871	3,119	2,668	Alexander Cross (now L.)
Central	15,081	75,185	7,298	—	Rt. Hon. Charles Scott Dickson, K.C., U.
		*6,720	6,289	—	H. A. Watt, L.
Collego	14,732	7,850	5,676	—	T. McKinnon Wood, L.
St. Rollox	19,416	9,453	6,045	—	A. Cameron Corbett (now L.)
Tradeston	9,937	4,063	4,417	—	
		U.F.T.	245	—	
		U.T.R.	—	—	
Greenock	7,717	3,590	3,254	—	Halley Stewart, L.
Hawick Burghs	5,968	13,023	2,508	—	Sir John N. Barran, Bart., L.
		*3,125	2,444	—	
Inverness District	4,884	2,304	1,746	—	J. Annan Bryce, L.
Kilmarnock District	16,109	8,268	5,743	—	Dr. A. Rolland Rainy, L.
Kirkcaldy District	8,232	4,659	1,410	—	Sir James H. Dalziel, L.
Leith District	17,160	7,677	4,865	—	Ronald C. Munro-Ferguson, L.
Montrose District	8,293	13,083	1,576	1,937	Robert Vernon Harcourt, L.
		*4,416	1,922	—	
Paisley	12,387	5,664	2,594	2,482	John McCallum, L.
Perth	5,371	Unop.	—	—	Sir Robert Pullar, L.
		*2,875	1,867	—	

a April 25, 1908. b Feb. 20, 1907. c July 20, 1909. d May 9, 1908. e April 16, 1909.
 f March 4, 1909. g May 17, 1909. h March 2, 1909. i March 5, 1909. k May 12, 1903.
 l Feb. 11, 1907.

Constituency	Electors 1909	Votes Polled in 1909 and at By-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un.	Lab.&c.	
St. Andrews District	8,249	1,472	1,495	—	Major W. Anstruther-Gray, U.
Stirling District	7,871	a 3,873	2,512	—	Arthur A. W. H. Ponsonby, L.
Wick District	2,912	* Unop. 1,266	1,362	—	Sir Arthur Bignold, U.

VIII.—SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES (2 MEMBERS).

Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities	11,092	—	4,893 2,310 U.F.T.	—	Sir John Batty Tuke, U.
Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities	11,471	2,450	3,543 1,240 U.F.T.	—	Sir Henry Craik, K.C.B., U.

IX.—IRISH COUNTIES (85 MEMBERS).

Antrim—East	8,827	2,145	4,496	—	Col. J. McCalmont, U.
Mid	7,273	—	3,367	—	Hon. Robert T. O'Neill, U.
			2,577		
North	7,616	3,757	2,969	—	R. G. Glendinning, L.
		L.U. In.			
South	9,883	—	Unop.	—	Charles Curtis Craig, U.
Armagh—Mid	7,103	—	Unop.	—	J. B. Lonsdale, U.
North	7,471	b —	4,229	—	William Moore, K.C., U.
			1,433		
			Ind. U.		
South	7,024	c —	Unop.	—	Dr. C. O'Neill, N.
		c —	1,628	3,160	
		* —	Unop.		
Carlow	5,904	d —	Unop.	—	W. M. Kavanagh, N.
		* —	Unop.		
Cavan—East	8,915	—	Unop.	—	Samuel Young, N.
West	8,632	—	Unop.	—	V. P. Kennedy, N.
Clare—East	8,809	—	Unop.	—	William H. K. Redmond, N.
West	8,854	e —	Unop.	—	Arthur Lynch, N.
		* —	Unop.		
Cork—East	6,329	—	Unop.	—	Capt. A. J. C. Donelan, N.
Mid	6,633	—	Unop.	—	Daniel D. Sheehan, N.
North	6,708	—	Unop.	—	J. C. Flynn, N.
North-East	6,639	—	Unop.	—	William Abraham, N.
South	6,263	—	Unop.	—	Edward Barry, N.
South-East	6,846	—	Unop.	—	Eugene Crean, N.
West	5,731	—	Unop.	—	James Gilhooly, N.
Donegal—East	6,407	—	Unop.	—	C. McVeigh, N.
North	6,579	—	Unop.	—	P. O'Doherty, N.
South	6,073	—	Unop.	—	J. G. Swift McNeill, K.C., N.
West	6,717	—	Unop.	—	Hugh A. Law, N.
Down—East	7,794	—	4,011	—	Capt. James Craig, U.
			3,341		
			Ind. U.		
North	9,831	—	4,878	2,603	T. L. Corbett, U.
South	7,737	—	3,262	3,910	J. McVeagh, N.
West	8,233	f 2,760	4,051	—	W. J. McCaw, U.
		g 2,918	3,702	—	
		* —	Unop.		
Dublin County—North	11,769	—	Unop.	—	John J. Clancy, N.
South	11,934	—	5,269	3,926	Rt. Hon. Walter H. Long, U.
Fermanagh—North	4,873	2,331	2,419	—	G. Fetherstonhaugh, U.
South	5,334	—	Unop.	—	Jeremiah Jordan, N.
Galway—East	7,216	—	Unop.	—	John Roche, N.
North	7,726	h —	Unop.	—	Richard Hazelton, N.
		* —	2,685		
			1,064		
South	6,341	—	Unop.	—	W. J. Duffy, N.
Connemara	6,391	—	Unop.	—	William O'Malley, N.
Kerry—East	5,700	—	2,185	—	John Murphy, N.
			2,131		
North	5,574	—	Unop.	—	Michael J. Flavin, N.

a May 22, 1908.

b Nov. 17, 1906.

c Nov. 5, 1909.

d Feb. 3, 1908.

e Sep. 3, 1909.

f March 20, 1908.

g Sep. 6, 1907.

h Feb. 28, 1903.

Constituency	Electo- rate 1903	Votes Polled in 1906 and at Bye-elections			Member
		Lib.	Un. (Ind. U.)	Nat. & C. (U.)	
Belfast—South	10,288	—	4,450 3,634	—	Thomas H. Sloan, U.
West	9,236	153	4,122	4,138	Joseph Devlin, N.
Cork City (2 members)	13,605	—	—	Unop.	Augustine Roche, N.
		a	—	4,703	Maurice Healy, N.
		—	—	Ind. N.	
		*	—	3,547 N.	
Dublin—College Green	8,663	—	—	Unop.	Joseph P. Nannetti, N.
Harbour	8,878	—	868	3,616	Timothy C. Harrington, N.
St. Stephen's Green ..	8,057	—	2,581	4,055	Lawrence A. Waldron, N.
St. Patrick's	8,270	—	—	Unop.	William Field, N.
Galway, City	2,292	5569	—	983	Stephen L. Gwynn, N.
		Devol.	—	—	
		*	—	Unop.	
Kilkenny, City	1,700	—	—	Unop.	Patrick O'Brien, N.
Limerick, City	4,894	—	—	Unop.	Michael Joyce, N.
Londonderry, City	4,969	—	—	Unop.	Marquis of Hamilton, U.
Newry	2,030	—	—	802	J. J. Mooney, N.
		—	—	735 I.N.	
Waterford, City	8,144	—	—	Unop.	John E. Redmond, N.

XI.—IRISH UNIVERSITY (2 MEMBERS).

Dublin University (2 members)	4,991	—	Unop.	—	Rt. Hon. Sir E. H. Carson, U.
		—	Unop.	—	Rt. Hon. J. H. M. Campbell, U.

a May 1, 1909.

b Nov. 8, 1906.

BYE-ELECTIONS DURING THE
LAST 12 MONTHS.

December 2nd, 1908—

Essex (Mid., or Chelmsford).

E. G. Pretymann (C.)	6,152
A. H. Dence (L.)	3,587

C. Majority.. 2,565

January 18th, 1909—

Tamworth.

F. A. Newdigate-Newdegate (C.).

Unopposed.

February 23rd, 1909—

Taunton.

Hon. Wm. R. W. Peel (C.)	1,976
Frank Smith (Lab.)	1,085

C. Majority.. 891

March 1st, 1909—

Forfarshire.

James Falconer (L.)	6,422
R. L. Blackburn, K.C. (C.)	3,970

L. Majority.. 2,452

March 2nd, 1909—

Glasgow (Central).

Rt. Hon. C. Scott-Dickson,	
K.C. (C.)	7,298
Thomas Gibson Bowles (L.) ..	6,185

C. Majority.. 2,113

(Conservative Gain.)

March 4th, 1909—

Edinburgh (South).

A. Dewar, K.C. (L.)	8,185
Harold B. Cox (C.)	6,964

L. Majority.. 1,221

March 5th, 1909—

Hawick Burghs.

Sir John Barran, Bt. (L.)	3,028
H. J. Mackinder (C.)	2,508

L. Majority.. 520

March 29th, 1909—

Croydon.

Sir R. Hermon-Hodge, Bt. (C.)	11,989
J. E. Raphael (L.)	8,041
Frank Smith (Lab.)	886

C. Majority over L.. 3,948

April 2nd, 1909—

Denbighshire (East).

E. G. Hemmerde, K.C. (L.)	6,265
Sir Foster E. Cunliffe, Bt. (C.)	3,544

L. Majority.. 2,721

April 16th, 1909—

Edinburgh (South).

Sir James P. Gibson, Bt. (L.)	4,527
Patrick Ford (C.)	4,069

L. Majority.. 458

May 1st, 1909—

Cork City.

Maurice Healy (Ind. N.)	4,706
G. Crosbie (N.)	3,547

Ind. N. Majority.. 1,159

May 4th, 1909—

Sheffield (Attercliffe).

Joseph Pointer (Lab.)	3,531
S. King Farlow (C.)	3,380
R. C. Lambert (L.)	3,175
A. Muir Wilson (Ind. C.)	2,803

Lab. Majority over C... 151
(Labour Gain.)

May 5th, 1909—

Stratford-on-Avon.

P. S. Foster (C.)	5,374
Hon. J. Martin (L.)	2,747
Capt. M. Kincaid-Smith (Ind.)	479

G. Majority over L... 2,627
(Conservative Gain.)

May 17th, 1909—

Edinburgh (West).

J. Avon Clyde, K.C. (C.).
Unopposed.

June 11th, 1909—

Limerick (East).

T. London (N.)	2,664
J. Maloney (Ind. N.)	1,686

N. Majority.. 978

July 11th, 1909—

Yorkshire, Cleveland.

Herbert L. Samuel (L.)	6,296
E. Windsor Lewis (C.)	5,325

L. Majority.. 971

July 16th, 1909—

Derbyshire (Mid.).

J. G. Hancock (Lab.)	6,735
Samuel Cresswell (O.)	4,392

Lab. Majority.. 2,343

July 20th, 1909—

Dumfries.

J. W. Gulland (L.)	1,877
J. Bryce Duncan (C.)	1,585

L. Majority.. 292

July 23rd, 1909—

Derbyshire (High Peak).

O. Partington (L.)	5,619
A. Profumo (C.)	5,272

L. Majority.. 347

August 10th, 1909—

Kilkenny (South).

Matthew Keating (N.).
Unopposed.

September 3rd, 1909—

West Clare.

Arthur Lynch (N.).
Unopposed.

October 28th, 1909—

Bermondsey.

J. Dumphreys (C.)	4,278
Spencer Leigh Hughes (L.) ..	3,291
Dr. J. Salter (Lab.)	1,435

G. Majority over L... 937
(Conservative Gain.)

November 5th, 1909—

Armagh (South).

Dr. C. O'Neill (N.)	3,160
R. Best (C.)	1,628

N. Majority.. 1,532

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HOUSE OF COMMONS (670 Members).

SPEAKER:

LOWTHER, RT. HON. J. W., PENRITH, CUMBERLAND. SPEAKER'S HOUSE: WESTMINSTER, S.W.
LIBERALS (362).

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Acland, F. Dyke	Yorks., Richmond	118, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Adkins, W. Ryland D.	Lancs., Middleton	9, Bridge Street, S.W.
Agar-Robartes, Hon. T. C. R.	Cornwall, St. Austell	1, Great Stanhope Street, W.
Agnew, G. W.	Salford, W.	64, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Ainsworth, J. S.	Argyllshire	55, Eaton Place, S.W.
Alden, Percy	Middlesex, Tottenham	Mansfield, Loughton, Essex
Allen, Arthur A.	Hants., Christchurch	13, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.
Allen, Charles P.	Gloucestershire, Stroud	Farmhill Park, Stroud, Glos.
Armitage, Robert	Leeds, Central	41, Eton Avenue, N.W.
Ashton, T. Gair	Bedfordshire, Luton	39, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H.	Flfeshire, East	10, Downing Street, S.W.
Astbury, J. M., K.C.	Lancs., Southport	16, Grenville Place, S.W.
Atherley-Jones, L. A., K.C.	Durham, N.W.	25, Pembroke Road, W.
Baker, J. Allen	Finsbury, E.	Donnington, Donnington Road, Harlesden, N.W.
Balfour, Robert	Lanarks., Partick	2, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
Baring, Godfrey	Hants., Isle of Wight	195, Queen's Gate, S.W.
Barker, Sir John, Bart.	Penryn and Falmouth	Old Ct. Mansions, Kensington, W.
Barlow, Sir J. E., Bart.	Somerset, Frome	Torkington Lodge, Nr. Stockport
Barlow, Percy	Bedford	5, Essex Court, Temple, E.C.
Barnard, E. B.	Kidderminster	4, Victoria Street, S.W.
Barran, Sir J. N., Bart.	Hawick Burghs	Sawley Hall, Ripon, Yorks.
Barran, Rowland H.	Leeds, North	Bath Club, Dover Street, W.
Barry, Redmond, K.C.	Tyrone, N.	72, Lower Baggot Street, Dublin
Beale, W. P., K.C.	Ayrshire, S.	2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Beauchamp, Edward	Suffolk, Lowestoft	82, Gloucester Place, W.
Beaumont, Hon. Hubert G.	Sussex, Eastbourne	6, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Beck, A. C. T.	Cambs., Wisbech	Harrold Hall, Bedford
Belloc, Hilaire	Salford, S.	King's Land, Shipley, Nr. Horsham, Sussex
Benn, Sir J. W.	Devonport	The Old Knoll, Blackheath, S.E.
Benn, W. Wedgwood	St. George's-in-the-East	The Old Knoll, Blackheath, S.E.
Bennett, E. N.	Oxfordshire, Woodstock	Bath Club, W.
Berridge, T. H. D.	Warwick and Leamington.	49, Rutland Gate, S.W.
Bertram, Julius	Herts., Hitchin	14, Suffolk St., Pall Mall East, S.W.
Bethell, Sir J. H.	Essex, Romford	Park House, Wanstead, Essex
Bethell, Thomas R.	Essex, Maldon	2, Garden Court, Temple, E.C.
Birrell, Rt. Hon. A.	Bristol, N.	70, Elm Park Road, Chelsea, S.W.
Black, A. W.	Bedf., Biggleswade	Springfield, Alexandria Park, Nottingham
Bottomley, Horatio	Hackney, S.	56a, Pall Mall, S.W.
Boulton, A. C. Forster	Hunts., Ramsey	5, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
Bransden, Sir T. A.	Portsmouth	St. Ermin's Hotel, Caxton St., S.W.
Branch, James	Middlesex, Enfield	24, Fountayne Road, Stoke Newington, N.
Brigg, Sir John	Yorks., Kelghley	Kildwick Hall, Kelghley, Yorks.
Bright, John A.	Oldham	Reform Club, S.W.
Brocklehurst, Col. W. B.	Cheshire, Macclesfield	Butley Hall, Prestbury, Macclesfield.
Brodie, H. C.	Surrey, Reigate	9, Little Stanhope Street, W.
Brooke, Stopford W. W.	Bow and Bromley	13, De Vere Mansions, West Kensington, W.
Brunner, Sir J. T., Bart.	Cheshire, Northwich	9, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.
Brunner, J. F. L.	Lancs., Leigh	43, Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
Bryce, J. Annan	Inverness Burghs	85, Bryanston Square, W.
Buchanan, Rt. Hon. T. B.	Perthshire, E.	12, South Street, Park Lane, W.
Buckmaster, S. O., K.C.	Cambridge	9, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, E.C.
Burns, Rt. Hon. John	Battersea	37, Lavender Gardens, S.W.
Burneyat, W. J. Dalzell	Whitehaven	Reform Club, S.W.
Buxton, Rt. Hon. Sydney	Poplar	7, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
Byles, W. P.	Salford, N.	8, Chalcot Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
Caldwell, James	Lanarks., Mid	107, Holland Rd., Kensington, W.
Cameron, Robert	Durham, Houghton-le-Spring.	56, Victoria Street, S.W.
Carr-Gomm, H. W. C.	Southwark, Rotherhithe	10 Westminster Mansions, Great Smith Street, S.W.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Causton, Rt. Hon. R. K.	Southwark, W.	12, Devonshire Pl., Portland Pl., W.
Cawley, Sir F., Bart.	Lancs., Prestwich	Brooklands, Prestwich, Lancs.
Chance, F. W.	Carlisle	33, Bury Street, St. James's, S.W.
Channing, Sir F. A., Bart.	Northants, E.	40, Eaton Place, S.W.
Chetcham, J. F.	Stalybridge	Eastwood, Stalybridge
Cherry, Rt. Hon. E. R., K.C.	Liverpool, Exchange	92, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin
Churchill, Rt. Hon. W. L. S.	Dundee	12, Bolton Street, W.
Cleland, J. W.	Glasgow, Bridgeton	32, Doughty Street, W.C.
Clough, William	Yorks., Skipton	Whitley Head, Steeton, Nr. Keighley
Coats, Sir T. Glen, Bart.	Renfrewshire, W.	29, Belgrave Square, S.W.
Cobbold, Felix T.	Ipswich	3, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Collins, Sir W. J.	St. Pancras, W.	1, Albert Ter., Regent's Park, N.W.
Collins, Stephen	Lambeth, Kennington	64, St. Ann's Hill, Wandsworth, S.W.
Corbett, A. Cameron	Glasgow (Tradeston)	26, Hans Place, S.W.
Corbett, C. H.	Sussex, East Grinstead	75, Victoria Street, S.W.
Cornwall, Sir E. A.	Bethnal Green, N.E.	3, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Cory, Sir Clifford J., Bart.	Cornwall, St. Ives	98, Mount Street, W.
Cotton, Sir Henry J. S.	Nottingham, E.	45, St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
Cowan, W. H.	Surrey, Guildford	7, Hanover House, High Street, St. John's Wood Road, N.W.
Cox, Harold	Preston	6, Raymond Bldgs., Gray's Inn, W.C.
Craig, H. J.	Tynemouth	25, Audley House, Margaret St., S.W.
Crosfield, A. H.	Warrington	39, Hyde Park Gate, W.
Cross, Alexander	Glasgow, Camlachie	44, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.
Crossley, Sir W. J., Bart.	Cheshire, Altrincham	Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
Dalmeny, Lord	Midlothian	38, Berkeley Square, S.W.
Dalziel, Sir J. H.	Kirkcaldy Burghs	National Liberal Club, S.W.
Davies, David	Montgomeryshire	29, St. James's Street, S.W.
Davies, Ellis W.	Carnarvon, Eifion	Bodlondeb, Carnarvon; House of Commons, S.W.
Davies, Timothy	Fulham	34, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
Davies, Sir W. Howell	Bristol, S.	4, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Dewar, Arthur, K.C.	Edinburgh, W.	24, Walker Street, Edinburgh
Dewar, Sir J. A., Bart.	Inverness-shire	Reform Club, S.W.
Dickinson, W. H.	St. Pancras, N.	51, Campden Hill Road, W.
Dickson-Poynder, Sir J., Bart.	Wilts., Chippenham	3, Chesterfield Gardens, W.
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bart.	Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean.	76, Sloane Street, S.W.
Dobson, T. W.	Plymouth	25, Baskerville Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.
Dackworth, Sir James	Stockport	2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Duncan, J. H.	Yorks., Otley	Kineholm, Otley, Yorks.
Dunn, A. E.	Cornwall, Camborne	70, Victoria Street, S.W.
Dunne, Major E. M.	Walsall	23, Prince's Gate, S.W.
Edwards, Clement	Denbigh District	4, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
Edwards, Sir F., Bart.	Radnorshire	111, Ashley Gardens, S.W.
Elibank, Master of (A. W. C. O. Murray)	Peebles and Selkirk	Brooks' Club, W.
Ellis, Rt. Hon. John E.	Notts., Rushcliffe	37, Prince's Gate, S.W.
Emmott, Rt. Hon. Alfred	Oldham	30, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.
Erskine, D. C.	Perthshire, W.	31, North Audley Street, W.
Essex, R. W.	Gloucestershire, Cirencester.	Dixcot, North Drive, Streatham Park, S.W.
Esslemont, G. B.	Aberdeen, S.	16, King's Acre, Aberdeen
Evans, Sir S. T., K.C.	Glamorganshire, Mid.	11, Lancaster Gate, W.
Everett, R. L.	Suffolk, Woodbridge	Rushmere, Ipswich
Faber, G. H.	Boston	11, Clement's Lane, E.C.
Falconer, James	Forfarshire	6, Belsize Crescent, Edinburgh
Ferns, T. R.	Hull, E.	3, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Fiennes, Hon. E. E.	Oxon., Banbury	15, Cromwell Road, S.W.
Findlay, Alexander	Lanark, N.E.	Ballfield House, Motherwell, N.B.
Foster, Rt. Hon. Sir W. B.	Derbyshire, Ilkeston	30, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Fownes-Luttrell, H. C.	Devon, Tavistock	Ward House, Bere Alston, Devon
Freeman-Thomass, F.	Cornwall, Bodmin	76, Ashley Gardens, S.W.
Fuller, J. M. F.	Wilts., Westbury	47, Rutland Gate, S.W.
Fullerton, Hugh	Cumberland, Egremont	Brackenbrook, Sale, Cheshire
Furness, Sir C., Bart.	Hartlepool	23, Upper Brook Street, W.
Gibb, James	Middlesex, Harrow	51, Ladbroke Grove, W.
Gibson, Sir Jas. Puckering, Bart.	Edinburgh, E.	Lanham Hotel, W.; 33, Regent Terrace, Edinburgh
Hadstone, Rt. Hon. H. J.	Leeds, West	9, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Hendinning, R. G.	Antrim, N.	National Liberal Club, S.W.
Hoddard, Sir D. F.	Ipswich	Oak Hill, Ipswich
Joch, G. P.	Bath	South Villa, Campden Hill Road, W.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Grant, Corrie, K.C.	Warws., Rugby	26, The Avenue, Bedford Park, Chiswick, S.W.
Greenwood, G. G.	Peterborough	33, Linden Gardens, W.
Greenwood, Hamar	York	178, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate Foreign Office, S.W.
Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir E., Bart. ..	Northumberland, Berwick.	
Griffith, Ellis J.	Anglesea	7, Radnor Place, W.
Grove, T. N. Archibald	Northants., S.	Pollard's Park, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks
Guest, Hon. Ivor C.	Cardiff	Reform Club, S.W.
Gulland, J. W.	Dumfries Burghs	8, Claremont Crescent, Edinburgh
Gurdon, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Brampton	Norfolk, N.	Assington Hall, Boxford, Suffolk
Haldane, Rt. Hon. R. B., K.C. ..	Haddingtonshire	28, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Lewis V. ..	Lancs., Rossendale	14, Berkeley Square, W.
Harcourt, Rt. Vernon	Montrose Burghs	Malwood, Lyndhurst, Hants.
Hardy, G. A.	Suffolk, Stowmarket	Cheshunt House, Champion Hill, S.E.
Harmsworth, Cecil B.	Worcs., Droitwich	28, Montagu Square, W.
Harmsworth, R. Leicester	Calthness-shire	3, Marlboro' Gate, Hyde Park, W.
Hart-Davies, T.	Hackney, N.	16, St. James's Square, S.W.
Harvey, A. G. C.	Rochdale	Town House, Littleborough, nr. Rochdale
Harwood, George	Bolton	70, South Audley Street, W.
Haslam, Lewis	Monmouth District	8, Wilton Crescent, S.W.
Haworth, A. A.	Manchester, S.	National Liberal Club, S.W.; Nor- manby, Altrincham, Cheshire
Hazell, Dr. A. E. W.	West Bromwich	1, Temple Gardens, E.C.
Heaton-Armstrong, W. C.	Suffolk, Sudbury	30, Portland Place, W.
Hedges, A. P.	Kent, Tonbridge	St. Ermin's Hotel, Caxton St., S.W.
Helme, Norval W.	Lancs., Lancaster	4, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Hemmerde, E. G.	Derbys., E.	23, Cadogan Gardens, S.W.
Henderson, J. McD.	Aberdeenshire, W.	2, Moorgate Street Buildings, E.C.
Henry, Charles S.	Shropshire, Wellington	5, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
Herbert, T. Arnold	Bucks., South	12, Kensington Park Gardens, W.
Herbert, Col. Sir Ivor J. C., Bart.	Monmouthshire, S.	1, West Halkin Street, S.W.
Higham, J. S.	Yorks., Sowerby	14, St. James's Court, S.W.
Hobart, Sir R. H.	Hants., New Forest	54, Chester Square, S.W.
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. C. E. H.	Bristol, East	47, Rutland Gate, S.W.
Holden, Sir E. H., Bart.	Lancs., Heywood	Grangehorpe, Chertsey, Surrey
Holland, Sir W. H., Bart.	Yorks., Rotherham	61, Queen's Gate, S.W.
Holt, R. D.	Northumberland, Hexham.	Derwent Lodge, Wavertree, Liverpool
Hooper, A. G.	Dudley	Selbourne House, Dudley
Hope, John D.	Fifeshire, W.	16, Prince's Street, Edinburgh
Hope, W. H. Bateman	Somerset, N.	Eastwood, East Hartree, Bristol
Horniman, E. J.	Chelsea	13, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
Horridge, T. G., K.C.	Manchester, E.	41, Rutland Gate, S.W.
Howard, Hon. Geoffrey	Cumberland, Eskdale	1, Palace Green, Kensington, W.
Hutton, A. E.	Yorks., Morley	15, Arlington Street, S.W.
Hyde, Clarendon G.	Wednesbury	75, Gloucester Terrace, W.
Idris, T. H. W.	Flint District	110, Pratt Street, Camden Town, N.
Illingworth, P. H.	Yorks., Shipley	102, Lancaster Gate, W.
Isaacs, Rufus D., K.C.	Reading	32, Park Lane, W.
Jackson, R. S.	Greenwich	Stobcross Lodge, Crooms Hill, Green- wich, S.E.
Jardine, Sir J.	Roxburghshire	Applegarth, Godalming, Surrey
Jones, Sir D. Brynmor	Swansea District	27, Brynston Square, W.
Jones, Leif S.	Westmorland, Appleby	1, Palace Green, Kensington, W.
Jones, William	Carnarvonshire, Arfon	24, Gordon Street, W.C.
Kearley, Sir H. E., Bart.	Devonport	7, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
Kekewich, Sir G. W.	Exeter	St. Albans, Feltham, Middlesex.
King, A. J.	Cheshire, Knutsford	2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Laidlaw, Sir Robert	Renfrewshire, E.	44, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
Lamb, Edmund	Herefordshire, Leominster.	Bordon Wood, Chithurst, Liphook, S.O., Hants.
Lamb, Ernest H.	Rochester	37, King William Street, E.C.
Lambert, George	Devon, S. Molton	94, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Lamont, Norman	Buteshire	4, Queen Street, Mayfair, W.
Layland-Barratt, Sir F., Bart. ..	Devon, Torquay	68, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Lea, H. C.	St. Pancras, E.	60, Cadogan Place, S.W.
Leese, Sir J. F., Bart.	Lancs., Accrington	2, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
Lehmann, E. C.	Lincs., Harborough	59, Ashley Gardens, S.W.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Lever, W. H.	Cheshire, Wirrall	The Hill, North End, Hampstead, N.W.
Levy, Sir M.	Leics., Loughborough	Humberstone Hall, Leicester
Levy-Lever, Arthur	Essex, Harwich	20, Hans Crescent, S.W.
Lewis, J. Herbert	Flintshire	23, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Lloyd-George, Rt. Hon. D.	Carnarvon District	11, Downing Street, S.W.
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas	Islington, W.	14, Dean's Yard, S.W.
Lupton, Arnold	Lines, Sleaford	7, Victoria Street, S.W.
Lyell, C. H.	Dorset, E.	48, Eaton Place, S.W.
Lynch, H. F. B.	Yorks., Ripon	33, Pont Street, S.W.
McCallum, John M.	Paisley	38, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.
Macdonald, J. A. Murray	Falkirk Burghs	15, Thurlow Rd., Hampstead, N.W.
Mackarness, F. C.	Berks., Newbury	21, Montpelier Square, S.W.
McKenna, Rt. Hon. R.	Monmouthshire, N.	Admiralty, S.W.
McLaren, Sir C. B., Bart.	Leicestershire, Bosworth.	43, Belgrave Square, S.W.
McLaren, H. D.	Staffs., W.	43, Belgrave Square, S.W.
Maclean, Donald	Bath	75, Victoria Street, S.W.
McMicking, Major Gilbert	Kirkcudbrightshire	Norwood Hill House, Charlwood, Surrey.
Macnamara, T. J.	Camberwell, N.	Clontarf, Rollscourt Avenue, Herne Hill, S.E.
Mallet, C. E.	Plymouth	The Green, Wimbledon Common, S.W.
Manfield, Harry	Northants., Mid	Moulton Grange, Northampton
Mansfield, H. R.	Lines, Spalding	National Liberal Club, S.W.
Markham, A. B.	Notts., Mansfield	48, Portland Place, W.
Marks, G. Croydon	Cornwall, Launceston	18, Southampton Buildings, W.C.
Marnham, F. J.	Surrey, Chertsey	Crouch Oak, Addlestone, S.O., Surrey
Mason, A. E. W.	Coventry	17, Stratton Street, W.
Massie, John	Wilts., Cricklade	Reform Chambers, 105, Pall Mall, S.W.
Masterman, C. F. G.	West Ham, N.	46, Gillingham Street, S.W.
Menzies, Sir Walter	Lanarkshire, S.	34, Gordon Square, W.C.
Mickleth, N., K.C.	Herts., Watford	6, New Ct., Carey St., Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Middlebrook, William	Leeds, S.	Thornfield, Morley, Leeds
Molteno, P. A.	Dumfriesshire	10, Palace Court, W.
Mond, Alfred	Chester	35, Lowndes Square, S.W.
Money, L. G. Chiozza-	Paddington, N.	Tyhurst, Chaldon, Surrey
Montagu, Hon. E. S.	Camb., Chesterton	12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.
Montgomery, H. G.	Somerset, Bridgwater	14, Howick Place, S.W.
Morgan, G. Hay	Cornwall, Truro	58, Westminster Mansions, Great Smith Street, S.W.
Morgan, J. Lloyd	Carmarthenshire	4, Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.
Morrell, Philip	Oxon., Henley	12, Bedford Row, W.C.
Morse, L. L.	Wilts., South	The Croft, Swindon, Wilts.
Morton, A. C.	Sutherlandshire	47, Gauden Road, Clapham, S.W.
Munro-Ferguson, R. C.	Leith Burghs	46, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Murray, Capt. Hon. A. C.	Kincardineshire	18, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Murray, James	Aberdeenshire, E.	3, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Myer, H.	Lambeth, N.	64, Maida Vale, W.
Napier, T. B.	Kent, Faversham	7, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Newnes, Frank	Notts., Bassetlaw	4, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Newnes, Sir G., Bart.	Swansea Town	4, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Nicholson, C. N.	Yorks., Doncaster	35, Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
Norman, Sir Henry	Wolverhampton, S.	Honeyhanger, Haslemere, Surrey
Norton, Capt. Cecil W.	Newington, W.	2, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
Nussey, Sir T. W., Bart.	Pontefract	Rushwood, Tanfield, Bedale, Yorks.
Nuttall, H.	Lancs., Stretford	Raynor Croft, Bowdon, Cheshire
O'Donnell, C. J.	Newington, Walworth	24, Parkside, Knightsbridge, S.W.
Osmond-Williams, Sir A., Bart.	Merionethshire	79a, Pall Mall, S.W.
Partington, Oswald	Derbyshire, High Peak	18, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Paul, Herbert W.	Northampton	13, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W.
Paulton, J. Mellor	Durham, Bishop Auckland	2, Delahay Street, Westminster, S.W.
Pearce, Robert	Staffs., Leek	116, Fore Street, E.C.
Pearce, William	Limehouse	14, Park Crescent, Portland Place, W.
Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bart.	Colchester	16, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
Pearson, W. Harold D.	Suffolk, Eye	6, Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.
Pease, Rt. Hon. J. A.	Essex, Saffron Walden	8, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
Perks, Sir R. W., Bart.	Lines, Louth	15, Great George Street, S.W.
Phinpps, Col. Ivor	Southampton	16, Chantry House, Eccleston Street, S.W.
Philipps, Owen	Pembroke District	76, Eaton Square, S.W.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Pickersgill, E. H.	Bethnal Green, S.W.	2, Essex Court, Temple, E.C.
Pirie, D. V.	Aberdeen, N.	Caskieben, Kinaldie, Aberdeenshire.
Pollard, Sir G. H.	Lancs., Eccles	2, Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
Ponsonby, A. A. W.	Stirling Burghs	68, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
Price, C. E.	Edinburgh, Central	105, Pall Mall, S.W.
Price, Sir R. J.	Norfolk, E.	6, Sussex Mansions, Sussex Pl., S.W.
Priestley, A.	Grantham	Hungerton Hall, Grantham
Priestley, Sir W. F. B.	Bradford, E.	Rosemont House, Bradford
Pullar, Sir R.	Perth	18, Chelms Street, W.C.
Radford, G. H.	Islington, E.	27, Chancery Lane, W.C.
Rainy, A. Rolland	Kilmarnock Burghs	29, Lower Seymour Street, W.
Raphael, H. H.	Derbyshire, S.	5, Cavendish Square, W.
Rea, Russell	Gloucester	22, Lyndhurst Rd., Hampstead, N.W.
Rea, Walter R.	Scarborough	17, Lyndhurst Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
Rees, J. D.	Montgomery District	14, Pall Mall, S.W.
Rendall, Athelstan	Glos., Thornbury	The Knoll, Yeovil, Somerset
Richardson, Arthur	Nottingham, S.	Friar Lane, Nottingham
Rickett, Sir J. Compton	Yorks., Osgoldcross	100, Lancaster Gate, W.
Ridsdale, E. A.	Brighton	7, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.
Roberts, C. H.	Lincoln	Brackland, Hindhead, Surrey
Roberts, Sir J. H., Bart.	Denbighshire, W.	Bryngwenallt, Abergele, N. Wales
Robertson, Sir G. S.	Bradford, Central	2, Mitre Ct. Buildings, Temple, E.C.
Robertson, J. M.	Northumberland, Tyneside	Viewhurst, Westerham, Kent
Robinson, Sydney	Brecknockshire	Winsley House, Nr. Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
Robson, Sir W. S., K.C.	South Shelds	26, Eaton Square, S.W.
Roch, W. F.	Pembrokeshire	1, Wellington Mansions, York Street, Westminster, S.W.
Roe, Sir T.	Derby	Litchurch, Derby
Rogers, F. E. N.	Wilts., Devizes	48, Ivern Gardens, Kensington, W.
Rose, Sir C. D., Bart.	Camb., Newmarket	Suffolk House, Newmarket
Rowlands, James	Kent, Dartford	119, Mercer's Rd., Tufnell Park, N.
Runciman, Rt. Hon. Walter	Dewsbury	15, Great College Street, S.W.
Russell, Rt. Hon. T. W.	Tyrone, S.	St. Stephen's Green, Dublin
Rutherford, Dr. V. H.	Middlesex, Brentford	6, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
Samuel, Rt. Hon. Herbert L.	Yorks., Cleveland	88, Gloucester Ter., Hyde Park, W.
Samuel, Stuart M.	Whitechapel	12, Hill Street, Mayfair, W.
Scarisbrick, Sir T., Bart.	Dorset, S.	3, Mount Street, W.
Schwann, C. D.	Cheshire, Hyde	4, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
Schwann, Sir C. E., Bart.	Manchester, N.	4, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
Scott, A. H.	Ashton-under-Lyne	108, Westbourne Terrace, W.
Sears, J. E.	Cheltenham	Rydal Mount, Holders Hill, Hendon, N.W.
Seaverns, J. H.	Lambeth, Brixton	25, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Seely, Right Hon. Col. J. E. B.	Liverpool, Abercromby	29, Chester Square, S.W.
Shaw, Sir C. E., Bart.	Stafford	Tettenhall, Wolverhampton
Sherwell, Arthur	Huddersfield	57, Great Russell Street, W.C.
Shipman, Dr. J. G.	Northampton	5, Crown Office Row, Temple, E.C.
Silcock, T. B.	Somerset, Wells	Walden, Widcombe Hill, Bath
Simon, J. A., K.C.	Essex, Walthamstow	57, Kensington Court, W.
Smeaton, D. M.	Stirlingshire	102, Belgrave Road, S.W.
Soames, A. W.	Norfolk, S.	18, Park Crescent, W.
Soarea, E. J.	Devon, Barnstaple	11, Alexandra Ct., Queen's Gate, S.W.
Spicer, Sir A., Bart.	Hackney, Central	10, Lancaster Gate, W.
Stanger, H. Yorke, K.C.	Kensington, N.	1, New Court, Temple, E.C.
Stanley, Hon. A. L.	Cheshire, Eddisbury	26, St. Leonard's Ter., Chelsea, S.W.
Stewart, Halley	Greenock	The Red House, Harpenden, Herts.
Stewart-Smith, D., K.C.	Westmorland, Kendal	81, Norfolk Square, Hyde Park, W.
Strachey, Sir E., Bart.	Somerset, S.	27, Cadogan Gardens, S.W.
Straus, B. S.	Mile End	86, Hyde Park Mansions, Marylebone Road, N.W.
Strauss, E. A.	Berks., Abingdon	49, Grosvenor Square, W.
Stuart, Rt. Hon. James	Sunderland	24, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Sutherland, J. E.	Elgin Burghs	Ald St., Portsoy, S.O., Banffshire
Taylor, Austin	Liverpool, East Toxteth	80, Eccleston Square, S.W.
Taylor, Theodore C.	Lancs., Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth	81, Ermin's Hotel, Caxton St., S.W.
Tennant, Sir E. P., Bart.	Salisbury	34, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
Tennant, Harold J.	Berwickshire	Hutton Castle, Berwick-on-Tweed
Thomas, Abel, K.C.	Carmarthenshire, E.	85, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Thomas, Sir A.	Glamorganshire, E. . .	Devonshire Club, S.W.
Thomas, D. A.	Merthyr Tydvil	122, Ashley Gardens, S.W.
Thomasson, Franklin . . .	Leicester	36, Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, W.
Thompson, J. W. H.	Somerset, E.	2, Southwick Cres., Hyde Park, W.
Thorne, G. B.	Wolverhampton, E. . .	23, Greycoat Gardens, Greycoat Place, W.
Tillett, Louis J.	Norwich	Old Catton, Norwich
Tomkinson, Right Hon. James .	Cheshire, Crewe	Willington Hall, Tarporley, Cheshire
Toulmin, G.	Bury	33, West Cliff, Preston
Trevelyan, C. P.	Yorks., Elland	14, Great College Street, S.W.
Ure, A., K.C.	Linlithgowshire	31, Heriot Row, Edinburgh
Vaughan-Davies, M.	Cardiganshire	17, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
Verney, F. W.	Bucks, Buckingham . . .	12, Connaught Place, W.
Villiers, E. A.	Brighton	22, Adelaide Crescent, Brighton
Walker, H. de R.	Leics., Melton	27, Horton Court, Kensington High Street, W.
Walters, J. Tudor	Sheffield, Brightside . .	37, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
Walton, Joseph.	Yorks., Barnsley	Rushpool, Baltbarn-by-Sea, Yorks.
Ward, W. Dudley	Southampton	14a, Berkeley Street, W.
Waring, Capt. Walter	Banffshire	9, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
Warner, T. Courtenay T. . . .	Staffs., Lichfield	56, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Wason, Rt. Hon. Eugene	Clackmannan & Kinross .	8, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
Wason, J. Cathcart	Orkney & Shetland . . .	40, Grosvenor Road, S.W.
Waterlow, D. S.	Islington, N.	38, Cornwall Gardens, S. Kensington
Watt, H. Anderson	Glasgow, College	Ardensale House, Hunters Quay, N.B.
Wedgwood, J. O.	Newcastle-under-Lyme . .	2, Phillimore Gardens, W.
Weir, J. Galloway	Rosa and Cromarty . . .	4, Frognaal, Hampstead, N.W.
Whitbread, S. H.	Hunts., Huntingdon . . .	11, Mansfield Street, W.
White, Sir George	Norfolk, N.W.	The Grange, Eaton, Norwich
White, J. Dundas	Dunbartonshire	50, Clanricarde Gardens, W.
White, Sir Luke	Yorks., Buckrose	Driffild, East Yorkshire
Whitehead, Rowland	Essex, S. E.	8, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
Whitley, J. H.	Halifax	61, Burton Court, Chelsea, S.W.
Whittaker, Rt. Hon. Sir T. P. .	Yorks., Spen Valley . . .	13, Tavilton St., Gordon Sq., W.C.
Wiles, Thomas	Islington, S.	Reform Club, S.W.
Williams, W. Llewellyn	Carmarthen District . . .	185, Church Street, Chelsea, S.W.
Williamson, Sir A., Bart.	Elgin and Nairn	2, Great St. Helen's, E.C.
Wills, A. W.	Dorset, N.	Colebrook, The Grange, Wimbledon, S.W.
Wilson, Hon. Guy G.	Hull, W.	Warter Priory, York
Wilson, H. J.	Yorks., Holmfirth	Osgathorpe Hills, Sheffield
Wilson, John W.	Worces., N.	Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
Wilson, P. W.	St. Pancras, S.	10, Percy Circus, W.C.
Winfrey, R.	Norfolk, S.W.	Sutton House, Peterborough
Wodehouse, Lord	Norfolk, Mid	Wilton Park, North Walsham, Norfolk
Wood, T. McKinnon	Glasgow, St. Rollox . . .	16, Portland Place, W.
Yoxall, Sir J. H.	Nottingham, W.	20, Kew Gardens Road, Kew, Surrey

LABOUR PARTY (32).

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Barnes, G. N.	Glasgow, Blackfriars . .	108, Peckham Road, S.E.
Bowerman, C. W.	Deptford	4, Battledan Road, Highbury, N.
Clynes, J. K.	Manchester, N.E.	12, The Crescent, Burlington Lane, Chiswick, W.
Crooks, Will	Woolwich	81, Gough Street, Poplar, E.
Curran, Pete	Durham, Jarrow	1, Pretoria Av., Walthamstow, E.
Duncan, C.	Barrow-in-Furness	16, Agincourt Road, Hampstead, N.W.
Gill, A. H.	Bolton	97, Kennington Road, S.E.
Glover, T.	St. Helens	56, Bickerstaffe Street, St. Helens
Hardie, J. Keir	Merthyr Tydvil	14, Nevill's Ct., Fetter Lane, E.C.
Henderson, Arthur	Durham, Barnard Castle	Teesdale House, Atherfold Road, Stockwell, S.W.
Hodge, John	Lancs., Gorton	37, Shooters Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.
Hudson, Walter	Newcastle-on-Tyne	22, Atherfold Road, Clapham, S.W.
Jenkins, J.	Chatham	Grange Town, Cardiff
Jowett, F. W.	Bradford, West	2, Grantham Place, Bradford, Yorks.
Kelley, G. D.	Manchester, S.W.	97, Kennington Road, S.E.
Macdonald, J. Ramsay	Leicester	8, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
Macpherson, J. T.	Preston	15, Russell Rd., Whalley Range, Manchester
O'Grady, James	Leeds, East	50, Werrington St., St. Pancras, N.W.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Parker, J.	Halifax	22, Salisbury Place, Halifax
Pointer, J.	Sheffield, Attercliffe	Low Street, Sheffield
Richards, T. F.	Wolverhampton, West	Archdale Street, Syston, Leicester
Roberts, G. H.	Norwich	31, Cardliff Road, Norwich
Seddon, J. A.	Lancs., Newton	48, Lingholme Road, St. Helens
Shackleton, D. J.	Lancs., Clitheroe	51, London Terrace, Darwen, Lancs.
Snowden, Philip	Blackburn	10, Barons Court Road, W.
Summerbell, T.	Sunderland	14, St. Vincent Street, Sunderland
Taylor, J. W.	Durham, Chester-le-street.	The Avenue, Durham
Thorne, Will	West Ham, South	1, Lawrence Road, Upton Manor, West Ham, E.
Walsh, S.	Lancs., Ince	8, Swinley Road, Wigan
Wardle, G. J.	Stockport	251, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.
Wilkie, Alexander	Dundee	Eldon Square, Newcastle-on-Tyne
Wilson, W. Tyson	Lancs., West Houghton	98, Morningson Road, Bolton

TRADE UNION LABOUR PARTY (23).

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Abraham, W.	Glamorganshire, Rhondda Valley.	Bryn-y-Bedw, Pentre, Rhondda, Glam.; Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W.
Bell, Richard	Derby	72, Acton St., Gray's Inn Road, W.C.
Brace, William	Glamorganshire, South	Bryn Ivor, Abertillery, Mon.
Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas	Morpeth	20, Burdon Ter., Newcastle-on-Tyne
Edwards, Enoch	Hanley	Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W.
Fenwick, Charles	Northumberland, Wansbeck.	95, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.
Hall, Fred	Yorks., Normanton	Rawmarsh, Rotherham
Hancock, J. G.	Derbyshire, Mid	2, Craven Street, W.C.
Harvey, W. E.	Derbyshire, N.E.	Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W.
Haslam, J.	Derbyshire, Chesterfield.	47, Clarence Road, Chesterfield
Johnson, John	Gateshead	82, Denbigh Street, Pimlico, S.W.
Johnson, Wm.	Warwickshire, Nuneaton.	Bedworth, Nuneaton, Warws.
Maddison, Fred	Burnley	12, Acris Street, Wandsworth, S.W.
Nichols, G.	Northants., North	162, Lincoln Road, Peterborough
Richards, Thomas	Monmouthshire, West	Ty-Cendil, Beaufort, S.O., Breconshire
Stanley, Albert	Staffs., N.W.	Woods-Raves, Hedsnesford, Staffs.
Steadman, W. C.	Finsbury, Central (Clerkenwell)	69, Thornton Avenue, Turnham Green, W.
Vivian, Henry	Birkenhead	6, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
Wadsworth, John	Yorks., Hallamshire	2, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley
Ward, John	Stoke-on-Trent	7, Herndon Rd., Wandsworth, S.W.
Williams, J.	Glamorganshire, Gower	48, Edward's Road, Swansea
Wilson, J. Havelock	Middlesbrough	Maritime Hall, West India Dock Road, E.
Wilson, John	Durham, Mid	20, Upper Kennington Lane, S.E.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST (1).

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Grayson, Victor	Yorks., Colne Valley	46, Stockwell Park Road, S.W.

IRISH NATIONALISTS (83).

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Abraham, W.	Cork County, N.E.	26, Ashmount Rd., Hornsey Lane, N.
Ambrose, R.	Mayo, West	The Mount, Shoot Up Hill, Brondesbury, N.W.
Barry, Edward	Cork County, South	New Mill, Rosscarbery, E.S.O., Co. Cork
Boland, J. P.	Kerry, South	4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
Burke, E. Haviland	King's Co., Tullamore	70, Waterloo Road, Dublin
Clancy, J. J.	Dublin County, North	1, Breefin Terrace, Sandycove Road, Co. Dublin
Condon, T. J.	Tipperary, East	New Quay, Clonmel, Ireland
Crean, Eugene	Cork County, S.E.	Cork
Cullinan, J.	Tipperary, South	Bansha, Co. Tipperary

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Delany, W. P.	Queen's Co., Ossory	Tullamore, Ireland
Devlin, Joseph	Belfast, West	39, Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin
Dillon, John	Mayo, East	North Great George Street, Dublin
Donelan, Capt. A. J.	Cork County, East	Ballymona, Midleton, Co. Cork
Duffy, W. J.	Galway, South	Shrauld Mor, Loughrea, Co. Galway
Esmonde, Sir T., Bart.	Wexford, North	Ballynastagh, Gorey, Co. Wexford
Farrell, J. P.	Longford, North	57, Denbigh Street, S.W.
French, Peter	Wexford, South	Harpoonstown, Wexford
Fleld, W.	Dublin City, St. Patrick's.	Main Street, Blackrock, Co. Dublin
Flavin, Michael J.	Kerry, North	119, Rock Street, Tralee, Ireland
Flynn, J. C.	Cork County, North	4, York Terrace, Cork
Gilhooly, J.	Cork County, West	Bantry, Co. Cork
Ginnell, Laurence	Westmeath, North	House of Commons, S.W.
Gwynn, Stephen L.	Galway City	Raheny Park, Co. Dublin
Harrington, Timothy C.	Dublin City, Harbour	70, Harcourt Street, Dublin
Hayden, J. P.	Roscommon, South	Mullingar, Ireland
Hazleton, Richard	Galway, North	Idrone-sur-Mere, Blackrock, Co. Dublin
Healy, Maurice	Cork City	House of Commons, S.W.
Healy, T. M.	Louth, North	Glenaulin, Chapelizod, Co. Dublin
Hogan, M.	Tipperary, North	House of Commons, S.W.
Jordan, Jeremiah	Fermanagh, South	High Street, Enniskillen
Joyce, M.	Limerick City	5, Arthur's Quay, Limerick
Kavanagh, W. M.	Carlow County	Borris House, Borris, Co. Carlow
Kennedy, Vincent P.	Cavan, West	7, Farnham Street, Cavan, Ireland
Kettle, T. M.	Tyrone, East	House of Commons, S.W.
Kilbride, Dennis	Kildare, South	Luggacurren, Stradbally, Queen's Co.
Lardner, James C. R.	Monaghan, North	Irish Club, W.C.
Law, Hugh A.	Donegal, West	Bath Club, W.
London, William	Limerick, East	House of Commons, S.W.
Lynch, A.	Clare, West	80, Antrim Mansions, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
McKean, John	Monaghan, South	Ardnagrelina, Kingstown, Co. Dublin
McNeill, J. G. Swift	Donegal, South	14, Blackhall Street, Dublin
McVeagh, Jeremiah	Down, South	2, Upper Montague Street, Russell Square, W.C.
McVeigh, C.	Donegal, East	Letterkenny, Co. Donegal
Meagher, Michael	Kilkenny, North	10, Fentiman Road, S.W.
Meehan, F. E.	Leitrim, North	14, Bessborough Gardens, S.W.
Meehan, P. Aloysius	Queen's Co., Leix	Maryborough, Ireland
Mooney, J. J.	Newry	Albert Cham., Victoria St., S.W.
Muldoon, J.	Wicklow, East	6, Jeffreys Road, Clapham, S.W.
Murnaghan, George	Tyrone, Mid.	Lisanelly House, Omagh, Ireland
Murphy, John	Kerry, East	Park Place, Killarney, Co. Kerry
Murphy, N. J.	Kilkenny, South	House of Commons, S.W.
Nannetti, J. P.	Dublin City, College Green.	5, Juverna Terrace, Finglas Road, Dublin
Nolan, Joseph	Louth, South	House of Commons, S.W.
Nugent, Sir W. B., Bart.	Westmeath, South	Donore, Multifarnham, Westmeath
O'Brien, K. E.	Tipperary, Mid	Golden Hills, Cashel, Co. Tipperary
O'Brien, Patrick	Kilkenny, City	Irish Club, W.C.
O'Connor, James	Wicklow, West	National Liberal Club, S.W.
O'Connor, John	Kildare, North	4, Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.
O'Connor, T. P.	Liverpool, Scotland	National Liberal Club, S.W.
O'Doherty, Philip	Donegal, North	11, East Wall, Londonderry
O'Donnell, J.	Mayo, South	Galway, Ireland
O'Donnell, Thomas	Kerry, West	Killorglin, Kerry
O'Dowd, John	Sligo, South	Brumnadden, Co. Sligo
O'Kelly, Conor	Mayo, North	Claremorris, Co. Mayo
O'Kelly, James	Roscommon, North	House of Commons, S.W.
O'Malley, William	Galway, Connemara	St. Ermin's Hotel, Caxton St., S.W.
O'Neill, Dr. C.	Armagh, South	House of Commons, S.W.
O'Shaughnessy, P. J.	Limerick, West	Rathkeale, Co. Limerick
O'Shea, James J.	Waterford, West	Newtown, Carrick-on-Suir, Ireland
Philips, J.	Longford, South	House of Commons, S.W.
Power, P. J.	Waterford, East	13, Templeton Place, West Cromwell Road, S.W.
Reddy, M.	King's County, Birr	Shannon Bridge, King's Co., Ireland
Redmond, John E.	Waterford City	21 Wynnstey Gardens, Kensington, W.
Redmond, William H. K.	Clare, East	Glenbrook, Delgany, Co. Wicklow
Roche, Augustine	Cork City	King Street, Cork
Roche, John	Galway, East	Woodford, Loughrea, Ireland
Scanlan, T.	Sligo, North	House of Commons, S.W.

* Mr. O'Brien died on Nov. 27th, 1909.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Sheehan, D. D.	Cork County, Mid . . .	House of Commons, S.W.
Sheehy, David	Meath, South	2, Belvedere Place, Dublin
Smyth, Thomas F.	Leitrim, South	Tooman, Dromod, Co. Leitrim
Waldron, Lawrence A.	Dublin City, ...	10, Angelsea Street, Dublin
White, P.	St. Stephen's Green	
Young, Samuel	Meath, North	22, Henry Street, Dublin
	Cavan, East.	Avonmore, Derrivolgie, Belfast

CONSERVATIVES (166).

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Acland-Hood, Rt. Hon. Sir A. F., Bart.	Somerset, Wellington..	29, St. James's Court, S.W.
Akers-Douglas, Rt. Hon. A.	Kent, St. Augustine's . .	113, Mount Street, W.
Anson, Sir W. R., Bart.	Oxford University . . .	192, Ashley Gardens, S.W.
Anstruther-Gray, Major W.	St. Andrews Burghs . .	9, Eaton Square, S.W.
Arkwright, J. Stanhope	Hereford City	56, St. George's Square, S.W.
Ashley, Wilfrid	Lancs., Blackpool	32, Bruton Street, W.
Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon. Sir H.	Sussex, Lewes	1, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.
Balcarras, Lord	Lancs., Chorley	7, Audley Square, W.
Baldwin, Stanley	Worcs., Bewdley	27, Queen's Gate, S.W.
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Arthur J.	City of London	4, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
Banbury, Sir F. G., Bart.	City of London	41, Lowndes Street, S.W.
Baring, Capt. Hon. G. V.	Winchester	16, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Barrie, Hugh T.	Londonderry, North . .	Constitutional Club, S.W.
Beckett, Hon. W. Gervase	Yorks., Whitby	1, Hyde Park Place, W.
Bellairs, Lieut. Carlyon	King's Lynn	1, Morpeth Ter., Westminster, S.W.
Bignold, Sir Arthur	Wick Burghs	2, Curzon Street, Mayfair, W.
Bowles, G. F. Stewart	Lambeth, Norwood . . .	36, Connaught Square, W.
Bridgeman, W. C.	Shropshire, Oswestry . .	13, Mansfield Street, W.
Brotherton, Edward A.	Wakefield	The Gables, Wakefield
Bull, Sir W. J.	Hammersmith	31, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.
Burdett-Coutts, W. A.	Westminster	1, Stratton Street, Piccadilly, W.
Butcher, S. H.	Cambridge University .	6, Tavistock Square, W.C.
Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. H. M.	Dublin University . . .	Constitutional Club, S.W.
Carlile, Col. E. Hildred	Herts., St. Albans . . .	Manor House, Ponsbourne, nr. Hertford
Carson, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward	Dublin University . . .	5, Eaton Place, S.W.
Castlereagh, Viscount	Maidstone	Londonderry House, Park Lane, W.
Cave, George, K.C.	Surrey, Kingston	86, Piccadilly, W.
Cecil, Evelyn	Aston Manor	10, Eaton Place, S.W.
Cecil, Lord Robert	Marylebone, East	25, Grove End Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph	Birmingham, West . . .	Highbury Moor Green, Birmingham
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Austen..	Worcestershire, East . .	9, Egerton Place, S.W.
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry	Surrey, Wimbledon . . .	Stafford House, St. James's, S.W.
Clark, George S.	Belfast, North	Dunlambert, Belfast
Clive, Capt. P. A.	Herefordshire, Ross . .	21, Chester Street, S.W.
Clyde, J. Avon, K.C.	Edinburgh, West	27, Moray Place, Edinburgh
Coates, Major E. F.	Lewisham	53, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Cochrane, Hon. T. H.	Ayrshire, North	Crawford Priory, Cupar, Fife
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse	Birmingham, Bordesley	Southfield, Edgbaston, Birmingham
Corbett, T. L.	Down, North	57, Warwick Square, Pimlico, S.W.
Courthope, G. L.	Sussex, Rye	Fairview, Hawkhurst, Kent
Craig, C. C.	Antrim, South	55, Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park, W.
Craig, Capt. H. J.	Down, East	Craigavon, Strandtown, Belfast
Craik, Sir Henry	Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities	5a, Dean's Yard, S.W.
Dalrymple, Viscount	Wigtonshire	17, Eaton Square, S.W.
Dickson, Rt. Hon. C. Scott	Glasgow, Central	22, Moray Place, Edinburgh
Doughty, Sir G.	Grimsby	24, Buckingham Gate, S.W.
Du Cros, Arthur P.	Hastings	Canon's Park, Edgware, Middlesex
Dumphreys, John	Bermondsey	House of Commons, S.W.
Duncan, Robert	Lanarkshire, Govan . . .	9, Inverness Terrace, W.
Faber, Capt. W. V.	Hants., Andover	Weyhill, nr. Andover
Faber, G. D.	York City	14, Grosvenor Square, W.
Fardell, Sir T. G.	Paddington, South	26, Hyde Park Street, W.
Fell, Arthur	Great Yarmouth	46, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Fetherstonhaugh, Godfrey, K.C.	Fermanagh, North	5, Herbert Street, Dublin
Fletcher, J. B.	Hampstead	Merlewood, Virginia Water, S.O., Surrey

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Forster, H. W.	Kent, Sevenoaks.....	Southend Hall, Catford, Kent
Foster, P. S.	Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon.	Claridge's Hotel, W.
Gardner, Ernest	Berks, Wokingham ..	Spencers, Maidenhead, Berks.
Gibbs, G. A.	Bristol, West	35, Wilton Place, S.W.
Gooch, H. C.	Camberwell, Peckham ..	17, Oxford Square, W.
Gordon, J., K.C.	Londonderry, South ..	25, Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin
Goulding, E. A.	Worcester City	2, Mifre Court Chambers, Fleet Street, E.C.
Gretton, John	Rutlandshire	66, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.
Guinness, Hon. Rupert E. C. L.	Shoreditch, Haggerston ..	11, St. James's Square, S.W.
Guinness, Hon. Walter E.	Bury St. Edmunds	11, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
Haddock, G. B.	Lancs., North Lonsdale ..	113a, Piccadilly, W.
Hamilton, Marquis of	Londonderry City	Carlton Club, S.W.
Hardy, Lawrence	Kent, Ashford	42, Lowndes Square, S.W.
Harmood-Banner, J.	Liverpool, Everton.....	Ashfield Hall, Neston, Cheshire
Harris, F. Leverton	Stepney, Tower Hamlets	70, Grosvenor Street, S.W.
Harrison-Broadley, Col. H. B.	Yorks., Howdenshire ..	Welton House, Brough, East Yorks.
Hay, Hon. Claude	Shoreditch, Hoxton	5, Connaught Square, W.
Heaton, J. Henniker	Canterbury	8, Chester Square, S.W.
Helmsey, Viscount	Yorks., Thirsk and Malton.	Nawton Grange, Nawton, York
Hermon-Hodge, Sir R. T., Bart.	Croydon	Wyfold Court, Reading
Hicks-Beach, Hon. M.	Gloucestershire, Tewkesbury.	81, Eaton Place, S.W.
Hill, Sir C. L.	Shrewsbury	13, Chesterfield Street, W.
Hills, J. W.	Durham City	23, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
Hope, J. Fitzalan	Sheffield, Central	Heron's Ghyll, Uckfield, Sussex
Hornby, Sir W. H., Bart.	Blackburn	Pleasington Hall, Blackburn
Houston, R. P.	Liverpool, W. Toxteth ..	35, Parkside, Knightsbridge Rd., S.W.
Hunt, Rowland	Shropshire, Ludlow	21, Carlisle Mansions, S.W.
Joicey-Cecil, Lord J.	Lincolnshire, Stamford ..	5a, Mount Street, W.
Joynton-Hicks, W.	Manchester, North-West ..	26a, Bryanston Square, W.
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bart.	Devon, Honiton	Escott, Ottery St. Mary, Devon
Kerry, Earl of	Derbyshire, West	18, Gloucester Place, W.
Keswick, W.	Surrey, Epsom	3, Lombard Street, E.C.
Kimber, Sir Henry, Bart.	Wandsworth	86, York Street, S.W.
King, Sir H. Seymour	Hull, Central	23, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.
Lambton, Hon. F. W.	Durham, S.E.	72, Upper Berkeley Street, W.
Lane-Fox, George	Yorks., Barkston Ash ..	88, Eaton Square, S.W.
Law, A. Bonar	Dulwich	Carlton Club, S.W.
Lee, Arthur H.	Hants., Fareham	10, Chesterfield Street, W.
Lockwood, Rt. Hon. Col. A. R. M.	Essex, Epping	5, Audley Square, W.
Long, Col. C. W.	Worcs., Evesham	Severn Bank, Severn Stoke, Worcs.
Long, Rt. Hon. Walter H.	Dublin County, South ..	51, Cadogan Gardens, S.W.
Lonsdale, J. B.	Armagh, Mid	13, Prince's Gardens, S.W.
Lowe, Sir F. W.	Birmingham, Edgbaston.	2, Queen's Gate, Kensington, W.
Lytton, Hon. Alfred	St. George's, Hanover Square.	16, Great College Street, S.W.
McArthur, Charles	Liverpool, Kirkdale ..	13, St. Mary Axe, E.C.
McCalmont, Col. James M.	Antrim, East	Carlton Club, S.W.
MacCaw, W. J. M.	Down, West	194, Queen's Gate, S.W.
Magnus, Sir Philip	London University	16, Gloucester Ter., Hyde Park, W.
Marks, H. H.	Kent, Isle of Thanet ..	6, Cavendish Square, W.
Mason, J. F.	Windsor	1, Chesterfield Gardens, W.
Meysey-Thomson, Major E. C.	Staffs., Handsworth ..	16, St. James's Place, S.W.
Middlemore, J. T.	Birmingham, North ..	Forelands, Bromsgrove, Worcs.
Mildmay, F. B.	Devon, Totnes	46, Berkeley Square, W.
Mitchell-Thomson, W.	Lanarkshire, N.W.	6, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh
Moore, W., K.C.	Armagh, North	Constitutional Club, S.W.
Morpeth, Viscount	Birmingham, South ..	Calthwaite Hall, Carlisle
Morrison-Bell, Capt. E. F.	Devon, Mid	Pitt House, Chudleigh, Devon
Newdigate-Newdegate, F.	Warwickshire, Tam- worth.	Arbury, Nuneaton, Warws.
Nicholson, W. G.	Hants., Petersfield	80, Eaton Square, S.W.
Nield, Herbert	Middlesex, Ealing	2, Dr. Johnson's Buildings, Temple, E.C.
Oddy, J. J.	Yorks., Pudsey	Carlton Club, S.W.
O'Neill, Hon. R. T.	Antrim, Mid	3, Regent Street, S.W.
Parker, Sir Gilbert	Gravescend	20, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.

MEMBER.	CONSTITUENCY.	ADDRESS.
Parkes, E.	Birmingham, Central	Oakgrange, Hermitage Road, Birmingham.
Pease, H. Pike	Darlington	Marrow Croft, Guildford
Peel, Hon. Wm. R. W.	Taunton	52, Grosvenor Street, W.
Percy, Earl	Kensington, South ..	64, Curzon Street, W.
Powell, Sir F. S., Bart.	Wigan	1, Cambridge Square, Hyde Park, W.
Pretymann, Capt. E. G.	Essex, Chelmsford ..	2, Belgrave Square, S.W.
Randles, Sir J. S.	Cumberland, Cocker- mouth.	Stilecroft, Workington, Cumberland
Ratcliff, Major R. F.	Staffs., Burton-on-Trent	2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Rawlinson, J. F. P.	Cambridge University	5, Crown Office Row, Temple, E.C.
Remnant, J. F.	Holborn	2, Mitre Court Chambers, Fleet Street, E.C.
Renton, Major A. Leslie	Lincs., Gainsborough ..	Naseby Hall, Rugby
Renwick, G.	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	1, Henshelwood Terrace, Newcastle
Roberts, Samuel	Sheffield, Eccleshall ..	4, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Ronaldshay, Earl of	Middlesex, Hornsey ..	12, Stratton Street, Piccadilly, W.
Ropner, Sir R., Bart.	Stockton-on-Tees	Preston Hall, nr. Stockton-on-Tees.
Rothschild, Hon. L. W.	Bucks, Aylesbury	148, Piccadilly, W.
Rutherford, John	Lancs., Darwen	101, Mount Street, W.
Rutherford, W. Watson	Liverpool, West Derby	37, St. Stephen's Mansions, Church Street, S.W.
Salter, A. Clavell	Hants., Basingstoke ..	26, Montagu Square, W.
Sandys, Col. T. M.	Lancs., Bootle	87, Jermyn Street, S.W.
Sassoon, Sir E. A., Bart.	Hythe	25, Park Lane, W.
Scott, Sir Samuel, Bart.	Marylebone, West ..	38, South Street, Mayfair, W.
Sheffield, Sir Berkeley D., Bart. ..	Lincolnshire, Brigg ..	Normanby Park, Doncaster
Sloan, T. H.	Belfast, South	17, Canning Street, Belfast
Smith, Hon. W. F. D.	Strand	3, Grosvenor Place, S.W.
Smith, Abel H.	Herts., East, ...	Woodhall Park, Hertford
Smith, F. E., K.C.	Liverpool, Walton	70, Eccleston Square, S.W.
Stanier, Beville	Shropshire, North ..	Peplow Hall, Market Drayton, Salop
Stanley, Hon. Arthur	Lancs., Ormskirk	50, Upper Brook Street, W.
Starkey, J. R.	Notts., Newark	Hill House, Southwell, Notts.
Staveley-Hill, H.	Staffs., Kingswinford ..	6, Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
Stone, Sir J. Benjamin	Birmingham, South ..	The Grange, Erdington, nr. Bir- mingham
Stuart-Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. ..	Sheffield, Hallam	7, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.
Talbot, Lord Edmund B.	Sussex, Chichester	1, Buckingham Palace Gardens, S.W.
Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G.	Oxford University	10, Great George Street, S.W.
Thornton, Percy M.	Clapham	30, Evelyn Gardens, South Ken- sington, S.W.
Tuke, Sir J. Batty	Edinburgh and St. Andrews University	20, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh
Valentia, Viscount	Oxford City	59, Cadogan Gardens, S.W.
Walker, Col. W. Hall	Lancs., Widnes	27, Sussex Pl., Regent's Park, N.W.
Walrond, Hon. W. Lionel C.	Devon, Tiverton	Tidcombe, Tiverton, Devon
Warde, Col. C. E.	Kent, Medway	Barham Court, Maidstone
Williams, Col. Robert	Dorset, West	Bridehead, Dorchester, Dorset
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord	Lincs., Horncastle ..	6, Audley Square, W.
Wilson, A. Stanley	Yorks., Holderness ..	2, Lower Berkeley Street, W.
Winterton, Earl	Sussex, Horsham	Shillingale Park, Petworth, Sussex
Wolf, G. W.	Belfast, East	42, Park St., Grosvenor Square, W.
Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George ..	Dover	35, Park Lane, W.
Younger, G.	Ayr Burghs	Carlton Club, S.W.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Alphabetical List of the House of Lords. The family name appears in brackets after the title. L before the names indicates that the peer is a Liberal.

- Abercorn, Duke of (*Hamilton*).
 Abercromby, Lord (*Abercromby*).
 L Aberdeen, Lord (*Bruce*).
 L Aberdeen, Earl of (*Gordon*).
 Abergavenny, Marquess of (*Nevill*).
 Abingdon, Earl of (*Bertie*).
 Abinger, Lord (*Scarlett*).
 L Acton, Lord (*Dalberg-Acton*).
 Addington, Lord (*Hubbard*).
 Allesbury, Marquess of (*Brudenell-Bruce*).
 Ailsa, Marquess of (*Kennedy*).
 L Alredale, Lord (*Kilson*).
 Albany, Duke of. *Prince of the Blood*.
 Albemarle, Earl of (*Keppel*).
 Aldenham, Lord (*Gibbs*).
 Allington, Lord (*Sturt*).
 L Allendale, Lord (*Beaumont*).
 Allerton, Lord (*Jackson*).
 L Althorp, Viscount (*Spencer*).
 Alverstone, Lord (*Webster*).
 Amherst, Earl (*Amherst*).
 Amptthill, Lord (*Russell*).
 Ancastr, Earl of (*Heathcote-Drummond-Willoughby*).
 Anglesey, Marquess of (*Paget*).
 L Annaly, Lord (*White*).
 Ardlaun, Lord (*Guinness*).
 Argyll, Duke of (*Campbell*).
 L Armitstead, Lord (*Armitstead*).
 Armstrong, Lord (*Watson-Armstrong*).
 L Arran, Earl of (*Gore*).
 Arundell of Wardour, Lord (*Arundell*).
 Ashbourne, Lord (*Gibson*).
 L Ashburnham, Earl of (*Ashburnham*).
 Ashburton, Lord (*Baring*).
 Ashcombe, Lord (*Cubitt*).
 L Ashton, Lord (*Williamson*).
 Ashtown, Lord (*Trench*).
 Athlumney, Lord (*Somerville*).
 Atholl, Duke of (*Stewart-Murray*).
 Atkinson, Lord, *Life Peer* (*Atkinson*).
 Auckland, Lord (*Eden*).
 Avebury, Lord (*Lubbock*).
 Aylesford, Earl of (*Finch*).
 Bagot, Lord (*Bagot*).
 Balfour of Burleigh, Lord (*Bruce*).
 Bandon, Earl of (*Bernard*).
 Bangor, Bishop of (*Williams*).
 Bangor, Viscount (*Ward*).
 Barnard, Lord (*Vane*).
 L Barrington, Viscount (*Barrington*).
 Barrymore, Lord (*Smith-Barry*).
 Basing, Lord (*Sclater-Booth*).
 Bateman, Lord (*Bateman-Hanbury*).
 Bath, Marquess of (*Thynne*).
 Bath and Wells, Bishop of (*Kennion*).
 Bathurst, Earl (*Bathurst*).
 L Beauchamp, Earl (*Ligon*).
 Beaufort, Duke of (*Somerset*).
 Bedford, Duke of (*Russell*).
 Belhaven and Stenton, Lord (*Hamilton*).
 Bellew, Lord (*Bellew*).
 Belmore, Earl of (*Lowry-Corry*).
 Belper, Lord (*Strutt*).
 Berkeley, Earl of (*Berkeley*).
 Berwick, Lord (*Noel-Hill*).
 Bessborough, Earl of (*Ponsonby*).
 Biddulph, Lord (*Biddulph*).
 Birmingham, Bishop of (*Gore*).
 L Blyth, Lord (*Blyth*).
 Blythswood, Lord (*Campbell*).
 Bolingbroke and St. John, Viscount, *Minor* (*St. John*).
 Bolton, Lord (*Orde-Powlett*).
 Borthwick, Lord (*Borthwick*).
 Boston, Lord (*Irby*).
 Boyne, Viscount (*Hamilton-Russell*).
 L Brabourne, Lord (*Knatchbull-Hugessen*).
 Bradford, Earl of (*Bridgeman*).
 L Brassey, Lord (*Brassey*).
 Braybrooke, Lord (*Neville*).
 Braye, Lord (*Verney-Cave*).
 L Breadalbane, Marquess of (*Campbell*).
 Bridport, Viscount (*Hood*).
 Bristol, Bishop of (*Broune*).
 Bristol, Marquess of (*Hervey*).
 Brougham and Vaux, Lord (*Brougham*).
 Brownlow, Earl (*Cust*).
 Buccleuch, Duke of (*Montagu-Douglas-Scott*).
 L Buckinghamshire, Earl of (*Hobart-Hampden-Mercer-Henderson*).
 L Burghclere, Lord (*Gardner*).
 Burnham, Lord (*Lery-Lawson*).
 Bute, Marquess of (*Crichton-Stuart*).
 Byron, Lord (*Byron*).
 Cadogan, Earl (*Cadogan*).
 Cairns, Earl (*Cairns*).
 Calthorpe, Lord (*Gough-Calthorpe*).
 Camden, Marquess (*Pratt*).
 Camoys, Lord (*Stonor*).
 Camperdown, Earl of (*Halldane-Duncan*).
 Canterbury, Archbishop of (*Davidson*).
 Canterbury, Viscount (*Manners-Sutton*).
 Carew, Lord (*Carew*).
 Carlisle, Earl of (*Howard*).
 Carnarvon, Earl of (*Herbert*).
 Carnwath, Earl of (*Dalzell*).
 L Carrington, Earl (*Wynn-Carrington*).
 Castlemaine, Lord (*Handcock*).
 L Castletown, Lord (*Fitzpatrick*).
 Cathcart, Earl (*Cathcart*).
 Cawdor, Earl (*Campbell*).
 Chelmsford, Lord (*Tessiger*).
 Chesham, Lord, *Minor* (*Cavendish*).
 Chester, Bishop of (*Jayne*).
 L Chesterfield, Earl of (*Scudamore-Stanhope*).
 Cheylesmore, Lord (*Eaton*).
 L Chichester, Earl of (*Pelham*).
 Cholmondeley, Marquess of (*Cholmondeley*).
 Churchill, Viscount (*Spencer*).
 Churston, Lord (*Yarde-Buller*).
 Clancarty, Earl of (*Le-Poer-Trench*).
 Clanricarde, Marquess of (*De-Burgh-Canning*).
 Clanwilliam, Earl of (*Meade*).
 Clarendon, Earl of (*Villiers*).
 L Clifden, Viscount (*Agar-Robartes*).
 Clifford of Chudleigh, Lord (*Cliford*).
 Clinton, Lord (*Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis*).
 Clonbrock, Lord (*Dillon*).
 Cloncurry, Lord (*Lawless*).
 Cobham, Viscount (*Lyttelton*).
 Colchester, Lord (*Abbot*).
 L Colebrooke, Lord (*Colebrooke*).
 L Coleridge, Lord (*Coleridge*).
 Collins, Lord, *Life Peer* (*Henn-Collins*).
 Colville of Culross, Viscount (*Colville*).
 Combermere, Viscount (*Stapleton-Cotton*).
 Congleton, Lord, *Minor* (*Parnell*).
 Connaught, Duke of, H.R.H., *Prince of the Blood*.
 Conyngham, Marquess (*Conyngham*).
 Cork & Orrery, Earl of (*Boyle*).
 Cottenham, Earl of (*Pepys*).
 Cottesloe, Lord (*Fremantle*).
 L Courtney, Lord (*Courtney*).
 Courtown, Earl of (*Stopford*).
 Coventry, Earl of (*Coventry*).
 Cowley, Earl (*Wellesley*).
 Cranbrook, Earl of (*Gathorne-Hardy*).
 Cranworth, Lord (*Gurdon*).
 Craven, Earl of (*Craven*).
 Crawford, Earl of (*Craven*).
 Crawshaw, Lord (*Brooks*).
 L Crewe, Earl of (*Crewe-Milnes*).
 Crofton, Lord (*Crofton*).
 Cromer, Earl of (*Baring*).
 Cross, Viscount (*Cross*).
 Cumberland, Duke of, H.R.H., *Prince of the Blood*.
 Curzon of Kedleston, Lord (*Curzon*).
 Dalhousie, Earl of (*Ramsay*).
 Darnley, Earl of (*Bligh*).
 Dartmouth, Earl of (*Legge*).
 Dartrey, Earl of (*Dawson*).
 De Clifford, Lord, *Minor* (*Russell*).
 De Freyne, Lord (*French*).
 De La Warr, Earl (*Sackville*).
 De L'Isle and Dudley, Lord (*Sidney*).
 De Mauley, Lord (*Ponsonby*).
 De Ramsey, Lord (*Fellowes*).
 De Saumarez, Lord (*Saumarez*).

- Delamere, Lord (*Cholmondeley*).
 Denbigh, Earl of (*Feilding*).
 L Denman, Lord (*Denman*).
 Deramore, Lord (*de-Yarburgh-Bateson*).
 Derby, Earl of (*Stanley*).
 L Derwent, Lord (*Vanden-Bempde-Johnstone*).
 Desart, Earl of (*Cuffe*).
 Desborough, Lord (*Grenfell*).
 De Vesce, Viscount (*Vesey*).
 Devon, Earl of (*Courtenay*).
 Devonshire, Duke of (*Cavendish*).
 Digby, Lord (*Digby*).
 Donegall, Marquess of, Minor (*Chichester*).
 Donoughmore, Earl of (*Hely-Hutchinson*).
 Dormer, Lord (*Dormer*).
 Downe, Viscount (*Danoy*).
 Downshire, Marquess of (*Hill*).
 Ducle, Earl of (*Moreton*).
 Dudley, Earl of (*Ward*).
 Dufferin and Ava, Marquess of (*Hamilton - Temple-Blackwood*).
 Dunale, Lord (*Prittie*).
 Dunboyne, Lord (*Buller*).
 Dundonald, Earl of (*Cochrane*).
 Dunedin, Lord (*Murray*).
 Dunleath, Lord (*Mulholland*).
 Dunmore, Earl of (*Murray*).
 Dunraven and Mount-Arthur, Earl of (*Wyndham-Quin*).
 L Durham, Bishop of (*Moule*).
 Durham, Earl of (*Lambton*).
 Dynevor, Lord (*Rice*).
 Ebury, Lord (*Grosvenor*).
 Eflingham, Earl of (*Howard*).
 Egerton, Lord (*Egerton*).
 Eglington and Winton, Earl of (*Montgomerie*).
 Egmont, Earl of (*Perceval*).
 Eldon, Earl of (*Scott*).
 L Elgin and Kincardine, Earl of (*Bruce*).
 Ellenborough, Lord (*Law*).
 Ellesmere, Earl of (*Egerton*).
 Elphinstone, Lord (*Elphinstone*).
 Ely, Marquess of (*Loftus*).
 L Emily, Lord (*Monseil*).
 Enniskillen, Earl of (*Cole*).
 Erne, Earl of (*Crichton*).
 Erroll, Earl of (*Hay*).
 Erskine, Lord (*Erskine*).
 Esher, Viscount (*Brett*).
 Essex, Earl of (*Capell*).
 Estcourt, Lord (*Sotherton-Estcourt*).
 L Eversley, Lord (*Shaw-Lefevre*).
 Exeter, Bishop of (*Robertson*).
 Exeter, Marquess of (*Cecil*).
 Exmouth, Viscount, Minor (*Pellett*).
 Faber, Lord (*Faber*).
 Falkland, Viscount (*Cary*).
 Falmouth, Vis. (*Boscawen*).
 Farnham, Lord (*Maxwell*).
 Farquhar, Lord (*Farquhar*).
 L Farrer, Lord (*Farrer*).
 Ferrers, Earl (*Shirley*).
 Feversham, Earl of (*Duncombe*).
 Fife, Duke of (*Duff*).
 Fingall, Earl of (*Plunkett*).
 L Fitzhardinge, Lord (*Berkeley*).
 L Fitzmaurice, Lord (*Fitzmaurice*).
 Fitzwilliam, Earl (*Wentworth-Fitzwilliam*).
 Foley, Lord (*Foley*).
 Forester, Lord (*Weld-Forester*).
 Fortescue, Earl (*Fortescue*).
 Gage, Viscount (*Gage*).
 Gainsborough, Earl of (*Noel*).
 Galloway, Earl of (*Stewart*).
 Galway, Viscount (*Monckton-Arundell*).
 Gardner, Lord (*Succession-contested*).
 Gerard, Lord (*Gerard*).
 Gifford, Lord (*Gifford*).
 L Glantawe, Lord (*Jenkins*).
 Glanusk, Lord (*Bailey*).
 Glasgow, Earl of (*Boyle*).
 Gorell, Lord (*Barnes*).
 Gormanston, Viscount (*Presanton*).
 Goschen, Viscount (*Goschen*).
 Gosford, Earl of (*Acheson*).
 Gough, Viscount (*Gough*).
 Grafton, Duke of (*Fitzroy*).
 L Granard, Earl of (*Forbes*).
 Grantley, Lord (*Norton*).
 L Granville, Earl (*Leveson-Gower*).
 Grenfell, Lord (*Grenfell*).
 Greville, Lord (*Greville*).
 Grey, Earl (*Grey*).
 Grey de Ruthyn, Lord (*Clifton*).
 L Grimthorpe, Lord (*Beckett*).
 Guilford, Earl of (*North*).
 Gwydyr, Lord (*Burrell*).
 Haddington, Earl of (*Baillie-Hamilton-Arden*).
 Haldon, Lord (*Palk*).
 Halifax, Viscount (*Wood*).
 Halsbury, Earl of (*Giffard*).
 Hamilton, Duke of (*Douglas-Hamilton*).
 L Hamilton of Dalzell, Lord (*Hamilton*).
 Hampden, Viscount (*Brand*).
 Hampton, Lord (*Pakington*).
 Hardinge, Viscount (*Hardinge*).
 Hardwicke, Earl of (*Yorke*).
 Harewood, Earl of (*Lascelles*).
 Harlech, Lord (*Ormsby-Gore*).
 Harrington, Earl of (*Stanhope*).
 Harris, Lord (*Harris*).
 Harrowby, Earl of (*Ryder*).
 Hastings, Lord (*Astley*).
 Hatherton, Lord (*Lillington*).
 L Hawesham, Lord (*Hayter*).
 Hawke, Lord (*Hawke*).
 Headfort, Marquess of (*Taylor*).
 L Headley, Lord (*Winn*).
 L Hemphill, Lord (*Hemphill*).
 Heneage, Lord (*Heneage*).
 L Henley, Lord (*Henley*).
 Henniker, Lord (*Henniker-Major*).
 L Hereford, Bishop of (*Percival*).
 Hereford, Viscount (*Devereux*).
 L Herschell, Lord (*Herschell*).
 Hertford, Marquess of (*Seymour*).
 Heytesbury, Lord (*Holmes-a-Court*).
 Hill, Viscount (*Clegg-Hill*).
 Hillingdon, Lord (*Mills*).
 Hindlip, Lord (*Allsopp*).
 L Holden, Lord (*Holden*).
 Holm Patrick, Lord (*Hamilton*).
 Home, Earl of (*Douglas-Home*).
 Hood, Viscount (*Hood*).
 Hothfield, Lord (*Tufton*).
 Howard de Walden, Lord (*Ellis*).
 Howard of Glossop, Lord (*Fitzalan-Howard*).
 Howe, Earl (*Curzon-Howe*).
 Huntingdon, Earl of (*Hastings*).
 Huntly, Marquess of (*Gordon*).
 Hylton, Lord (*Jolliffe*).
 Iddesleigh, Earl of (*Northcote*).
 Ilchester, Earl of (*Fox-Strangways*).
 Inchiquin, Lord (*O'Brien*).
 Inverclyde, Lord (*Burns*).
 Iveagh, Viscount (*Guinness*).
 James of Hereford, Lord (*James*).
 Jersey, Earl of (*Child-Villiers*).
 L Jocey, Lord (*Jocey*).
 L Kenmare, Earl of (*Browne*).
 Kensington, Lord (*Edwards*).
 Kenyon, Lord (*Kenyon*).
 Kesteven, Lord (*Trollope*).
 Killanin, Lord (*Morris*).
 Kilmore, Earl of (*Needham*).
 L Kimberley, Earl of (*Wodehouse*).
 Kinnaird, Lord (*Kinnaird*).
 Kinnear, Lord (*Kinnear*).
 Kinnoull, Earl of (*Hay*).
 Kinross, Lord (*Balfour*).
 Kintore, Earl of (*Keith-Falconer*).
 Kitchener, Viscount (*Kitchener*).
 Knaresborough, Lord (*Meysey-Thompson*).
 Knollys, Lord (*Knollys*).
 Knutsford, Viscount (*Holland*).
 Lamington, Lord (*Cochrane-Baillie*).
 Langford, Lord (*Rowley*).
 Lansdowne, Marquess of (*Fitzmaurice*).
 Lathom, Earl of (*Booth-Wilbraham*).
 Lauderdale, Earl of (*Mailland*).
 Lawrence, Lord (*Lawrence*).
 Leconfield, Lord (*Wyndham*).
 Leeds, Duke of (*Osborne*).
 Leicester, Earl of (*Coke*).
 Leigh, Lord (*Leigh*).
 Leinster, Duke of (*Fitzgerald*).
 Leith, Lord (*Forbes-Leith*).
 Leitrim, Earl of (*Clements*).
 Lichfield, Bishop of (*Legge*).
 Lichfield, Earl of (*Anson*).
 Lilford, Lord (*Powys*).
 Limerick, Earl of (*Pery*).
 Lincoln, Bishop of (*King*).
 Lindley, Lord, *Life Peer* (*Lindley*).
 Lindsey, Earl of (*Bertie*).
 Linlithgow, Marquess of (*Hope*).
 Lister, Lord (*Lister*).
 Listowel, Earl of (*Hare*).
 Liverpool, Bishop of (*Chavasse*).

- L Liverpool, Earl of (*Foljambe*).
 Llandaff, Viscount (*Matthews*).
 Llangattock, Lord (*Rolls*).
 L Loch, Lord (*Lock*).
 L Lochee, Lord (*Robertson*).
 Londeshorough, Earl of (*Demson*).
 London, Bishop of (*Ingram*).
 Londonderry, Marquess of (*Vane-Tempest-Stewart*).
 Longford, Earl of (*Pakenham*).
 Lonsdale, Earl of (*Louthier*).
 L Loreburn, Lord (*Reid*).
 L Lothian, Marquess of (*Kerr*).
 Loudoun, Earl of (*Abney-Hastings*).
 Lovat, Lord (*Fraser*).
 Lovelace, Earl of (*Milbanke*).
 Lucan, Earl of (*Bingham*).
 L Lucas, Lord (*Herbert*).
 Ludlow, Lord (*Lopes*).
 Lurgan, Lord (*Brownlow*).
 Lytton, Earl of (*Lytton*).
 L Lyveden, Lord (*Vernon*).
 Macclesfield, Earl of (*Parker*).
 L MacDonnell, Lord (*MacDonnell*).
 Maonaghten, Lord, *Life Peer* (*Maonaghten*).
 Magheramorne, Lord (*M'Garel-Hogg*).
 Malmesbury, Earl of (*Harris*).
 Manchester, Bishop of (*Knox*).
 L Manchester, Duke of (*Montagu*).
 Manners, Lord (*Manners*).
 Mansfield, Earl of (*Murray*).
 Manvers, Earl (*Pierrepoint*).
 Mar, Earl of (*Goodeve-Erskine*).
 Mar and Kellie, Earl of (*Erskine*).
 L Marchamley, Lord (*Whiteley*).
 Marlborough, Duke of (*Spencer-Churchill*).
 Masham, Lord (*Cunliffe-Lister*).
 Massereene, Viscount (*Skeffington*).
 Maassy, Lord (*Massy*).
 Mayo, Earl of (*Bourke*).
 Meath, Earl of (*Brabazon*).
 Melville, Viscount (*Dundas*).
 Methuen, Lord (*Methuen*).
 Michelham, Lord (*de Stern*).
 Middleton, Lord (*Willoughby*).
 Middleton, Viscount (*Brodrick*).
 Milner, Viscount (*Milner*).
 Minto, Earl of (*Elliot*).
 Monck, Viscount (*Monck*).
 Moncreiff, Lord (*Moncreiff*).
 Monk Bretton, Lord (*Dodson*).
 L Monkswell, Lord (*Collier*).
 L Monson, Lord (*Monson*).
 Montagu de Beaulieu, Lord (*Douglas-Scott-Montagu*).
 Monteagle of Brandon, Lord (*Spring Rice*).
 Montrose, Duke of (*Graham*).
 Moray, Earl of (*Stuart*).
 Morley, Earl of (*Parker*).
 L Morley of Blackburn, Viscount (*Morley*).
 Morton, Earl of (*Douglas*).
 Mostyn, Lord (*Lloyd-Mostyn*).
 Mount Edgcumbe, Earl of (*Edgcumbe*).
 Mount Stephen, Lord (*Stephen*).
 Mowbray, Lord (*Stourton*).
 Muncaster, Lord (*Pennington*).
 Munster, Earl of (*FitzClarence*).
 Muskerry, Lord (*Deane-Morgan*).
 L Napier and Ettrick, Lord (*Napier*).
 Napier of Magdala, Lord (*Napier*).
 Nelson, Earl (*Nelson*).
 Newcastle, Duke of (*Pelham-Clinton*).
 Newlands, Lord (*Hozier*).
 Newton, Lord (*Legh*).
 Norfolk, Duke of (*Fitzalan-Howard*).
 Normanby, Marquess of (*Phipps*).
 Normanton, Earl of (*Agar*).
 North, Lord (*North*).
 L Northampton, Marquess of (*Compton*).
 L Northbourne, Lord (*James*).
 Northbrook, Earl of (*Baring*).
 Northcliffe, Lord (*Harnsworth*).
 Northcote, Lord (*Northcote*).
 Northesk, Earl of (*Carnegie*).
 Northumberland, Duke of (*Percy*).
 Norton, Lord (*Adderley*).
 Norwich, Bishop of (*Sheepshanks*).
 L Nunburnholme, Lord (*Wilson*).
 O'Brien, Lord (*O'Brien*).
 L O'Hagan, Lord (*O'Hagan*).
 O'Neill, Lord (*O'Neill*).
 Onslow, Earl of (*Onslow*).
 Oranmore and Browne, Lord (*Browne-Guthrie*).
 Orford, Earl of (*Walpole*).
 Ormathwaite, Lord (*Walsh*).
 Ormonde, Marquess of (*Butler*).
 Oxford, Bishop of (*Paget*).
 L Peckover, Lord (*Peckover*).
 Peel, Viscount (*Peel*).
 Pembroke and Montgomery, Earl of (*Herbert*).
 Penrhyn, Lord (*Douglas-Pennant*).
 L Pentland, Lord (*Sinclair*).
 Peterborough, Bishop of (*Carr-Glyn*).
 Petre, Lord (*Petre*).
 L Pirrie, Lord (*Pirrie*).
 L Playfair, Lord (*Playfair*).
 Plunket, Lord (*Plunket*).
 Plymouth, Earl of (*Windsor-Clive*).
 Poltimore, Lord (*Bampfylde*).
 Portland, Duke of (*Cavendish-Bentinck*).
 Portman, Viscount (*Portman*).
 L Portsmouth, Earl of (*Wallop*).
 Poulett, Earl (*Poulett*).
 Powerscourt, Viscount (*Wingfield*).
 Powis, Earl of (*Herbert*).
 Radnor, Earl of (*Pleydell-Bouverie*).
 Raglan, Lord (*Somerset*).
 Ranfurly, Earl of (*Knox*).
 Rathdonnell, Lord (*M'Clin-tock-Bunbury*).
 Rathmore, Lord (*Plunket*).
 Ravensworth, Lord (*Liddell*).
 Rayleigh, Lord (*Strutt*).
 L Reay, Lord (*Mackay*).
 Redesdale, Lord (*Freeman-Milford*).
 L Rendel, Lord (*Rendel*).
 Revelstoke, Lord (*Baring*).
 L Ribblesdale, Lord (*Lister*).
 Richmond and Gordon, Duke of (*Gordon-Lennox*).
 Ridley, Viscount (*Ridley*).
 Ripon, Bishop of (*Boyd Carpenter*).
 L Ripon, Marquess of (*Robinson*).
 Ritchie, Lord (*Ritchie*).
 Roberts, Earl (*Roberts*).
 Rodney, Lord (*Rodney*).
 L Rollo, Lord (*Rollo*).
 Romilly, Lord, *Minor* (*Romilly*).
 Romney, Earl of (*Marshall*).
 L Rosebery, Earl of (*Primrose*).
 Rosmead, Lord (*Robinson*).
 Rosslyn, Earl of (*St. Clair-Erskine*).
 Rossmore, Lord (*Westenra*).
 Rothes, Earl of (*Leslie*).
 Rothschild, Lord (*Rothschild*).
 Roxburghe, Duke of (*Innes-Ker*).
 L Russell, Earl (*Russell*).
 Rutland, Duke of (*Manners*).
 Sackville, Lord (*Sackville-West*).
 St. Albans, Bishop of (*Jacob*).
 St. Albans, Duke of (*Beaudecker*).
 St. Aldwyn, Viscount (*Hicks-Beach*).
 St. Asaph, Bishop of (*Edwards*).
 St. David's, Bishop of (*Owen*).
 L St. David's, Lord (*Phillips*).
 St. Germans, Earl of (*Eliot*).
 St. John of Bletso, Lord (*St. John*).
 St. Leonards, Lord (*Sugden*).
 St. Levan, Lord (*St. Aubyn*).
 St. Oswald, Lord (*Winn*).
 St. Vincent, Viscount (*Jervis*).
 Salisbury, Bishop of (*Wordsworth*).
 Salisbury, Marquess of (*Cecil*).
 Saltoun, Lord (*Fraser*).
 Sanderson, Lord (*Sanderson*).
 L Sandhurst, Lord (*Mansfield*).
 L Sandwich, Earl of (*Montagu*).
 Sandys, Lord (*Sandys*).
 Savile, Lord (*Lumley-Savile*).
 L Saye and Sele, Lord (*Twisleton-Wykeham-Fiennes*).
 Scarbrough, Earl of (*Lumley*).
 Scarsdale, Lord (*Curzon*).
 Seafield, Earl of (*Ogilvie-Grant*).
 Seaton, Lord (*Colborne*).
 L Sefton, Earl of (*Molyneux*).
 Selborne, Earl of (*Palmer*).
 Shaftesbury, Earl of (*Ashley-Cooper*).
 Shannon, Earl of, *Minor* (*Boyle*).
 Shaw, Lord (*Shaw*).
 Sherborne, Lord (*Dutton*).
 Shrewsbury and Talbot, Earl of (*Talbot*).
 L Shuttleworth, Lord (*Kay-Shuttleworth*).
 Sidmouth, Viscount (*Addington*).
 Sinclair, Lord (*St. Clair*).

Sligo, Marquis (<i>Browne</i>).	L Temple of Stowe, Earl (<i>Temple-Gore-Langton</i>).	Waterford, Marquess of (<i>Beresford</i>).
Somers, Lord (<i>Cocks</i>).	Templemore, Lord (<i>Chichester</i>).	L Weardale, Lord (<i>Stanhope</i>).
Somerset, Duke of (<i>St. Maur</i>).	Templetown, Viscount (<i>Upton</i>).	L Welby, Lord (<i>Welby</i>).
Sondes, Earl (<i>Milles</i>).	Tennyson, Lord (<i>Tennyson</i>).	Wellington, Duke of (<i>Wellesley</i>).
Southampton, Lord (<i>Fitzroy</i>).	L Tenderden, Lord (<i>Abbott</i>).	Wemyss and March, Earl of (<i>Wemyss-Charteris-Douglas</i>).
Southesk, Earl of (<i>Carnegie</i>).	Teynham, Lord (<i>Roper-Curzon</i>).	Wenlock, Lord (<i>Lawley</i>).
Southwark, Bishop of (<i>Talbot</i>).	L Thurlow, Lord (<i>Cumming-Bruce</i>).	Westbury, Lord (<i>Bethell</i>).
* Spencer, Earl (<i>Spencer</i>).	Tollemache, Lord (<i>Tollemache</i>).	Westmeath, Earl of (<i>Nugent</i>).
Stafford, Lord (<i>Stafford-Jerningham</i>).	Torpichen, Lord (<i>Sandilands</i>).	Westminster, Duke of (<i>Grosvenor</i>).
Stair, Earl of (<i>Dalrymple</i>).	Torrington, Viscount (<i>Byng</i>).	Westmorland, Earl of (<i>Fane</i>).
Stalbridge, Lord (<i>Grosvenor</i>).	L Townshend, Marquess (<i>Townshend</i>).	Wharcliffe, Earl of (<i>Montagu-Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie</i>).
Stamford, Earl of (<i>Grey</i>).	Tredegar, Viscount (<i>Morgan</i>).	Wicklow, Earl of (<i>Howard</i>).
Stanhope, Earl (<i>Stanhope</i>).	L Trevor, Lord (<i>Hill-Trevor</i>).	Willoughby de Broke, Lord (<i>Verney</i>).
* Stanley of Alderley, Lord (<i>Stanley</i>).	Tweeddale, Marquess of (<i>Hay</i>).	L Wilton, Earl of (<i>Egerton</i>).
Stanmore, Lord (<i>Gordon</i>).	L Tweedmouth, Lord (<i>Marjoribanks</i>).	L Wimborne, Lord (<i>Quest</i>).
Stradbroke, Earl of (<i>Rous</i>).	L Vaux of Harrowden, Lord (<i>Mostyn</i>).	Winchester, Bishop of (<i>Ryle</i>).
Strafford, Earl of (<i>Byng</i>).	Ventry, Lord (<i>Eveleigh-de-Moleyns</i>).	Winchester, Marquess of (<i>Paulet</i>).
Strathcona and Mount Royal, Lord (<i>Smith</i>).	Vernon, Lord (<i>Venables-Vernon</i>).	Winchelsea and Nottingham, Earl of (<i>Finch-Hatton</i>).
Stratheden and Campbell, Lord (<i>Campbell</i>).	Verulam, Earl of (<i>Grimston</i>).	L Winterstoke, Lord (<i>Wills</i>).
Strathmore and Kinghorn, Earl of (<i>Bowes-Lyon</i>).	Vivian, Lord (<i>Vivian</i>).	Wolseley, Viscount (<i>Wolseley</i>).
Sudeley, Lord (<i>Hanbury-Tracy</i>).	Wakefield, Bishop of (<i>Eden</i>).	L Wolverhampton, Viscount (<i>Fowler</i>).
Suffield, Lord (<i>Harbord</i>).	Waldegrave, Earl (<i>Waldegrave</i>).	Wolverton, Lord (<i>Glyn</i>).
Suffolk and Berkshire, Earl of (<i>Howard</i>).	Waleran, Lord (<i>Walrona</i>).	Wrottesley, Lord (<i>Wrottesley</i>).
Sutherland, Duke of (<i>Sutherland-Leveson-Gower</i>).	Wales, Prince of, H.B.H. (<i>Prince of the Blood</i>).	Wynford, Lord (<i>Best</i>).
Swansea, Lord (<i>Vivian</i>).	Walsingham, Lord (<i>de Grey</i>).	Yarborough, Earl of (<i>Pelham</i>).
* Twaything, Lord (<i>Montagu</i>).	L Wandsworth, Lord (<i>Stern</i>).	York, Archbishop of (<i>Lang</i>).
Talbot de Malahide, Lord (<i>Talbot</i>).	Warwick, Earl of (<i>Greville</i>).	Zetland, Marquess of (<i>Dundas</i>).
Tankerville, Earl of (<i>Bennet</i>).		Zouche of Haryngworth, Lord (<i>Curzon</i>).

In November, 1909, Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Fisher and Sir Arthur Godley, late Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, were raised to the peerage, but at the time of going to press their titles have not been announced.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- God's Parliamentary Companion. (Whitaker.) 3s. 6d. net.
 Vacher's Parliamentary Companion. (Issued monthly during the Session.) (Vacher.) 6d.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

BY W. V. ROBERTS.

(*Constitutional Position and the Demand of To-day.*)

In considering the House of Lords limits of space prevent detailed examination of its record in the distant past. Everyone knows that in feudal times prelates, barons, knights, and freemen were summoned by the King to an "Assembly," "Council," or "Parliament," and that out of these beginnings our Parliament of to-day was developed. Lord Brougham in his work on the "British Constitution" states that "the precise period at which the Commons first sat apart from the Lords is unknown: indeed it is perhaps less known than any part of the Parliamentary history." But both Brougham and De Lolme agree that what soon divided the two Houses was the question of the control of finance. Le Loime shows that in the time of Edward II.

the Commons refused to grant subsidies till the King had answered their petitions. Brougham traces the way in which forms of power went to the respective Houses, and says that in the time of the first Plantagenets—

"The Lords were entitled to refuse their assent to Bills affecting the Peerage or Prelacy, and the Burgesses on matters affecting trade. But the Commons were not entitled to be heard on measures of the former description or the Peers on those of the latter. Thus in Edward III.'s time a duty of 2s. tonnage on foreign vines, and 6d. in the pound on goods imported was granted by the Citizens and Burgesses only, the consent of the Lords not being held necessary, as they were not supposed to be interested in the matter. Edward attempted once or twice to carry this notion much farther, defending his imposition of duties on foreign merchandise upon the pretext that it was paid by foreigners, and did not affect his English subjects. But the Parliament remonstrated, and generally obtained his consent to abstain from such impositions."

The passage is important as showing how, in those far-off days, the sole right

of the Commons to control matters of finance was insisted upon. A little later, in the time of Henry IV., the principle was established that all Money Bills must originate in the House of Commons.

THE FAMOUS RESOLUTION.

The rights of the Commons in matters of finance was maintained in subsequent years, the governing resolution being that adopted on July 3rd, 1678, when the Commons declared:—

"That all aids and supplies, and aids to His Majesty in Parliament, are the sole gift of the Commons; and all Bills for the granting of any such aids and supplies ought to begin with the Commons; and that it is the undoubted and sole right of the Commons to direct, limit, and appoint, in such Bills, the ends, purposes, considerations, conditions, limitations, and qualifications of such grants, which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords."

This is the resolution that has been acted upon in all the years that have intervened. But some people are puzzled to know why Money Bills are, in face of this, referred to the Lords at all. The answer is that we have an unwritten constitution, and it is required that, to become law, a Bill must pass both Houses of Parliament and receive the assent of the Sovereign. The Budget (or Finance) Bill has accordingly been sent by the Commons to the Lords every year, and the Lords have passed it without amendment. They might have rejected the Bill on the first, second, or third reading. To "amend" would be to infringe the Commons' privilege.

The matter was put to a test in 1860, when the Government of the day proposed to repeal the paper duties. The Lords rejected the Paper Duties Bill. Lord Palmerston, as Prime Minister, took a strong stand, and in the following Session the Paper Duties Bill was included in the financial scheme of the year in its original form, and the Lords were compelled to accept what they had before rejected. Thus the power of the Commons to control finance was again vindicated.

In 1894 the issue was again raised, on Sir William Harcourt's Budget or Finance Act, establishing the Death Duties. The Peers were furious, but the late Lord Salisbury counselled acceptance, saying: "It is perfectly obvious that this House in point of fact has not for many years interfered by amendment with the finance of the year. The reason why this House cannot do so is that it has not the power of changing the Executive Government, and to reject a Finance Bill and leave the Executive Government in its place means to create a deadlock from which there is no escape." The result was that the Lords passed the Bill. All the great authorities in recent years—Sir Robert Peel, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Lord Rosebery, the late Lord Salisbury, Lord St.

Aldwyn, Mr. Balfour, and many others have been against the Lords on the question of their power to interfere with Finance Bills.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HOUSES.

But while the position in regard to finance is clear there has grown up a difference between the two Houses, when the Liberals are in power, that has raised an issue of a grave constitutional character. Prior to the Reform Act of 1832 there was little in spirit to choose between the two Houses. The Peers sat in the Upper House and the Commoners in the Lower; but the peers by means of the pocket boroughs largely controlled the membership of the House of Commons. With the coming of a reformed House of Commons, however, the popular will found expression, and that will has often come into sharp conflict with the view of the landed and propertied class in the Lords. In "Fifty Points Against the Peers," published by the "Daily News," the following list is given of important Bills mutilated or rejected by the Peers during 15 years that the Liberal party were in power:—

1869—74.

University Tests Bill rejected (twice).

Life Peerage Bill rejected.

Ballot Bill rejected and subsequently mutilated.

Army Purchase Bill defeated.

Rating (Liability and Value) Bill rejected.

1880-85.

Compensation for Disturbance (Ireland) Bill rejected.

Land Act (Ireland) mutilated.

Arrears Act (Ireland) mutilated.

Agricultural Holdings Act mutilated.

Franchise Bill rejected.

1892—1895.

Home Rule Bill rejected.

Employers' Liability Bill mutilated and lost.

Parish Councils Act mutilated.

London Improvements Bill mutilated.

Succession to Real Property Amendment Bill (abolishing primogeniture) rejected.

Railway Servants (Hours of Labour) Act mutilated so as to exclude men employed in railway shops and factories.

Evicted Tenants Bill rejected.

Local Government (Scotland) Act mutilated.

1906.

Education Bill mutilated and lost.

Plural Voting Bill rejected.

Education (Provision of Meals) Act mutilated.

Agricultural Holdings Act mutilated.

Town Tenants (Ireland) Act mutilated.

1907.

Small Landholders' Bill (Scotland) rejected.

Land Values (Scotland) rejected.

Evicted Tenants Act (Ireland) mutilated.

1908.

Licensing Bill rejected.

Even in 1834 the difference between the two Houses had become so acute that Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech at Denbigh, asked; "Are the Lords to dictate to us, the people of England? Are the Lords to dictate to us the laws which we shall make, and the way in which we shall bring them in? Are you going to be governed by yourselves? Or will you submit to an oligarchy which is a mere accident of birth? . . . But the cup is nearly full. The career of high-handed wrong is coming to an end."

Mr. Gladstone, whose measures had suffered perhaps more than those of any other Prime Minister, put the issue clearly in his final speech in the House of Commons. He said:—

"The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than six millions of people, and a deliberative assembly occupied by many men of virtue, by many men of talent, of course with considerable diversities and varieties, is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to its issue."

In some way or other a solution will have to be found for this tremendous contrariety and incessant conflict upon matters of high principle and profound importance between the representatives of the people and those who will fill a nominated Chamber."

Since Mr. Gladstone spoke the controversy has become even more acute. The Parliament elected in January, 1906, contained the largest Liberal majority known in our history. Yet some of its principal measures—those relating to Education, Licensing, Plural Voting, and Land Valuation, were contemptuously rejected. At the moment of writing the fate of all the great Bills of the session hangs in the balance—the Irish Land Bill, the Housing and Town Planning Bill, and the Development Grant Bill; while Lord Lansdowne has foreshadowed the rejection of the Finance Bill by giving notice of an amendment to the Second Reading, "That this House is not justified in giving its consent to this Bill till it has been submitted to the judgment of the country."

PROJECTS OF REFORM.

But the question arises, how is the difference to be adjusted, and how is the will of the people to prevail? As already explained, to become law a Bill must pass all its stages in both Houses and receive the Royal assent. No one, however, supposes that the Lords will, except under the most extreme pressure and stress of circumstances, pass a Bill designed in any way to limit that power. How can they be compelled? Lord Morley (or Mr. John Morley as he then was) invented the phrase that they must be "ended or mended." One is almost as difficult of attainment as

the other. Lord Monkswell has thus defined the three possible courses:—

- (1) Abolition.
- (2) Change in the constitution of the House.
- (3) Modification of its powers.

Other suggestions include the creation of many new Peers to carry a given Bill of reform; limitation in the issue of the writ of summons; creation of life Peers; Royal assent to a Commons Bill without the vote of the Lords; abolition of the veto of the Lords; the establishment of the Referendum, and so on. It is well to look at these suggestions in the face, but first let us see how many Lords there are to overcome. At present the House consists of:—

Archbishops	2
Dukes	22
Marquises	23
Earls	124
Viscounts	40
Bishops	24
Barons	332
Lords of Appeal	5
Scottish Representative Peers	16
Irish Representative Peers	28

Total 616

Now the most generous estimate places the number of Liberal Peers at ninety, and it is seldom that more than forty or fifty can be depended upon to vote for a Liberal Bill. How is the solid block of about 600 to be overcome? If one considers the possible creation of new Peers first, it will be seen how considerable must be the demand. When the Reform Bill of 1832 was before the country the House of Lords was a much smaller body than it is to-day, and the King gave his consent in these terms to the creation of Peers:—

"The King grants permission to Earl Grey, and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of Peers as will be sufficient to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling up Peers' eldest sons.—William R. Windsor, May 17th, 1832."

The knowledge that this authority existed sufficed. The Lords passed the Bill. To-day the question is complicated by the fact that the membership of the House of Lords has grown to the proportion indicated above.

Some reformers have argued that if all new peerages were "life peerages"—that is, if a peerage was created for the recipient's life only, without possibility of the title descending to a son—the difficulty would in the course of time adjust itself, as, without continual replenishment, the House of Lords would be in danger of dying out. But the question arises whether there is power to create such peerages. The point was raised in the case of Lord Wensleydale in 1856. The Crown created that eminent lawyer a life Peer, but the Peers refused to allow him to take his seat in the House, and the refusal

stood till a new patent was made out securing the seat to descendants, although it was well known that Lord Wensleydale had no child.

As to a suggestion that Bills should be passed without reference to the Lords, the Crown giving consent on a Bill being sent direct from the Commons, there is much misapprehension, founded mainly on the way in which Army Purchase was abolished in 1871. It may be well to state the facts of that incident. The Army Regulation Bill, under which, amongst other things, abolition of purchase was to be effected, was discussed at great length in the Commons, and in the end read a third time by 289 votes to 231. In the Lords great hostility manifested itself, the Bill being "held up" by the Duke of Richmond's amendment, which, while professing not directly to oppose the Bill, expressed a desire "to know more fully the plans of the Government for the general reorganisation of the Army." In one respect, therefore, the situation which arose was much like that suggested in relation to the Finance Bill of 1909—don't oppose the Bill, only let the mind of the country be known before it passes.

But it happened that the position of Army Purchase was vastly different from that of the Finance Bill. The system of purchase had been created by Royal Warrant, and Mr. Gladstone simply advised the Sovereign to cancel it by means of another Royal Warrant. This advice was accepted and the system of the purchase and sale of commissions was cancelled as from 1st November, 1871. The Lords then passed the Bill under protest. This was a perfectly constitutional proceeding; but there is nothing of the kind to apply in the case of the Finance Bill or of many other Bills that come before Parliament.

WRIT OF SUMMONS.

On the question of prerogative, however, there are some, notably Mr. Swift MacNeill, M.P., who argue that it is within the power of the Crown to withhold the issue of writs of summons at discretion to the Peers. Mr. Swift MacNeill has written: "A Cabinet, strongly backed by the people, have only, in accordance with the mandate of the people, to use a prerogative actually claimed and exercised in his own interests by Charles I., and to issue to some Peers, at their discretion, and withhold from others, the writ of summons to attend Parliament, without which a Peer cannot take his seat, which must be issued to him to enable him to take his seat in every fresh Parliament, and which is issued by the Lord Chancellor as a Minister of the Crown, and in that capacity alone."

On the other hand it is alleged that there are objections to this procedure. If a Government does not fall till after a hostile vote in the House of Commons, following a general election, the whole

body of Peers may already have been summoned, and the prerogative would be ineffective for that Parliament. In 1886, the Conservatives did not resign in the new Parliament till after an amendment had been carried on the Address, and the Liberal Government thereupon formed could have profited nothing from the withholding of the writ of summons, as the Peers were already assembled. Moreover, it is said that the proceeding would lead to immense uncertainty. Some Peers might desire not to be in the House of Lords but to remain in the Commons to which, before succeeding to the title, they may have been elected. The Earl of Selborne is an instance. Again, it is contended that a Prime Minister would not care to have to decide which Peers should be summoned and which overlooked.

At the same time it is fair to add that withdrawal or withholding of the writ of summons is one of the measures proposed for dealing with the "black sheep" of the Upper House. The late Marquis of Salisbury introduced a Bill in that sense in 1888. This required that the Judges should report cases to the Lord Chancellor where disgraceful conduct had been proved, the proposal being that an address to the Sovereign should be presented, the Sovereign to withdraw the writ sent to the offending Peer, who would thereby be prevented from sitting in the House during the continuance of that Parliament. But the point of this proposal was that the writ would not be cancelled unless the Lords themselves presented an address.

Another proposal that has found favour for ensuring that the will of the people shall prevail is that of the Referendum, now in operation in Switzerland. Under this a Bill, after being thrashed out in the Commons and rejected by the Lords, would be submitted to the electorate for voting upon as a whole "Yes" or "No." It is held that the Crown already has the authority to order a Referendum. But it has to be assumed that the Lords would accept such a Bill after it has been endorsed by the people, and the position of the Ministry in the event of an adverse vote would have to be considered. It is fairly certain, too, that the Lords would so treat every Liberal Bill of importance that practically all Liberal measures would have to be submitted to the country, while all Tory Bills would be passed at once. From that point of view the Referendum would not operate fairly as between the two great political parties.

THE ROSEBERY COMMITTEE.

Nor have the attempts of the Peers themselves given much hope of real reform. After the announcement of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, then Prime Minister, on the defeat of Mr. Birrell's Education Bill, that "a way would be found" for dealing with the Peers, a Committee of Peers was formed at the instance of Lord Rosebery for

considering the subject. This Committee recommended a Chamber composed as under:—

Peers of the Blood Royal....	3
Representatives elected by the hereditary Peers.....	200
Qualified hereditary Peers..	130
Spiritual Lords	10
Lords of Appeal	5

348

Possible annual increment
of 4 Life Peers up to 40.. 40

388

The Committee found it undesirable that the possession of a peerage should of itself give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords. It follows from this recommendation that in future the dignity of a peer and the dignity of a Lord of Parliament would be separate and distinct. The latter would carry with it the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, which the former would not. The whole scheme, however, was stillborn, for from the time that it was put forward nothing has been heard of it.

One may note, however, that this Rosebery scheme recommended that there should be five "Lords of Appeal." At present there are five, their work being to deal with the legal business which reaches the House of Lords, although they may also take part in the general work of the House. On that it may be well to recall that before the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature, 1873-75, the Lords were the final court in respect of writs of error, and heard appeals from the Courts of Common Law and Equity. This jurisdiction was taken away, appeals being transferred to the "Court of Appeal," and thus an important power that had appertained to the Lords was abolished. There are those who see in this a precedent for the transfer of other power.

OTHER SECOND CHAMBERS.

It is obvious that the members of the Rosebery Committee were influenced largely by knowledge of how Second Chambers are composed in other countries. From that point of view, the following facts, showing how other Second Chambers are constituted, may be interesting.

Austria.—248 to 268 members, including Princes of the Imperial Family who are of age, a number of nobles possessing large landed property, in whose families the dignity is hereditary, ten Archbishops and seven Bishops, and 150 to 170 life members nominated by the Emperor.

Belgium.—The Senate consists of 110 members, elected for eight years, one-half being subject to re-election every fourth year. Eighty-three of these Senators are chosen by the electors who vote for members of the House of Representatives, with the single difference that electors for the Senate

must be 30 instead of 25 years of age. The remaining 23 Senators are elected by the County Councils ("Conseils Provinciaux").

France.—Senators (300) are elected for nine years, a third part having to be elected every three years. The electors are the Parliamentary deputies, the members of the Departmental Council ("Conseil Général"), members of the District Councils ("Conseils d'Arrondissement"), and delegates elected from among the electors of the commune by each Municipal Council.

Hungary.—The Upper House, or House of Magnates, is composed of (1) hereditary members, (2) members who sit by right of office or dignity, (3) those who sit by right of Royal appointment, and (4) those who sit by virtue of election.

Italy.—The Senate is composed of members appointed for life by the King, on the proposition of his Ministers, and includes 340 to 350 members who have attained eminence in political, legal, naval, military, scientific, and other walks of life.

Prussia.—The Upper House consists of (1) territorial nobility, (2) representatives of the Universities and larger towns, selected by the Senates or Town Council, and presented to the King for nomination as life members or for a term of years in the case of representatives of the towns, and (3) life peers nominated by the King.

United States.—The Senate consists of 90 members elected by the State legislatures for six years, a third being renewed every two years.

It is in such countries as Austria, Hungary, and Prussia that the landed interest is strongest in the constitution of the Second Chamber, while in France, Belgium, and the United States the elective principle is absolute. The Second Chambers of all our British Colonial Constitutions contain only men elected or nominated on their merits, there being no such thing as an hereditary legislator in the whole of Greater Britain.

"C.-B.-S" PLAN.

Are the people of the United Kingdom not fit to manage their own affairs? Are they for ever to be under the domination of a small hereditary class? Those are questions of the day, and so also is the further question: If the popular will is against hereditary rule, how is the popular will to prevail? On that point the scheme of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman holds the field. Sir Henry raised the question on one or two occasions, and finally in June, 1907, proposed in the House of Commons the following resolution, which was carried by 432 votes to 147:—"That in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills

passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the House of Commons shall prevail." It may be noticed that Sir Henry's object was to "restrict by law" the power of the House of Lords to alter or reject Commons' Bills. This, of course, goes beyond the Money Resolution of 1678, and means that the change must be effected not by mere tacit acceptance of a resolution, but by force of law. Moreover, the change is to secure the passage of a Bill during the existence of the Parliament, and not after a dissolution, forced by the Peers. The procedure to be followed has been most carefully thought out in order that absolute security may be ensured. A Bill, for instance, is thoroughly threshed out in the House of Commons, and what follows has been most tersely described by Mr. Harcourt, First Commissioner of Works:—

"The Bill goes to the House of Lords, where it is either rejected, or still further and more drastically amended; if these amendments are such as the Government would advise the House of Commons to accept, the Bill will, of course, pass in the usual course in its altered form. But if these amendments are unacceptable to the Government and the House of Commons, the plan begins to operate. A conference would be summoned composed of members of both parties drawn from both Houses; they would be restricted in number, but representative in character. Their discussions would probably be conducted in private, as being more conducive to accommodation; their decision would not be finally binding upon the Government or the House of Commons, but there would be reasonable hope and great opportunity of their finding grounds of common agreement.

"But suppose that this conference separates without having found a solution to the differences. Then the Government would be empowered to re-introduce the same, or an amended Bill, or a Bill having similar objects, approached by cognate methods. But this Bill could not be re-introduced at once; it would have to wait the lapse of some statutory interval—say six months—to ensure that there should be no precipitancy in the proceedings, and to allow an ample interval in which those who opposed it could test, and gauge, and even excite public opinion, through the usual medium of meetings and the Press. The Bill after this interval having been again introduced and passed through the House of Commons, goes a second time to the House of Lords. If disagreement still persists, and a deadlock again occurs, there may be another conference for the adjustment of those differences.

"If this second conference also fails to arrive at a settlement, the Bill would be at once re-introduced and passed rapidly through the House of Commons, and sent up again to the House of

Lords, with an intimation that if not accepted in that form, it would be passed into law even without their assent, though the late Prime Minister suggested that even at this eleventh hour there might still be a last opportunity of compromise and adjustment."

A Bill to emerge from a procedure of this kind would have to be brought in within a very reasonable time after the election of the new Parliament, and such a Bill would therefore have to be one clearly indicated by public opinion. **Quinquennial Parliaments go with the scheme.** In other words, important Bills would have to be produced in the first two Sessions, when a Parliament was fresh with its mandate from the constituencies; while only the less contentious Bills would have a chance in the closing Sessions. **Every great Bill might therefore come endorsed in all essential features by popular demand and approval.**

Can such a change be carried? Well, the House of Lords has been deprived of its control over finance, and has been stripped of much of its legal power. It is now a question, not of altering its constitution or number in any way, but of removing its veto upon popular Bills. In the present Parliament little may be done, as the Lords of to-day may not be disposed to sanction any inroad on their powers. But the time will come, possibly within a few weeks, when the Liberal Party will be returned again with a triumphant majority. The Conservatives could not carry on a Government in such circumstances. And then it would be possible for the Liberal Party to make terms. They might refuse to take office and be responsible for supplies till assurances were given that the veto on their Bills should "by law" be removed. That is the possibility of the near future, and he would be a bold man who would say that it will not become a reality.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS.

- Beesly, E. S. A Strong Second Chamber. (Reeves.) 3d.
 Clayton, J. The Truth about the Lords: Fifty Years of the New Nobility, 1857-1907. (Fifield.) 1s. net.
 Edgcombe, Sir E. The House of Lords and the Unjust Veto. (1907.) (Cassell.) 6d.
 Evans, Howard. Our Old Nobility. (1907.) ("Morning Leader.") 1s. net.
 Fifty Points against the Peers ("Daily News.") 1d.
 Fifty Years of the House of Lords. (1894.) (Liberal Publication Department.) 3d.
 Pike, L. O. Constitutional History of the House of Lords. (1894.) (Macmillan.) 12s. 6d. net.
 Report from the Select Committee on the House of Lords. (1908.) (Wyman.) 5d.
 Spender, Harold. The House of Lords. 1900.) (Liberal publication.) 2d.
 Stead, W. T. Peers or People? (1900.) (Fisher Unwin.) 2s. 6d. net.
 The Conflict with the Lords. (Reprinted from the "Manchester Guardian.") (Sherratt & Hughes.) 3d.

THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.

By J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL, K.C., M.P.

Sir Courtenay Ilbert, the eminent and learned clerk of the House of Commons, has in 1906 confessed in words, which he has repeated in 1908, the utter inability of Parliament to deal efficiently with the work which comes within the ordinary sphere of its business. "Parliament," he writes, "has to pass laws and control the administration of the United Kingdom. This task alone, if properly performed, would transcend its capacities and endurance. But Parliament is likewise supposed to discuss the affairs of a world-wide Empire. The labour is too gigantic; for every year the machine breaks down and its failure is confessed."

The remedy for this congestion of business lies in lightening the load of business which rests on the House by a system of *Devolution*. In March, 1907, Mr. Redmond expressed his firm conviction that the only remedy for the admitted block of business and the failure of the Parliamentary machine to work must be found in a real system of decentralisation. The House of Commons was trying to do impossible things. It was trying in one Chamber in a limited number of months to perform the work of at least five legislative assemblies. From day to day the most extraordinary variety of work was thrown on this Assembly. One day they would be discussing a great matter affecting hundreds of millions of people. The next day, or perhaps the same day, they would be called on to discuss the making of a sewer in Rathmines. That was the absurdity of the present system, and no rules which they could devise would really free the House. Delegation of limited administrative or legislative powers to local authorities, which is the only method for the efficient discharge of its duties by the House of Commons, must raise graver political and constitutional questions. Some reforms of Parliamentary procedure, however, which would prepare the way to this delegation are worthy of attention.

1. There is no other public assembly in the world which holds its sittings at night. All the business of the world is transacted in the day with the exception of British legislation. A return to the ancient practice of early hours in Parliament, which was abandoned in the interests of persons who wished to devote the best hours of the day, not to the service of the country, but to their private avocations, would be of the greatest advantage, and would not seriously interfere with work of the Government offices or in committees. In the time of Charles II., nine o'clock was the ordinary time of meeting and four o'clock for the rising of the House. At a later period ten o'clock was the ordinary time of meeting, and the practice of provisionally adjourning the House till that time continued till 1806, though so early a meeting had long been discontinued. The meeting of the House at business hours, with a fixed time for its adjournment, unless some emergency rendered the suspension of the Standing Orders necessary, would tend to the transaction of business with more dispatch and efficiency, and would end recourse to all-night sittings, which Mr. Speaker Peel once said destroyed life, shattered the nerves, and soured the temper, and which Mr. Balfour has described as a mode of expediting Parliamentary business that neither promotes the dignity of the House nor increases the freedom of debate.

2. Although the Closure is drastically applied to debate, there is no time limit to speaking in the House of Commons. So far back as 1849 Lord John Russell proposed a motion, to which Mr. Milner Gibson moved an amendment, allowing members to speak only for an hour, though Mr. Milner Gibson said that he preferred a time limit of forty minutes. Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden both voted with Mr. Milner Gibson, whose proposal was defeated: Ayes, 62; Noes, 96. On the 11th May, 1897, Sir Carne Rasch's motion that the duration of speeches had increased, is increasing, and should be limited, was carried in a division by 85 votes to 24. On the 14th May, 1902, a motion proposed by Sir Joseph Dimsdale in favour of a time limit to speeches was negatived by 117 votes to 83. In the House of Commons there is a strong feeling as to the need for the curtailment of speeches, which has been frequently the subject of discussion, and finds favour with so eminent an authority on Parliamentary practice and procedure as Mr. James Bryce. A Bill for the shortening of speeches in the House of Commons, which passed a second reading some years ago, was dropped on the ground that its enactments would entail an interference by the House of Lords with the privileges of the House of Commons.

3. The abuse of the rule against anticipation renders it a matter of the utmost difficulty to bring under the attention of the House of Commons by motion any matter of definite urgent importance. This rule, which is of comparatively recent origin, and rests for its authority, not upon any Standing Order, but upon usage in a body of decisions given from the Chair, was originally intended to serve a useful purpose, namely, to prevent any member

from unfairly forestalling the discussion of a matter which another member had given notice of his intention to bring before the House by motion or by Bill. But it has in practice been developed in such a way as to have an almost exactly opposite effect, namely, to enable a member by giving such notice to prevent any effective discussion of the matter at all. To take an extreme instance, in the beginning of the Session of 1900 a member put down a notice of motion in general terms with reference to the conduct of the war in South Africa, and then sailed for South Africa. We were told that the mere retention of this motion in the order book prevented discussion of the terms of peace with the Boers on the motion of the adjournment for the Easter Recess. In June, 1907, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave notice of a resolution affirming the expediency of restricting the powers of the House of Lords to alter or reject Bills passed by the House of Commons. Thereupon a notice was placed on the notice paper by a member of his intention to present a Bill, which he subsequently presented, purporting to relate to the same subject. If this notice had not been removed from the notice paper it would have effectually blocked the discussion of the Government resolution. A Committee appointed on the 3rd July, 1907, to consider a report on the procedure of the House in relation to anticipating motions, strongly condemned the abuse of the rule against anticipation, which, "if preserved at all, should be brought back and confined to its original purpose." But hitherto these proposals of the Committee have not been carried into effect. At present blocking motions prevent the discussion of matters of such great public interest as the affairs of India, of East Africa, of Egypt, and of Naval Administration. In the Session of 1904 the Balfour Cabinet managed with the help of blocking motions to elude all discussion of the delicate questions of Protection and of the employment of Chinese labour in the Transvaal.

4. The effect of a prorogation is at once to suspend all business until Parliament shall have been summoned again. Not only are the sittings of Parliament at an end, but all proceedings pending at the time are quashed except impeachments by the Commons and appeals before the House of Lords. Every Bill must, therefore, be revived after a prorogation as if it had never been introduced. A Report of a Select Committee on procedure in 1890, under the presidency of Mr. Goschen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, dealt with the rule that at the end of a Session all Bills only partially discussed lapse completely. In the view of the Committee the inestimable waste of time and trouble thereby entailed constituted a serious obstacle

to legislation. They proposed accordingly a Standing Order making it possible by special resolution to carry over to the next Session the proceedings upon a Bill which was in progress in Committee or had reached any further stage. The House of Commons has never adopted the suggestion of the Committee. The Majority Report was drafted by Mr. Balfour, the Minority Report was prepared by Mr. Gladstone, who laid stress on the fact that "the House of Lords would be tempted by means of a similar Standing Order to exercise an unlimited power of postponing Bills passed by the Commons."

5. The objection to the carrying over of Bills from one Session to the other founded on the probable action of the House of Lords in reference thereto could no longer prevail in view of the contemplated reform in the relations between the two Houses of Parliament, which, if carried into operation, will profoundly affect Parliamentary procedure. It is embodied in the momentous resolution proposed by the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on the 26th June, 1907, and carried by a majority of 285 (432 to 147): "That in order to give effect to the will of the people, as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail."

J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL.

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THE FRANCHISE.

By A. W. HOLLAND.

WHO MAY VOTE AT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

Under present conditions the voters are:—

IN COUNTIES AND BOROUGHs ALIKE:—

1. Occupiers of lands or tenements worth £10 a year and upwards. An occupier is defined as "a person who as a fact actually uses the premises in question, either for the purpose of a dwelling-house, or wholly or in part for the purpose of any trade, business, or profession."

2. Householders.

3. Lodgers, provided such voters occupy lodgings "being of a clear yearly value, if let unfurnished, of £10 and upwards."

There is also in all parts of the United Kingdom what is called the **Service Franchise**. By this, Bank Managers, Schoolmasters, Stationmasters, Caretakers, and others who occupy houses or rooms rent free on the property of their employers may vote, provided the employer also does not reside on the premises.

IN THE COUNTIES ONLY:—

Owners of property may vote if they belong to one of the following classes:—

a. The owner of a freehold worth 40s. a year which has been acquired by inheritance or by marriage. A beneficed clergyman is entitled to vote under this franchise.

b. The owner of a freehold or copyhold worth £5 a year and upwards.

c. The holder of a leasehold of not less than 60 years, if it is worth £5 a year.

d. The holder of a leasehold of not less than 20 years, if it is worth £50 a year.

In Scotland there are no 40s. freeholders, and an owner of leasehold property may vote provided his leasehold is worth at least £10 a year, and is held for life or for a term of not less than 57 years. The other qualification of the same kind is a leasehold for not less than 19 years which is worth £50 a year and upwards.

In Ireland a leasehold for life or for 50 years and upwards entitles its owner to a vote if his lands are worth at least £10 a year. A leasehold of not less than 14 years gives a vote if the lands are worth £20 a year and upwards.

Joint Owners.—Only one of these may now vote, unless—

(a) All were entitled to vote in 1834.

(b) Their interests were acquired by inheritance, or by marriage.

(c) They are partners in business on the land owned by them.

There is one small exception to the general principle that there are none who vote in boroughs as owners of property. The Reform Bill of 1832 allowed owners to vote not only in the counties, but in boroughs which are counties corporate. The Bill, however, only recog-

nised four of these boroughs—Norwich, Bristol, Exeter, and Nottingham—and in these those who vote as owners of property must reside within seven miles of the city.

PRIVILEGED CLASSES.

Before concluding this summary of the parliamentary franchise, two other classes of voters must be mentioned.

(1) **Graduates on the electoral roll of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and London** may vote when there are elections for members for these seats of learning, and there is also a similar qualification for graduates of the four Scottish Universities—Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen.

(2) In the City of London **freemen who are also liverymen of one of the City companies** may vote if they reside in the City or within 25 miles of the place of poll.

In other cities or boroughs freemen may vote if they reside in the city or borough, or within seven miles thereof, provided they owe this status to birth or to servitude, the latter class consisting of those who have "served" a freeman as an apprentice. Thus, persons of eminence who are presented with the freedom of a city or borough cannot vote.

DISQUALIFICATIONS FOR THE VOTE.

Those who are not permitted to vote at Parliamentary elections may be divided into those permanently and those only temporarily disqualified.

The permanently disqualified are—

- (1) Women;
- (2) Infants;
- (3) Peers;
- (4) Idiots and lunatics;
- (5) Aliens.

The temporarily disqualified are—

- (1) Persons who have received parochial relief within 12 months;
- (2) Bankrupts;
- (3) Persons employed at elections;
- (4) Convicted felons;
- (5) Persons convicted of corrupt and illegal practices at elections.

HOW TO GET ON THE REGISTER.

But it is not sufficient for a person to be qualified for a vote; he must be on the register, parliamentary or municipal, as the case may be, and this is not always an easy matter.

A freeholder or a copyholder must show that he has been in actual possession of the property or has received the rents thereof for six months, and if a leaseholder for 12 months, before July 15th of the year in which he claims. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule.

An occupation voter must have occupied the premises for the 12 months immediately preceding July 15th. He or

some one else must have been rated for the relief of the poor in respect of the premises occupied, and such rates must be paid on or before July 20th. In English boroughs he must reside therein, or within seven miles thereof, for six months immediately preceding July 15th, although under conditions he is allowed to be away for four months of this time.

A householder must have resided within the same county or borough during the 12 months immediately preceding July 15th, although under certain conditions he, like the occupier and the lodger, is allowed to be away for four months of this time. He or some one else must have been rated for the relief of the poor in respect of the residence in question, and such rates must be paid on or before the 20th of July. He may move from one house to another in the same parliamentary borough or in the same parliamentary division of a county and still retain his vote, but if he moves out of one of these areas he loses his vote and must qualify again by residence for 12 months immediately preceding July 15th.

A lodger must reside in the same house for the 12 months immediately preceding July 15th. Unlike every other class of voter, a lodger must claim his vote every year; old claims on this part of the register must be sent in before July 25th and new claims before August 20th. Lodgers in Scotland, however, may claim the vote if they have moved during the year from one house to another in the same county division or burgh.

In Scotland the period of qualification is from July 31st to July 31st for occupiers and lodgers, and from January 31st to July 31st for owners.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

The initial work in this matter is undertaken by the clerks of the county councils, the town clerks, and other similar officials. About April 15th in each year they send to the overseers of the poor in each parish and township requesting them to make out lists of voters in their respective areas, such lists to be classified according to the different qualifications.

The ownership part of the register is published by the overseers on June 20th, and on August 1st the complete lists appear. Now is the time for those whose names have been omitted to send in their claims, and also for objections to be lodged by agents of the political parties and others against claims which may possibly be spurious. These must reach the overseers on or before August 20th, and their validity is adjudicated on by a revising barrister, who holds a court for this purpose between September 8th and October 12th. The lists are revised are then printed, and the parliamentary register comes into operation on January 1st following, and remains in force for one year. The register may, however, by

special legislation, become operative on November 1st.

Revising barristers for London and for the county of Middlesex are appointed annually by the Lord Chief Justice; elsewhere they are appointed by the senior judge of assize. From their decisions there is an appeal to the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice.

The duty of getting on the register is one which cannot be too strongly urged. It is a prime test of good citizenship. In his evidence before the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform Mr. H. M. Hyndman declared that in his opinion voting should be compulsory. With simpler methods of registration it should certainly be compulsory upon all qualified persons to take steps to get their names upon the register. We can only make a very rough estimate of the number of persons, otherwise qualified, who neglect to register their names, but it can hardly be less than two millions. In other words, our national voting strength should be about 10 millions, and not merely 7½.

THE MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE.

Municipal elections in England and Wales are now regulated mainly by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, which applies to all cities and boroughs except the city of London and the unreformed borough of Winchelsea, and which for the first time made the conditions therein uniform. In the burghs in Scotland and the six county boroughs in Ireland the conditions, which are regulated by Local Government Acts applicable to the counties, are very similar to those in England.

Technically municipal electors are divided into two classes:—

- (1) Burgesses who vote under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882.
- (2) £10 occupation burgesses qualified under the County Electors' Act of 1888.

Practically, however, any person can be placed upon the municipal register who is "in occupation, joint or several, as owner or tenant, of any house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, or other building in the borough," provided such person lives within 7 miles of the borough, the qualifying property is rated for the poor rate, which with other rates has been duly paid.

For county council elections the same qualifications are required. This franchise includes women and peers, but for municipal and county purposes outside London there are no lodger or service voters. Bankrupts are not disqualified from voting at municipal elections, but policemen are.

It will thus be seen that there are in practice two registers, one for parliamentary and the other for municipal and county council elections, although the two overlap to a considerable extent. The main general principle seems

to be that women are excluded from the first, and property owners as such are excluded from the second, but there are endless exceptions and qualifications. By combining the two we obtain the list of those who are entitled to vote at elections for the London County Council, for the 28 London Borough Councils, for Urban Districts, for Rural Districts, and for Parish Councils. These are the "parochial electors," i.e., those persons whose names appear on that part of either of the two registers which relates to the parish in question. This is the reason why the lists of voters which hang on church doors are always grouped by parishes, the voting areas, including the area of the London County Council, being aggregations of parishes.

In the city of London the electors for Aldermen, Common Councilmen, and Ward Officers are:—

- (1) Freemen occupying premises within the city rated at £10 a year and upwards, and on the register of parliamentary electors;
- (2) All male persons who for 12 months have occupied premises within the city rated at £10 a year and upwards;
- (3) Persons registered as parliamentary electors for the city by virtue of occupation of premises;
- (4) Persons otherwise entitled to be registered as parliamentary electors for the city, but disqualified by non-residence within 25 miles thereof.

THE ANOMALY OF THE OUT-VOTER.

It will be seen from the above summary that out-voters are drawn almost entirely from the property-owning class. They exist only in the counties, not in the boroughs, where residence in or near is a necessary qualification for the vote. In some constituencies they form a very numerous class. As a general election extends over several weeks, a man may travel all over the United Kingdom, voting in many county constituencies, and thus affecting the representation of districts with which he is only connected with the most slender of ties.

To remove this injustice Mr. Lewis Harcourt, on behalf of the Liberal Government, introduced on May 2nd, 1906, a Plural Voting Bill. The essential provision of this was "that no man shall vote in more than one constituency in the same year." The Bill passed through the House of Commons, only 95 members voting against the Second Reading, but in December, 1906, it was rejected in the House of Lords by 143 votes to 43.

The case of London offers a peculiarly glaring example of the injustice and inequalities of the present system. A man may vote in any or all of the metropolitan boroughs where he is qualified as an occupier, a householder,

or a lodger. As an owner he may vote in all the seven county constituencies into which London extends, these being Dartford and Sevenoaks in Kent, Ealing, Harrow, Hornsey, and Tottenham in Middlesex, and Wimbledon in Surrey, although the same property does not confer both an ownership and an occupation vote. He may also, if he is a liveryman of the city of London, exercise his vote there, and if he is a graduate of London University he can get another vote. It is, therefore, conceivable that the same person might vote in London for 28 borough members, for 7 county members, for two members for the city, and for one for the University, or for 38 members in all.

NUMBER OF LONDON OUT-VOTERS, 1909.

Dartford division of Kent	696
Sevenoaks	382
Ealing division of Middlesex	1515
Harrow " "	520
Hornsey " "	1294
Tottenham " "	1308
Wimbledon " Surrey	3044
Total	8759

LONDON ELECTIONS BILL.

The Liberal Government has grappled with this anomaly as far as London is concerned. On April 18th, 1909, Mr. Harcourt introduced the London Elections Bill. This Bill would constitute London a single parliamentary borough for the purposes of parliamentary elections. This was intended to destroy plural voting in London, because it is already enacted that no one can vote more than once in the same borough during the same election, and to make the conditions prevail in London which already prevail in Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and other important cities. The Bill also provides that all elections in London must be held on the same day, and that successive occupation in different London boroughs should constitute the qualification for a vote. It is also proposed to remove several small anomalies in the boundaries of some of the London divisions.

The Bill passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons by 140 votes to 46 on June 4th, 1909, and its final stage in this House on October 18th following. On November 8th, however, it was rejected by the House of Lords by 157 votes to 40. It is computed that by this action the peers deprived 40,000 Londoners of the vote.

CORPORATIONS.

It will be seen that the franchise is not given to public companies and to corporations generally. This has led to a certain amount of agitation, the promoters of which claim that as those companies pay large sums of money in rates and taxes they should have some share in determining how this shall be spent. The question was discussed by the London County Council in 1908, and the Council instructed

one of its committees to report on this matter. As a result of this enquiry a return was published which shows that of the total rateable value of London on the 6th of April, 1908, 25.66 per cent. was unrepresented by any voting power, or, including public authorities, 31.92 per cent., the percentage in the City being as high as 63.51 per cent. For purposes of comparison, it may be stated that the percentage of unrepresented property in Birmingham was 28 per cent., and in Manchester 32 per cent.

A bill to enfranchise corporations was indeed introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Wm. Holland in March, 1909.

But, given the vote, in what way is this to be used? It is ludicrous to suggest that all the shareholders in the London and North-western Railway are Conservatives; that all the shareholders in J. Lyons & Co. are eager to vote for Tariff Reform, or even that all the proprietors of the Bank of England are determined to keep the Municipal Reform party in office in London. It may be answered that these difficulties can be overcome, but as far as practical politics are concerned they only need stating in order to demonstrate the impracticable nature of the suggestion in question.

REFORM OF THE FRANCHISE.

It is now generally recognised that a drastic reform of the franchise is imperative in the near future, and that this must be accompanied by a great simplification of the existing conditions of registration. Replying to a deputation which waited upon him on May 20th, 1908, with regard to the question of woman's suffrage, Mr. Asquith, after remarking that "Sometimes unforeseen accidents occurred which were detrimental to plans, however carefully considered," went on to say he "regarded it as a duty, indeed as a binding obligation on the Government, that before this Parliament came to an end they should submit a really effective scheme for the reform of our electoral system. The present state of the law, with its artificialities, its unreasonable delays in obtaining the qualification for the franchise, its indefensible classification of the categories of voters, and, above all, the power of double voting, which was at present conferred upon the class which needed it least—all these urgently demanded reform."

Again, speaking in the House of Commons on March 19th last during the discussion on Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Representation of the People Bill, the Prime Minister said: "I, and I believe all my colleagues, whatever may be our opinion on woman suffrage, are strongly in favour of a reform upon a wide scale of the existing franchise, of the abolition of plural voting, of the disappearance of the artificial and illogical distinction between occupiers and lodgers, of a material shortening of the period

of qualification, and of a thorough-going simplification of the machinery of registration."

But Mr. Asquith has done more than refer to the matter in speeches. In December, 1908, the appointment of a Royal Commission was announced, "to examine the various schemes which have been adopted or proposed in order to secure a fully representative character for popularly elected legislative bodies, and to consider whether, and how far, they, or any of them, are capable of application in this country in regard to the existing electorate." The chairman of the Commission is Lord Richard F. Cavendish, and its members are Lord Lochee of Gowrie, better known as Mr. Edmund Robertson; the Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P., parliamentary private secretary to the Prime Minister; Sir Francis Hopwood, Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies; Sir Courtenay Ilbert, Principal Clerk to the House of Commons; Sir Charles N. E. Eliot; the Hon. W. Pember Reeves; and Mr. J. W. Hills, M.P.

The question of electoral reform touches so many vital questions, such as Woman's Suffrage and Payment of Members, that it cannot be adequately discussed in a single article. It is, therefore, treated under the following headings:—

Woman's Suffrage Adult Suffrage

The need for Redistribution and the case for Proportional Representation.

Payment of Members and of the expenses of Returning Officers.

Proposed amendment of the Corrupt Practices Acts.

There are certain minor reforms which are necessary, and which will doubtless find a place in any well-considered scheme put forward on democratic lines. The holding of all elections on a single day would confer many advantages on the community, in addition to making plural voting difficult, if not impossible. The dislocation of trade caused by a General Election would be reduced to a minimum; the horde of hirelings who, like a swarm of locusts, pass from constituency to constituency airing the political opinions of their paymasters, would almost disappear; and, elections in each place being uninfluenced by the record of party successes or failures elsewhere, the result would reflect more accurately the considered judgment of the community.

The closing of public-houses on election days is in force in certain of the United States, in Canada, in parts of Australia and of South Africa, and in New Zealand. The results of this reform are, it is claimed, excellent, and nearer home—in Monmouthshire—the Justices of the Peace, in virtue of powers granted to them by an Act of 1872, have several times closed licensed houses on election days, the change

being followed by a notable decrease in the amount of disorder.

Attempts have already been made to achieve this end throughout the United Kingdom. A Bill was introduced by Mr. O. H. Roberts for this purpose, and on April 2nd it was debated in the House of Commons. It provided for the closing of licensed premises, with the exception of hotels and refreshment rooms at railway stations, during the hours of polling. The Bill was supported by the Government, and passed its Second Reading by a majority of 153, but it has not been proceeded with.

HOW THE EXISTING FRANCHISE HAS GROWN UP.

1. FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

Before 1832 members of Parliament for the English and Welsh counties were elected by those freeholders who held land worth 40s. a year, a franchise which dates from 1430. In the Irish counties this same franchise had prevailed until 1829, the year of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, but at this time the limit of 40s. was raised to £10, and in the Scottish counties voting was confined to those who held feudal superiorities of the annual value of £400, the privilege thus being confined to a very small class. In the boroughs the conditions were not so simple. Each of these, English, Scotch, and Irish, had its own special customs, but in general members were returned to Parliament by the different corporations and their nominees, a small and secretive body of voters.

Dealing with the counties, the great Reform Bill of 1832 left the possessor of the 40s. freehold with his vote, provided such freehold was acquired by inheritance or by marriage. In addition, five new classes of voters were created, and with one or two slight exceptions the franchise was made uniform in all parts of the United Kingdom.

- (1) and (2) Freeholders and copyholders who held land worth £10 a year.
- (3) Holders of leasehold land for 60 years and upwards, if such holding was worth £10 a year.
- (4) Holders of leasehold land for 20 years and upwards, if such holding was worth £50 a year.
- (5) Tenants paying a rent of £50 a year and upwards.

In the boroughs the Act of 1832 respected the existing voting rights of individuals, howsoever such had been obtained. The additional franchise included householders and occupiers of premises worth £10 a year and over.

The second Reform Bill, that of 1867, followed the lines laid down in 1832. It reduced the qualification for freeholders in the counties from £10 to £5, and for tenants it reduced it from £50 to £12. In the boroughs a new class of voters was created, the lodger franchise being introduced. By this reform all householders, whatever the value of their holding, and also lodgers occupying

rooms worth £10 a year unfurnished, obtained votes for the first time.

In 1884 the third Reform Bill was introduced. It will easily be seen from the above account that at this time the borough franchise was more extended than the county franchise. Household holders in the boroughs could vote, but the great bulk of the householders in the counties, the agricultural labourers, could not; they did not occupy premises worth £12 a year. The Liberal Government decided to remove this injustice, and after some difficulties had been overcome in the House of Lords and elsewhere the Bill became law. The borough franchise remained substantially the same, but the county franchise was radically altered. The qualifying limit for the copyholder and for the leaseholder of 60 years was reduced from £10 to £5, and for the tenant it was reduced from £12 to £10. Then, in order to equalise the conditions in town and country, the household and the lodger franchise were introduced into the latter, the vote being granted on the same terms as it had been given to the boroughs in 1867. Twenty-five years have elapsed since this measure became law, and another scheme of reform, which must meet the changed conditions caused by the advance of democratic ideas, is now due.

THE REFERENDUM.

The system of referring a single piece of proposed legislation to the judgment of the people for ratification or for rejection is of French origin, and is sometimes put forward as a solution of our legislative difficulties. The Referendum or Plebiscite works well in Switzerland, where it can be put into force at the request of 30,000 voters, or about 1 in 20 of the whole number. There is also a Referendum of a limited nature in the United States, and in this country something of the kind is occasionally employed locally, as quite recently the people of Bournemouth were called upon to decide whether or no they would have Sunday trams. But for national purposes the Referendum would be unworkable in England, and the results would yield a very poor return upon the time and trouble spent upon it. It would be impossible, or nearly so, to isolate a single subject and so to present it to the popular vote. For instance, if any measure of the present Government were referred to the people for confirmation attempts would doubtless be made, and to some extent would succeed, to induce voters to declare against the measure because it was proposed by the present Government, which, it would be pointed out, had done something else which it was thought the voter did not like. Again, it would cost a fairly large amount of money, and would lead to endless agitation on the part of interested persons to secure the necessary number of votes to call for its exercise. In this case the advantage would be always, and to an

enormous extent, with the long purse. Finally, a system which may work in Switzerland with 700,000 voters would not necessarily be equally successful in the United Kingdom with nearly 8,000,000.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

REGISTRATION.

Of our registration laws, under which qualification seems so difficult and disqualification so easy, a brief summary has already been given, and no one who reads this will need to be convinced that reform is demanded here. The various classes of voters having been reduced to one or two, it will be a comparatively simple matter to make a qualification continuous in whatever part of the United Kingdom a man may remove to, and at the same time the special hardships which attend the lodger franchise should also disappear. The qualifying period of 12 months should be reduced, and the register should become operative as soon as it is completed, and not remain inoperative until January 1st.

Any electoral reform which abolished plural voting would also mean the

abolition of University representation. The University members do not, as a matter of fact, represent even the members of the Universities. As a general rule they represent only those graduates who have paid certain fees and have thus secured a place on the electoral roll, and it is hardly too much to say that the University franchise depends upon the payment of money, and not upon the possession of academic attainments at all.

REDISTRIBUTION.

The movements of our population during the last twenty-five years have played great havoc with the scheme of redistribution which came into force in 1885. Districts within a few miles of London, Manchester, and other large towns have increased their population by tens of thousands, while the inhabitants have been gradually leaving the country villages. The result is that there are now some remarkable discrepancies in the sizes of the various constituencies which return a member to Parliament. The largest single-member constituency is the Romford division of Essex, with 51,043 voters in 1909, and the smallest is Kilkenny, with 1,700.

TABLE SHOWING THE TWELVE LARGEST AND THE TWELVE SMALLEST SINGLE MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

	Voters (1909)		Voters (1909)
Essex, Romford	51,043	Durham	2,608
Essex, Walthamstow	39,612	Bury St. Edmunds	2,795
Wandsworth	37,000	Whitehaven	2,809
Middlesex, Harrow	33,356	Winchester	3,096
Middlesex, Tottenham	29,207	Penryn and Falmouth	3,105
Cardiff District	28,882	Windsor	3,268
Staffordshire, Handsworth	28,346	Montgomery District	3,304
Middlesex, Enfield	27,604	Tower Hamlets, St. George's	3,340
Lancashire, Stretford	26,958	Salisbury	3,434
West Ham, South	26,536	Pontefract	3,464
Croydon	26,470	Grantham	3,526
Surrey, Wimbledon	26,442	King's Lynn	3,694

In addition to these there are twenty-six single-member constituencies in England and Wales which have over 25,000 voters each, and twelve consti-

ties with less than 5,000 voters each, eleven of these being boroughs and only one—Rutland—a county.

THE LARGEST AND SMALLEST TWO MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES ARE:—

	Voters		Voters.
Newcastle-on-Tyne	37,483	Bath	7,919
Oldham	34,617	Northampton	12,132
Portsmouth	32,643	Ipswich	12,460
London, City of	29,831	Devonport	12,919

There are twenty-one of these two-member constituencies in England, and one—Merthyr Tydfil—in Wales.

LARGEST AND SMALLEST CONSTITUENCIES IN SCOTLAND.

	Voters.		Voters.
Lanarkshire, Partick	23,320	Sutherlandshire	2,885
Lanarkshire, North-East	21,123	Wick District	2,912
Strirlingshire	19,796	St. Andrews' District	3,249
Renfrewshire, East	19,656	Buteshire	3,612

In Scotland there are altogether eight constituencies with less than 5,000 electors, and there is one double-member constituency—Dundee.

Ireland is pre-eminently the land of small constituencies. This is due in

part to the great amount of emigration which has taken place since 1840. It must also be remembered that by the Act of Union in 1800 Ireland was promised 100 members in the united Parliament, a number which was increased subsequently to 103.

LARGEST AND SMALLEST CONSTITUENCIES IN IRELAND.

	Voters.
Belfast, East	16,643
Belfast, North	12,448
Dublin, South	11,934
Dublin, North	11,796
Belfast, South	10,288
Antrim, South	9,883

	Voters.
Kilkenny	1,700
Newry	2,030
Galway	2,292
Waterford	3,144
Longford, South	3,671
Longford, North	3,731

In Ireland there are twenty-two constituencies with less than 5,000 electors each, and there is one double-member constituency—Cork, with 13,605 voters.

The case for a redistribution of seats rests upon a recital of the facts summarised above. A discussion of the question may well be premised by noting that with an exact distribution of votes each of the 670 members of Parliament should represent 11,366 voters, as the return for 1909 gives the number of Parliamentary electors in the United Kingdom as 7,615,438. From this point of view the ideal constituencies are the Eastern division of Norfolk, with 11,383 voters, and the Cocker mouth division of Cumberland, with 11,348.

DOES THE HOUSE OF COMMONS REPRESENT THE ELECTORATE?

But there are other anomalies in our electoral system which will not be removed by a mere redistribution of seats, however desirable this may be. At the General Election of 1906, 52,639 persons voted for Conservative candidates in Wales. Including Monmouthshire, and making an allowance for uncontested elections, Lord Courtney estimates the number of Welsh Conservative votes at 100,547, and yet in 1906 not a single Conservative was returned to Parliament for the whole of the Principality. In Birmingham, at the same time, 20,507 persons voted for Liberal and Labour candidates, and yet the representation of this city is wholly in the hands of the Unionist party. In the country at large the state of affairs is almost equally unsatisfactory. It is asserted, with good reason apparently, that the results of a General Election do not correspond with any exactness to the state of opinion in the country. On the contrary, often they misrepresent it. The evidence given on April 1st, 1909, by Lord Courtney of Penwith, before the Royal Commission on Electoral Systems, may be cited in support of these statements. According to this the Unionist party at the General Election of 1900 polled 2,548,736 votes and secured 402 seats, while the Liberals and the Irish, with 2,391,319 votes, only obtained 263 seats. Really to represent the voters the Unionists should have had 343 and the Liberals 327 seats, giving the former party a majority of 16 and not one of 134. The result in 1906 was equally anomalous. The Liberals, including the Labour and the Irish parties, polled 3,395,811 votes and the Unionists 2,494,794, the former securing 513 and the latter party only 157 seats. The system of proportional representation would have returned 387 Liberals and

their allies and 283 Unionists to the House of Commons. In 1886 the result was much more unsatisfactory. The Unionists, although actually polling a minority of votes, secured a majority of 104 members in the House.

The results at recent General Elections are as follows:—

General Election.	Victorious Party.	Majority in Seats.	Majority in Votes.
1885	Liberal.	158	564,391 Liberal.
1886	Conserv.	154	54,391 Liberal.
1892	Liberal.	44	190,974 Liberal.
1895	Conserv.	150	117,473 Conserv.
1900	Conserv.	134	157,417 Conserv.
1906	Liberal.	856	901,017 Liberal.

MEMBERS RETURNED BY A MINORITY.

Another evil in our present system also affects all parties alike. Sometimes, owing to the fact that there are three—or, as at Jarrow in July, 1907, four—candidates in the field for a single seat, a man is returned to Parliament who only represents a minority of the electors. This is shown by several by-elections during the present Parliament. In June, 1908, a Conservative, Mr. J. J. Oddy, was returned as member for Pudsey, although he only polled 5,444 votes, against a total of 6,662 cast for his two opponents, and out of the 15,410 names on the register. In other words, 10,000 electors were actually hostile or at least indifferent to his candidature. The member for another Yorkshire constituency is in an equally unsatisfactory position. In July, 1907, at an election in the Colne Valley division Mr. Victor Grayson, the successful candidate, received 3,648 votes. His two opponents together obtained 6,722 votes, and there were 11,771 names on the register. To round off the matter the case of a Liberal member could be mentioned, but these two instances must suffice.

A fairly simple remedy would be to carry through a scheme of redistribution similar to the one passed by Mr. Gladstone in 1885, and to provide for the taking of a Second Ballot in cases where no candidate received one-half of the total votes cast. But this would not secure more than a temporary settlement unless provision was made for changes to take place automatically in cases where the movements of the population had greatly increased or diminished the number of people in any constituency.

SUGGESTED REMEDIES.

The Second Ballot, to which reference has already been made, would remedy one admitted grievance, but it is not

regarded by many competent observers as a satisfactory solution of this important question, and in September, 1908, the Trades Union Congress referred in a resolution, which was carried unanimously, to "the complete failure of the Second Ballots in Austria and Germany to secure the just representation of political forces," and also to "their universal condemnation in France" and "their abandonment in Belgium." Another method of securing the same end is that generally known as the **Single Alternative Vote**. By this arrangement a voter would not only put a mark against the name of his favourite candidate; he would also indicate who in his opinion were the next best representatives for his constituency, marking the names 2, 3, and 4, if necessary. Then, if when the votes were counted no candidate had obtained a clear majority, candidates low down on the list would be removed from the count and the votes cast for them would be redistributed to the more favoured candidates in accordance with the instructions given by the voters. In this way, it is claimed, the ideas of a majority of the voters would be certain to prevail.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

A solution of the difficulties may be found in adopting one of these proposals and in grouping the country into single-member constituencies, each containing a population of 60,000 or 70,000 people, but at present the ideas of the **Proportional Representation Society** may be said to be in the ascendant.

This society was in the first year of its existence when the Redistribution Bill of 1885 established the system of single-member constituencies, which makes impossible the adoption of proportional representation in parliamentary elections. Its president is Lord Avebury, Lord Courtney of Penwith is the chairman of its committee, which contains persons of such different political opinions as Sir William Anson, M.P., Mr. Hilaire Belloc, M.P., Lord Hugh Cecil, the Hon. Ivor Guest, M.P., Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Sir Felix Schuster, Bart., Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P., Mr. Harold Cox, M.P., Sir John Gorst, Sir Gilbert Parker, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Wiles, M.P. During the past five years the society has shown great activity, and the aims of the advocates of proportional representation cannot be stated better than in its words. Its objects are:—

- (1) To reproduce the opinions of the electors in Parliament and other public bodies in their true proportions.
- (2) To secure that the majority of electors shall rule, and all considerable minorities shall be heard.

- (3) To give electors a wider freedom in the choice of representatives.
- (4) To give representatives greater independence from the financial and other pressure of small sections of constituents.

Of the many methods by which proportional representation is secured, it must here suffice to explain the one which, with the co-operation of the newspaper press, was tested by a mimic General Election conducted by the society during 1908. For its operation large constituencies returning several members each are necessary, and the system of the **Single Transferable Vote** was put into practice. Each elector has one vote only, and cannot vote effectively for more than one candidate. Confronted with the voting paper, he puts 1 against the name of his favourite candidate, and then if he likes he may mark the other names with 2, 3, 4, 5, &c., in order of preference. Then the counting begins. The returning officer must first fix the quota of votes necessary for a successful candidate. In a constituency returning three members this will be a quarter of the votes polled plus one; in a constituency returning six members it will be one-seventh of the votes plus one.

Then the candidates, if any, who have received the quota of votes are declared elected, but it is almost certain that all the vacancies will not have been filled. To do this the surplus votes of those candidates who have received more than the quota are transferred in **strict proportions** to the candidate marked 2 on the voting papers, or, if such candidate already has his quota, to the one marked 3, and so on. After the distribution of the surplus of votes the votes given to candidates at the bottom of the poll are distributed on a similar system until the necessary number of candidates have been elected.

In this way minorities would secure representation. If seven members were returned for one constituency a mass of opinion which consisted of one-seventh of the total electorate would be able to secure representation. The method, although complicated when explained in words, will prove, it is claimed, quite simple in practice. By it all votes are rendered effective; they are used, not wasted. In the test election referred to above it was supposed that twelve gentlemen were candidates for a constituency returning five members to Parliament, this number being regarded as the most satisfactory by the **Proportional Representation Society**. When the votes were counted the following was the result:—

Asquith, H. H.	9,042
Balfour, A. J.	4,478
George, D. Lloyd	2,751
Macdonald, J. Ramsay	2,124
Henderson, A.	1,038
Long, Walter	672
Cecil, Lord Hugh	460
Shackleton, D. J.	398
Burt, T.	260
Jones, Leif S.	191
Smith, F. E.	164
Joynson-Hicks, W.	94

The final figures, after the completion of the process already described, were:—

Lloyd George	3,619
Asquith	3,617
Balfour	3,616
Burt	3,053
Macdonald	2,938

SOME OPINIONS ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

The Royal Commission on Electoral Reform commenced its sittings on April 1st, 1909, and has already spent much of its time in hearing evidence both for and against the ideas of the Proportional Representation Society. The case against them was voiced, among others, by Mr. J. Renwick Seager, the Liberal registration agent, who regarded them as unworkable and confusing, and as tending to promote the formation of small parliamentary groups, which would lessen the stability of governments. Mr. Seager prefers the alternative vote to the Second Ballot, and appears to think that this, with some scheme of redistribution, will be the most satisfactory solution of the problem. Two members of Parliament, Mr. J. Dundas White and Mr. John M. Robertson, who have given special attention to the question, were in general in favour of proportional representation, but a former member, the Right Hon. J. Parker Smith, appears to be less favourable to it. Mr. Wilfred A. Gales, of the Central Conservative Office, and Mr. John Boraston, of the Liberal Unionist Association, like Mr. Seager, objected to proportional representation, and the weighty evidence of Sir Charles Dilke was to the effect that he did not consider the question to be one of practical politics. Sir William Anson, however, spoke in its favour, and so did Mr. James Gibb, M.P., who urged that under proportional representation electioneering costs would be less than they are now, and Mr. John W. Gulland, M.P. Experts from France and Belgium also gave evidence, and on behalf of the Social Democratic party Mr. H. M. Hyndman favoured the system, but with certain emendations. Then, on the other hand, Lord Eversley said that "proportional representation would over-represent minorities, sections, and cliques of the electors," and another vigorous opponent of these proposals was Mr. Lewis Harcourt, who, however, spoke only in his private

capacity and not as a member of the Cabinet. Earl Grey spoke strongly in favour of proportional representation, and the officials of the society, including Lord Courtney and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, put in evidence on the same side.

THE PROSPECTS OF REFORM.

It will be some time before the Commission concludes its labours and issues its report, but meanwhile it will be well briefly to summarise the present position and prospects of electoral reform. In the first place, a scheme of reform is inevitable in the near future. Secondly, such scheme must be on democratic lines; it must include a liberal extension of the franchise, a reduction in the cost of elections, and a simplification of the machinery of registration. These are the indispensable; but there is far less certainty about the methods which will be adopted to secure a more equitable representation of the people. The Second Ballot is out of favour. Many electors will not take the trouble to go a second time to the poll at the same election. Its cost, also, would be considerable. The Referendum is hardly practicable in this country; it, too, would be costly, and would in the opinion of many soon prove unworkable. Proportional Representation presents many difficulties, and it may be urged that its complexities will discourage the average voter, but at present it seems to hold the field. It must not, however, be forgotten that experienced officials of all political parties do not view it with favour, and those who are inclined to put these opinions on one side as representing party machinery only cannot ignore the views, the results of long political experience, of Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Lewis Harcourt.

A. W. HOLLAND.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

AND OF THE EXPENSES OF RETURNING OFFICERS.

These reforms have long been demanded, and on several occasions the House of Commons has passed resolutions in favour of them, the last time this was done being on May 12th, 1909, when a resolution on the subject, moved by Mr. J. S. Higham, was carried by 242 votes to 92. Successive Governments, however, have been unable or unwilling to find the necessary funds, which, allowing a salary of £300 per member, would amount to £200,000 a year for this purpose, and a smaller sum for the expenses of the returning officers, an expense which would not, of course, be incurred every year.

The arguments in favour of the payment of members are strong. Without it a number of suitable men are unable to offer themselves for election, moreover, in practice, the choice of con-

stituencies is very often limited to those who belong to a comparatively small and wealthy class. It may be urged that without payment working-men at present secure the return of some of their fellows to Parliament, but this is only done at considerable sacrifice, and by the wealthier classes of artisans. It is surely better that the nation should pay its representatives, and should thus allow to the people greater freedom in their choice of members. It may further be argued that work which is worth doing well is worth payment. No one expects civil servants to work for nothing, and in these days the duties of a Member of Parliament are quite as onerous as, and more responsible than those of the great majority of civil servants. With payment the nation could fairly demand from its representatives greater attention to public business. Members of the Government receive salaries, and it cannot be said that this proceeding has been detrimental to the public interest.

In France and other foreign countries and also in our Colonies Members of Parliament are paid; in France Senators and Deputies receive 1,500 francs (£600) a year each; and in Canada members of the House of Commons receive allowances of 2,500 dollars for each session. Moreover, this necessary reform cannot be attacked as a constitutional innovation, because it is only within comparatively recent times that Members of the English Parliament have not been paid.

The need for the payment of the expenses of returning officers is still more imperative than that for the payment of members. The returning officer and his assistants are public officials, discharging public duties, and their expenses should certainly be met out of public funds, not charged to private individuals. The amounts charged by the returning officer are limited by Act of Parliament, but at contested elections they often amount to a large sum. From a return presented to the House of Commons in August, 1906, a few typical instances may be given. In the Wirral division of Cheshire, at the General Election of 1905, they amounted to £602, this sum being divided between the two candidates. In the Eskdale division of Cumberland, at the same time, they came to £730; and in the enormous Romford division of Essex they reached £1,300. In the English counties in 1906 the returning officers charged altogether £112,047, an average of £560 for each contested election therein, and an average charge on each candidate of nearly £280.

For Scotland in 1906 these expenses amounted to £22,618; and for Ireland to £9,195. The total for the United Kingdom at the General Election of 1906 came to £206,334.

This large sum is at present paid either by individuals or is met out of the funds of the political parties. In

the former case it means that the candidate must be a man of wealth; in the latter case the power of riches is equally prominent, because party funds are replenished by the gifts of opulent men who aspire to a peerage or a baronetcy. Moreover, the member whose election expenses are paid out of the party funds is apt to find his position somewhat uncomfortable if at any time he finds himself unable to support his leaders. He may easily become a mere delegate, and there is a real danger of national interests being subordinated to party ties. The only remedy for these evils is to reduce the charges of returning officers to the lowest amount compatible with efficiency and then to make them payable out of public funds. If this is done a blow will be struck at the undue influence exercised by men of wealth in our public life, which will become more and not less pure as a result of the change.

CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES.

The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Acts prescribe the nature of certain offences in the conduct of elections, and the penalties in respect of such offences. Corrupt Practices include **Bribery, Treating, and Undue Influence** at elections. The penalties for these practices include imprisonment, with or without hard labour, or a fine of £200, and the loss of certain civil rights. If committed by a candidate he loses his seat; if by an agent, the election is void, and the candidate is disqualified for seven years.

Another corrupt practice is **personation**, and in this case the offender has not the option of a fine. If the practice is brought home to an agent or candidate the election is void.

Certain offences against the Act are described as **Illegal Practices** for which the penalties are a fine of £100, incapacity to vote, and if these are committed by an agent then the election may be voided.

Under this head is included:—

Payment or contract for payment for the conveyance of electors to or from the poll;

Payment to an elector to exhibit bills;

Payment for a committee-room in excess of those allowed by the Act;

Voting by prohibited persons, and publishing false statements of a candidate's withdrawal or concerning the character of a candidate.

Besides these offences there are certain prohibited acts described as **illegal payments, illegal employments, and illegal hirings**, including:—

(1) Providing money for an illegal practice or illegal payment.

(2) The employment of public conveyances to carry electors to or from

the poll. (Note.—A private carriage may be lent gratuitously.)

(3) The payment for bands of music, torches, flags, banners, cockades, ribbons, or other marks of distinction.

(4) The employment of persons beyond the number allowed.

(5) The use as a committee-room of a room in a house used for the sale of any intoxicating liquor or refreshment of any kind, whether food or drink.

If any of these offences should be committed by a candidate or an election agent, or a member of the election committee, the election may be voided.

No expense may be incurred without written authority from the agent.

If the maximum expense is exceeded the election may be voided.

The above is a very brief sketch of the law.

A professional agent should make himself fully acquainted with the details of the Acts, and it may be useful to point out to barristers, solicitors, and other professional men that if they are reported as guilty of any corrupt practice, whether they obtain certificates of indemnity or not, the Director of Public Prosecutions must bring the matter before the Inn of Court, High Court, or other tribunal of their profession, who may deal with the matter as if the practice had been misconduct in the profession.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE CORRUPT PRACTICES ACTS.

By R. C. HAWKIN.

(Secretary of the Eighty Club.)

The following are some amendments which might be adopted to strengthen the Corrupt Practices Act.

(1) The exact time when an election begins is at present ill-defined, and the computation of election expenses is in consequence a somewhat difficult matter. This can be met by enacting that all expenses incurred from a date six months prior to the election shall be included in the election accounts, except where there has been a previous election within such period, in such case the expenses should be computed from the date of such previous election.

The fact that candidates do not know exactly when an election may come would hinder the practice of "salting" constituencies.

(2) Provision should be made to prevent indirect expenses, by making it illegal for candidates to give political "beanfeasts."

To effect this a section might be added making it a corrupt practice for a candidate or an M.P. directly or indirectly to provide any money, meat, drink, or entertainment for the benefit of any elector in the constituency, excepting in the ordinary course of social intercourse.

To meet the case of the local philanthropist who becomes a candidate, and whose subscriptions are genuine and

regular, it might be necessary to exclude from this section gifts made to charities which do not exceed the annual average sum given by the candidate or M.P. for the previous three years.

(3) The practice of circularising the electorate with a request for a statement of the electors' intentions to vote or abstain from voting should be made illegal.

(4) Letting, lending, hiring, or borrowing conveyances to take voters to the poll should be illegal, except that voters should still be able to hire for themselves public conveyances in which they could ride to the poll at their own expense.

(5) Political clubs should not be used as committee-rooms at an election.

(6) The difficulty of closing hotels and inns during an election can be met by simply making it illegal—with proper penalties—to sell or give any intoxicating liquor whatsoever on any premises in the constituency on an election day.

(7) If a Judge reports that corrupt practices have prevailed extensively at an election no further election to fill the vacancy should be held till after the end of the sitting Parliament.

(8) The maximum of election expenses can now be reduced owing to improved means of locomotion. Apart from personal expenses and returning officer's charges the maximum in both counties and boroughs should be £400 for the first 2,000 electors, and £30 extra for each additional 1,000 electors.

(9) The hours of polling should be extended, all elections should be on the same day, and the Returning Officer's charges should be paid out of public funds. Statutory provision should be made for securing to all employees an opportunity of voting.

R. C. HAWKIN.

THE EXCESSIVE COST OF ELECTIONS.

By GEORGE H. RADFORD, LL.B., M.P.

The maximum of expenses fixed by the Corrupt Practices Act, 1883, is too high, and has the effect of limiting the choice of constituencies to those candidates who can find a substantial sum of money. While the maximum remains what it is a candidate will generally spend up to it, for his agent urges him not to run any risk by saving, and he suspects that his opponent will spend every penny allowed by law.

In 1833 extravagant and corrupt electioneering still prevailed, but it is now extinct in most places. Moreover, the halfpenny post was introduced in 1864, and this largely reduced the cost of elections. A candidate in a normal constituency of 10,000 voters who circularises the electors three times saves £62. 10s. on this head alone. This sum in excess of what was contemplated by

the Act of 1883 is available for wasteful expenditure.

The London County Council elections are fought under the scale contained in the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1884, as applied by the Local Government Act, 1888. Under this scale, the maximum expenditure for an L.C.C. constituency of 10,000 is £143. 5s., while the maximum for a like Parliamentary constituency is £620, exclusive of the candidates' share of the Returning Officer's charges. Having fought elections in London both for the County Council and Parliament I record my deliberate opinion that in Parliamentary elections the difference between the L.C.C. scale and the Parliamentary scale is

largely thrown away. The Parliamentary maximum in boroughs should be reduced by at least one-half.

In L.C.C. elections the returning officers' charges are paid out of the rates. This should also be done in the case of Parliamentary elections.

GEORGE H. RADFORD.

THE COST OF ELECTIONS.

The expenses of parliamentary candidates are limited by statute and may vary according to the number of voters on the register. He must pay his share of the expenses of the returning officer and may spend £100 on personal expenses, but if he spends more than this sum he must furnish a return to the returning officer.

	Exclusive of these items a Candidate may spend			Joint Candidates in Boroughs returning two members may spend
	In English and Scottish Counties.	In Irish Counties.	In Boroughs returning one Member.	
In a constituency not exceeding 2,000 registered electors	£ 650	£ 500	£ 850	£ 525
For each additional 1,000 electors ..	60	40	30	45

MAXIMUM ALLOWED FOR EXPENSES IN A TYPICAL CONSTITUENCY OF 7,900 ELECTORS.

In English and Scottish Counties	£1,010
In Boroughs returning one member	530
In Boroughs returning two members (in cases of a joint candidature)	795

Inclusive of the charges of returning officers the General Election of 1906 cost 1,273 candidates £1,166,353. 13s. 2d. This figure does not include the cost of uncontested elections. The following summary gives details of the amount spent in the three kingdoms and the cost per vote.

	Registered Electors.	Total expenses.	Votes polled.	Average cost per vote polled.
England and Wales	5,822,784	£996,861	4,880,673	4/1
Scotland	750,401	138,381	611,350	4/6
Ireland	691,423	81,815	153,681	3/8½
Total	7,264,608	1,106,857	5,645,104	

In English counties the average cost per vote was 5s. 1d., but in the boroughs it was only 3s. 1d. Several members, however, including Mr. Thomas Sumnerbell, at Sunderland, Mr. Alfred Emmott and Mr. J. A. Bright, at Oldham, Mr. G. H. Roberts at Norwich, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald at Leicester, and Mr. James Parker at Halifax, secured votes at less than 1s. each.

The above figures show the statutory maximum and the figures below show the actual amount spent by candidates in some typical constituencies at the General Election of 1906.

	Number of Registered Electors.	Max. of expenses allowed (exclusive of returning officer's charges).	Amount actually spent (exclusive of returning officer's charges) by	
			Successful Candidate.	Defeated Candidate.
Buckinghamshire, Wycombe	15,050	£1,490	£1,439	£1,472
Essex, Walthamstow	35,321	2,690	1,859	2,079
Lincolnshire, Brigg	11,737	1,250	1,237	1,134
Wiltshire, Wilton	8,632	1,070	1,162	1,052
Hamorganshire, Southern	20,641	1,790	1,376	1,724
Birmingham, West	12,483	680	691	679
Lackney, North	11,334	650	653	422
Leeds, West	18,518	860	651	765
Midlothian	16,711	1,490	1,197	883
Aberdeen, South	12,980	680	864	495
Stratford, Mid	7,337	740	661	471
Dublin, St. Stephen's Green	8,816	560	444	487

It will be seen that the maximum of expenditure allowed is generally approached very closely; in many cases it is exceeded, and immunity for this proceeding must be obtained from the Courts of Law.

PEOPLE'S SUFFRAGE.

BY ROSALIND NASH.

The acceptance of representative government seems to imply the principle of adult suffrage. To shut out any class of persons from voting, whether it be women, married women, or the poorer men, is to admit the right of part of the community to control the lives of the rest without consulting them. Nor does anyone attempt to justify the present electoral qualifications. It is not easy to show that the value of the rooms occupied and the nature of the resident's relation to the landlord are good reasons for giving or withholding representation, and to those who believe women to be responsible human beings sex is just as irrelevant. So far all is fairly plain sailing.

People hardly understand that poverty still disfranchises men in large numbers. The long period of qualification shuts out workmen who move from place to place as their work leads them, and their movements largely depend on the state of trade. Bad times also directly disqualify large numbers of workmen. In large industrial towns depression of trade causes homes to be broken up, and lodgings to be taken instead of houses. The unemployed workman resorts to the Poor Law stoneyard; this again disfranchises him. If he falls into arrears of rates, the effect is the same. In such cases men are disfranchised exactly at the time when they need the vote most. Unemployment and insufficient employment are perhaps the most pressing of industrial questions, and it is a manifest injustice and hindrance to reform that those who suffer from them should have the additional disadvantage of forfeiting the power to vote.

THE WOMAN'S CASE.

Womanhood suffrage is the more important half of adult suffrage, and the woman who asks for adult suffrage, as do almost all the leading women connected with the labour movement, has a far stronger case even than the man who wants it as a means of complete representation for men. Property and tenancy may serve as rough tests of citizenship for men; in the case of women they are absurdly inappropriate. There is no direct way of giving really effective representation to women except adult suffrage. Let us test it by two classes of women who need representation—the women wage earners and the married working women. An unmarried woman of the working class has not usually a dwelling to herself, and she is too poor to qualify under the lodger franchise, even if she could satisfy the revising barrister in other respects. The married working woman is rarely the "occupier," in the legal sense, of the family dwelling; she cannot vote as

her husband's lodger, and the joint occupation franchise is, generally speaking, closed to her by the qualification of £10 for each occupier, since the mean rents of working-class houses in the principal provincial towns are considerably under £20 a year.

The position of wives would put the poorer women at a serious disadvantage under the existing electoral law. Any married woman inhabiting a house worth £20 a year or more might be made a voter if her husband would and could induce the landlord to accept her as joint tenant. Is it conceivable that Parliament would delegate the power of giving or refusing votes on such a scale? Surely not. But if it did, the results, especially in the rural constituencies, that is, the majority of the constituencies, would be most serious to Liberalism. No agricultural labourer's wife could get the vote, on account of the low rents of cottages, and for the same reason working women in rural districts would not get the lodger franchise, while every well-to-do woman would have the chance of getting the vote in one way or another, subject, in the case of wives, to the approval of the husband and the landlord.

SOME OBJECTIONS.

The preponderance of women in the population of the British Isles gives rise to one objection, and it is worth pointing out that in all the countries where women's suffrage has been granted women join the existing political groups, as, indeed, they have already done in the various political societies of our own country. There is no very serious danger that the Primrose League will unite with the Women's Labour League in an attempt to bring about the subjection of men or anything else.

One of the principal objections to adult suffrage is the fear that a very low class of the population will receive an increased influence. Those who are afraid of "the Public-house Vote," as it is called, hardly seem to realise that the people they are afraid of are in a very small minority. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent loafers and semi-criminals from voting now, and, according to Sir Charles Dilke, they are represented in a very high proportion to their small numbers. The idea that the proportion at present unrepresented belongs mainly or largely to the lowest class is utterly fantastic. By far the largest class in the nation is the comfortable working class, which in London, according to Mr. Booth's figures, accounts for 51·5 per cent. of the whole, while "loafers and semi-criminals" are 9 per cent., and the total "in comfort" are 69·3 per cent. There is no doubt that the great mass of those at present excluded from the vote are prosperous or fairly prosperous people.

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- Parliamentary Constituencies (Electors, &c.), United Kingdom. (Wyman.) 2jd.

- Richards, H. O., and Emanuel, M. R. *The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Acts, 1883 and 1895, and the Parliamentary Elections Corrupt Practices Act, 1885*. (Jordan.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Rogers on Elections. (Stevens.) Vol. 1.—*Registration*. (1897.) (Ed. by M. Powell.) 21s. Vol. 2.—*Parliamentary Elections and Petitions*. (1906.) (Ed. by C. Willoughby Williams.) 21s. Vol. 3.—*Municipal, &c., Elections and Petitions*. (1906.) (Ed. by C. Willoughby Williams.) 21s.
- Seager, J. R. *Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Parliamentary Elections*. (Liberal Publication Dept.) (1909.) 2s. net.
- Seager, J. R. *Notes on Registration*. (1908.) (Liberal Publication Dept.) (1909.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Woodings, W. *Conduct and Management of Parliamentary Elections*. (Liberal Publication Dept.) 3s. 6d.

PARTY ORGANISATIONS.

I.—LIBERAL.

LIBERAL CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.

- 41, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W. *Telegrams*: "Animation," London. *Telephone*: 2119 Victoria.
- President*: The Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P. *Chairman*: The Rt. Hon. J. A. Pease, M.P. *Hon. Secretary*: Sir Robert Hudson. *Hon. Treasurer*: Jesse Herbert. *Legal Adviser*: Sir Henry Paget Cooke.

The Liberal Central Association is the official organisation and head-quarters of the Liberal Party, and maintains the necessary offices for the Chief Whip of the party and for the permanent officials of the Association.

The Chief Liberal Whip is *ex-officio* Chairman of the Association. An Executive and a General Committee are elected yearly.

The annual subscription to the Association is four guineas, which may be compounded for by a single payment of fifty guineas.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

(Founded in 1877.)

- 42, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W. *Telegrams*: "Liberalise," London. *Telephone*: 2131 Victoria.
- President*: Sir William Angus. *Chairman of Committee*: Sir Edward Evans. *Treasurer*: Frank Wright. *Secretary*: Sir Robert Hudson. *Assistant Secretary*: Frank Barter.

The Federation is a union of Liberal Associations. The constitution of the Federation is as follows:—

(1) An *Executive Committee*, consisting of the officers with not more than twenty other members (Members of Parliament and women being ineligible), elected by ballot by the General Committee at its first meeting in each year.

(2) A *General Committee*, consisting of the officers and Executive Committee, together with representatives of each of the Federated Associations and all Liberal Members of Parliament; each

Liberal Association representing the whole of a Parliamentary constituency appointing three members, and Associations other than those representing an entire constituency appointing one member.

(3) A *Council*, consisting of the officers and Executive Committee, together with representatives of each of the Federated Associations and all Liberal Members of Parliament, each Liberal Association representing the whole of a Parliamentary constituency appointing one member for every thousand electors or fraction of one thousand electors, and Associations other than those representing an entire constituency appointing members not exceeding three for any one Association.

HOME COUNTIES LIBERAL FEDERATION.

(The Home Counties Division of the National Liberal Federation).

- 42, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W. *Telegrams*: "Aggressive," London. *Telephone*: 642 Victoria.
- President*: Earl Carrington, K.G., G.O.M.G. *Chairman of Executive Committee*: Noel Buxton. *Hon. Secretary*: Capt. Clive Bigham, C.M.G. *Treasurer*: Capt. The Hon. H. S. Stanhope, R.N. *Secretary*: W. M. Orok. *Assistant Secretary*: John Clarke.

The Home Counties Liberal Federation is the head-quarters organisation for the Liberal Party in the following eleven counties: Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Surrey, and Sussex.

SCOTTISH LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

- President*: The Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.O., M.P. *Chairman of General Council*: George Green, J.P. *Hon. Treasurer*: J. W. Gulland, M.P.
- EASTERN SECTION—95, Princes Street, Edinburgh. *Telegrams*: "Organise," Edinburgh. *Telephone*: 2025.

Hon. Secretary: James Falconer, M.P.
Secretary: A. D. Wood.
 WESTERN SECTION—7, West George Street,
 Glasgow. *Telegrams:* "Liberal," Glas-
 gow. *Telephone:* 4445 National; 690
 Corporation.

Hon. Secretary: R. Montgomerie, J.P.
Secretary: William Webster.

The Scottish Liberal Association is a
 Federation of all the Liberal Associa-
 tions of Scotland. Liberal Peers and
 Members for Scotland are all honorary
 members of the Association, while all
 the office-bearers are elected annually.
 The annual subscription to the Associa-
 tion for honorary members is not less
 than one pound, but there is a large
 number of subscribers who pay less
 sums, the amount of the subscription
 being entirely optional.

Y CYNGHOR RHYDDERYDIG CENHEDLAETHOL CYMREIG (Welsh National Liberal Council.)

Osborne Chambers, Pontypool.
Telegrams: Walter Hughes, Pontypool.
Telephone: P.O. 7.

President: The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd
 George, M.P. *Vice-president:* W. Brace,
 M.P. *Treasurer:* Chas. E. Breese.
Chairman of Executive Committee: The
 Lord St. Davids. *Secretary:* Walter H.
 Hughes.

The above Council is made up of
 representatives from the Liberal organ-
 isations in the constituencies of Wales
 and Monmouthshire, and from the
 Welsh Women's Liberal Association.
 The Council consists of about 750 dele-
 gates, and has an Executive of about
 60, called the National Executive.

NATIONAL REFORM UNION.

(Founded 1864.)

Central Office: 50, Haworth's Buildings,
 Cross Street, Manchester. *Telegrams:*
 "Politics," Manchester.

London Office: 10, Adelphi Terrace,
 W.O. *Telephone No.:* 7360 Central.

President: Lord Weardale. *Chairman
 of Executive Committee:* J. Herbert
 Thewlis. *Hon. Secretary:* H. J. Ogden.
Treasurer: George Rhodes, K.O. *Secre-
 tary:* Arthur G. Symonds, M.A.

Objects: (1) The dissemination of
 political knowledge, and the further-
 ance of Liberal organisation, especially
 in the county constituencies. (2) The
 promotion and agitation of any leading
 question which an important section of
 the Liberal Party may from time to
 time place before the nation, and in
 regard to which it may be thought
 desirable to move and instruct public
 opinion.

LIBERAL LEAGUE.

20, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster,
 S.W. *Telegrams:* "Adherent," Lon-
 don. *Telephone:* 278 Victoria.

President: (Vacant.) *Vice-presidents:*
 The Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, M.P.; The
 Rt. Hon. Viscount Wolverhampton,
 G.O.S.I.; The Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
 Grey, Bt., M.P.; The Rt. Hon. R. B.

Haldane, M.P. *Treasurer:* Sir Robert
 Perks, Bt., M.P. *Hon. Secretaries:*
 J. M. Paulton, M.P.; F. Freeman-
 Thomas, M.P. *Secretary:* W. Allard.

The Liberal League was formed in
 1902 for the purpose of bringing to-
 gether, with a view to common action,
 those who approved of the policy ex-
 pounded by Lord Rosebery at Ochester-
 field, and in the belief that upon those
 lines progress could best be made with
 that practical Liberalism which the
 conditions of the day urgently required.
 Lord Rosebery was President of the
 League from its foundation until Sep-
 tember, 1909, when he resigned his
 office.

LIBERAL PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT.

42, Parliament Street, Westminster,
 S.W. *Telegrams:* "Publicola," Lon-
 don. *Telephone:* 861 Victoria.

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. Russell Rea,
 M.P. *Treasurer:* Sir Robert Hudson.
Secretary: Charles Geake. *Assistant
 Secretary:* John Henderson.

The Liberal Publication Department
 is under the combined auspices of the
 National Liberal Federation and the
 Liberal Central Association.

The "Liberal Magazine" is published
 monthly, at an annual subscription of
 five shillings post free, and is an indis-
 pensable record for all Liberal speakers,
 workers, and canvassers.

The Department is prepared to
 supply, on moderate terms, five sets of
 Lantern Lectures (with slides). Several
 of the Lectures are new, dealing with
 current political questions. All are
 brightly and attractively written, and
 are well calculated to advance the
 cause of Liberalism.

Specimens of pamphlets and leaflets,
 lists of Election and Registration
 Forms, and catalogues of publications,
 may be obtained on application to the
 Liberal Publication Department, 42,
 Parliament Street, London, S.W.

NORTHERN LIBERAL FEDERATION.

Pilgrim House, Pilgrim Street, New-
 castle-on-Tyne.

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

(Established 1882.)

Whitehall Place, S.W.
Telegrams: "Enelsee," London.

Telephone (4 lines): 3700 Victoria.
*President of the Club and Chairman
 of General Committee:* Earl Carrington,
 K.G., G.O.M.G. *Vice-Chairmen of General
 Committee:* F. H. A. Hardcastle, F.S.I.;
 Henry Bleasby, J.P. *Chairman of Political
 Committee:* Capt. the Hon. Fitzroy
 Hemphill, L.C.O. *Vice-Chairmen:* Robert
 Steven; A. F. Murison, LL.D. *Secretary:*
 Donald Murray.

The Club is the recognised head-
 quarters of the party for dinners, re-
 ceptions, &c., and also for affording
 active Liberals of all ranks, from every
 part of the country, opportunities for
 social and political intercourse. It pro-
 vides the accommodation of a first-class

hotel at much less than hotel charges. There are 140 bedrooms.

The Gladstone Library is considered to be one of the best reference libraries in the United Kingdom.

The annual club subscription is six guineas for town and three guineas for country members. The rates for junior members are respectively two guineas and one guinea.

EIGHTY CLUB

3, Hare Court, Temple, E.O.

Telegrams: "Octuaginta," London.

Telephone: 4745 Holborn.

President: The Rt. Hon. E. B. Hall-dane, K.O., M.P. Treasurer: J. O. Swinburne-Hanham. Secretary: R. O. Hawkin.

The "Eighty" Club was originally formed in the year '80, shortly before the General Election of that year, with the object of promoting Liberal education, and of stimulating Liberal organisation, especially with reference to the election which was shortly to take place.

Committees of local organisations are invited to communicate with the Secretary, stating (1) the subject preferred; (2) the date, time, and place of meeting; (3) the number of persons the hall holds; and (4) the probable number present. A series of meetings can be arranged for if desired. No fee is charged.

Members are elected either by the Committee or by the Club at a general meeting, but no one is eligible for election by the Club at a general meeting who is more than 40 years of age.

The annual subscription is one guinea, and the entrance fee is one guinea for candidates under 25, two guineas for candidates between 25 and 30, four guineas for candidates between 30 and 35, six guineas for candidates between the ages of 35 and 40, and fifteen guineas for those over 40.

NEW REFORM CLUB.

10, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.

Telephone: 7360 Central.

President: Lord Courtney of Penwith. Chairman: Lord Weardale. Vice-Chairman: John A. Hobson. Hon. Treasurer: Henry J. Wilson, M.P. Hon. Secretary: Arthur G. Symonds, M.A.

The object of the New Reform Club is to provide those members of the Liberal and Progressive Party (men and women) who desire an active propaganda on behalf of advanced Liberal principles with an opportunity for social intercourse, for the consideration of current political questions, and for the development of political work. Opposition to Imperialism and Militarism, and the support of freedom and justice in the treatment of subject races, form special objects of the Club.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

133, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

Telegrams: "Equality," London.

President: The Hon. Mrs. Henry N. Gladstone. Chairman: Mrs. W. P. Byles. Secretary: Miss E. E. Page.

The Women's National Liberal Association (established in 1893) is a union of local Liberal Associations and of individuals desiring to co-operate with one another, and with the National Liberal Federation, for the furtherance of Liberal thought and Liberal policy, which naturally includes just legislation for women, and the protection of the interests of children.

WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION.

124, Victoria Street, S.W.

Telegrams: "Propaganda," London.

Telephone: 870 Victoria.

President: The Countess of Carlisle. Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. Broadley Read and Lady Bamford-Slack. Secretary: Miss Margaret Bunney.

The Federation has 670 affiliated branches and an approximate aggregate membership of 94,700.

LIBERAL SOCIAL COUNCIL.

92, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

President: Lady Allendale. Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Sydney Buxton. Secretary: Miss M. M. Wills.

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION.

7, West George Street, Glasgow.

Telegrams: "C/o Liberal," Glasgow.

Telephone: 4445 National; 690 Post Office.

President: The Lady Pentland. Vice-Presidents: Mrs. Falconer; Miss Campbell. Hon. Secretaries: Miss M. Cunningham; Mrs. Swan. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Gilbert Beith. Secretary: Miss Alice Younger, M.A.

The Federation, formed in 1891, consists of organisations of Liberal women numbering not less than twenty-five members, and of any Liberal Association which has admitted women to its membership. Liberal women in any district where there is no local Women's Liberal Association may also join on payment of a small fee.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF YOUNG LIBERALS.

447, Strand, W.C.

President: The Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P. Chairman of Council: O. W. B. Prescott, Esq., B.A. Hon. Treasurer: Oswald Partington, Esq., M.P. Secretary: J. Aubrey Rees, Esq.

All young men and women in agreement with the objects of the League are eligible to become members, upon the acceptance of their application by the Committee.

The League has (September, 1903) 150 branches in London and the provinces.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE.*President:* O. F. G. Masterman, M.P.*Chairman:* Sir Edmund Verney, Bart.*Gen. Secretary:* J. E. Dobton, Hon.*Treasurer:* A. J. Johns. *Head Office:* 67 and 58, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

Objects: (1) Adult Suffrage; (2) Automatic Registration with a three months' qualification; (3) One Voter One Vote; (4) Official Expenses of Elections to be defrayed from State Funds; (5) Second Ballot; (6) Payment of Members; (7) Extinction of the Hereditary Principle in the Legislature.

II. FREE TRADE & TARIFF REFORM ORGANISATIONS.**COBDEN CLUB.***Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.*

Chairman of Committee: The Rt. Hon. Lord Welby. *Treasurer:* The Rt. Hon. Russell Rea, M.P. *Secretary:* J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P.

The Cobden Club was founded in 1866, with the object of encouraging the growth and diffusion of those economic and political principles with which Cobden's name is associated. The Club is always ready to place information at the disposal of Parliamentary candidates who are supporters of Free Trade principles. The annual subscription is one guinea.

THE FREE TRADE UNION.

Head Office: 8, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. *Telegrams:* "Reliable," London. *P.O. Telephone:* 1094 Victoria.

City Office: 3, Queen Victoria Street, E.C. *Nat. Telephone:* 9006 London Wall.

President: The Rt. Hon. Arnold Morley. *Treasurer:* Alfred Mond, M.P. *Hon. Secretaries:* O. E. Mallet, M.P.; Captain Olive Bigham, O.M.G. *General Secretary:* G. Wallace Carter.

The Free Trade Union is an association independent of party, founded to promote the principles and the practice of Free Trade.

During 1908 it held educational campaigns in 147 districts, conducted 2,943 meetings, and distributed 4,145,195 pamphlets and leaflets.

FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

18, Hackins Hey, Liverpool.

President: E. K. Muspratt, LL.D. *Hon. Treasurer:* Washington C. Rawlins. *Secretary:* J. W. S. Calle. *Assistant Secretary:* W. Lyon Bleasde, LL.M.

Established in April, 1848, to advocate economical government, just taxation, and perfect freedom of trade.

A subscription of five shillings and upwards entitles a member to the various publications of the Association, including the "Financial Reform Almanack and Year Book."

WOMEN'S FREE TRADE UNION.

Chairman of Committee: Mrs. Harcourt. *Hon. Treasurers:* Mrs. Francis Acland. *Hon. Secretaries:* Lady Frances Balfour and Lady Bamford-Slack, 8, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W. The Union is entirely non-party, and includes amongst its Executive Committee, Vice-Presidents, and Members, members of all political parties. Members of Council pay a minimum annual subscription of one guinea; members subscribe at least five shillings, and associates one shilling annually.

TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE.

Secretary: T. W. A. Bagley, 7, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

IMPERIAL TARIFF COMMITTEE.

Secretary: O. A. Vince, M.A., 39, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

III. LABOUR & SOCIALIST ORGANISATIONS.**THE LABOUR PARTY.***(Labour Representation Committee.)*

28, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. *Chairman:* J. Keir Hardie, M.P. *Secretary:* J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

The Labour Party, which, from 1900 to 1906, was known as the Labour Representation Committee, is a federation consisting of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies, Local Labour Associations, and Co-operative Societies.

The L.R.C. was formed in February, 1900, to form a distinct and independent group in Parliament, with its own Whips and its own policy on Labour questions.

Executive, 1909-10: W. O. Robinson (United Textile Factory Workers' Association), 699; Ben Turner (General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers), 689; J. R. Clynes (Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union), 668; S.

Walsh (Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation), 631; J. J. Stephenson (Amalgamated Society of Engineers), 545; Arthur Henderson (Friendly Society of Ironfounders), 524; W. Walker (Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners), 519; Walter Hudson (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants), 500; John Hodge (British Steel Smelters), 485; G. H. Stuart (Postmen's Federation), 386; H. Orbell (Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union), 379. The Trades Council and Local Labour Party section: W. Barefoot. Socialist section: J. Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, and E. R. Pease.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

National Administrative Council, 1909-10.—*Chairman:* F. W. Jowett, M.P.; *Treasurer:* T. D. Benson; J. R. Clynes, M.P.; Geo. Lansbury; Miss Mary MacArthur; W. C. Anderson; T. McKeirrell; Rev. W. E. Moll; Ben Biley; Leonard

Hall; R. O. K. Ensor; J. H. Belcher; W. Field; W. Williams; J. M. McLachlan; H. R. Stockman.

General Secretary: Francis Johnson, 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, E.C.

The Membership is open to all Socialists who endorse the principles and policy of the Party, are not members of either the Liberal or Conservative Party, and whose application for membership is accepted by a branch.

Object.—The object of the Party is to establish the Socialist State, where land and capital will be held by the community and used for the well-being of the community, and where the exchange of commodities will be organised also by the community so as to secure the highest standard of life for the individual. In giving effect to this object it shall work as part of the International Socialist movement.

Each of the Divisional Areas elects one member to the National Administrative Council of the Party (the N.A.O.), the four remaining members of the N.A.O., together with the Chairman and Treasurer of the Party, being elected by ballot at the Annual Conference.

On March 1st, 1909, there were 887 branches.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Executive Committee, 1909-10: Miss Mabel Atkinson; H. Granville Barker; Dr. Ethel Bentham; Hubert Bland; Dr. F. Lawson Dodd; R. O. K. Ensor; Dr. L. Haden Guest; Rev. Stewart D. Headlam; Miss B. L. Hutchins; Aylmer Maude; L. G. Chiozza-Money; Miss M. Murby; Edward R. Pease; Mrs. Pember Reeves; Ald. W. Sanders; Clifford D. Sharp;

G. Bernard Shaw; Mrs. Bernard Shaw; George Standring; Sidney Webb; Mrs. H. G. Wells. *Secretary:* E. R. Pease, 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

Basis and Aims.—"The Fabian Society consists of Socialists. It therefore aims at the reorganisation of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people." Figures for

Year ending.	No. of Members.	Income.
March 31st, 1905 ...	784	£792
" " 1906 ...	885	£1,009
" " 1907 ...	1,267	£1,397
" " 1908 ...	2,015	£2,535
" " 1909 ...	2,462	£3,429

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

21a, Maiden Lane, Charing Cross, W.C.
Secretary: H. W. Lee. *Treasurer:* J. F. Green.

Formed in 1882 as the Democratic Federation to organise the working class for political action, having for its object the overthrow of capitalist society and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth, in which all the means of production, distribution, and exchange should be social property, and used in the interests of the community as a whole. The S.D.P. has at present over 250 branches, and a membership of 16,000. Its chief organ is *Justice*, edited by H. Quelch.

IV. UNIONIST ORGANISATIONS.

CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE.

Principal Agent: J. Percival Hughes, St. Stephen's Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

LIBERAL UNIONIST COUNCIL.

President: Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. *Secretary:* John Boraston, 6, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.

NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE LEAGUE

Secretary: F. H. Relton, 9, Broughton Road, Thornton Heath.

NATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATIVE AND CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Secretary: Thomas Cox, St. Stephen's Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

NATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATIONS FOR SCOTLAND.

Secretary: George Brown, 2, Castle Street, Edinburgh.

PRIMROSE LEAGUE.

Chancellor: Lord Desborough. *Vice-Chancellor:* G. Lane Fox, 64, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

For further information about political organisations see the invaluable *Liberal Year Book* for 1910, published by the Liberal Publication Department.

USEFUL BOOKS.

Barnett, S. A. and H. Practical Socialism: Essays on Social Reform. (Longmans.) (1894.) 6s.

Bax, E. Belfort. The Ethics of Socialism. (Sonnenschein.) (1893.) 1s. 9d.

Blatchford, R. Merrie England. (Clarion Press.) (1894.) 3d.

Flint, R. Socialism. (1894.) 6s. net.

Gonner, E. C. K. The Socialistic State. (1895.) (Scott Publishing Co.) 2s. 6d.

Hardie, J. Keir. From Serfdom to Socialism. (Allen.) (1907.) 1s. net.

Headlam, Rev. S. D. The Socialist's Church. (Allen.) 1s. net.

Hirsch, M. Democracy versus Socialism. (Land Values Publication Department.) (1901.) 5s. 6d.

Hunter, R. Socialists at Work. (Macmillan.) (1908.) 6s. 6d. net.

Jaurès, Jean. Studies in Socialism. (I.L.P. Publication Dept.) 1s. net.

See also page 136

SOCIALISM IN 1909.

BY PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

The year 1909 has shown a striking advance in the numerical strength of Socialist organisations and in the spread of Socialist thought. The Independent Labour Party is the chief British Socialist body. Its financial year ends with the month of February, and at the end of February, 1909, the number of local branches of the party was 887, the number at the corresponding date in 1908 being 735. Since February of this year the progress of the organisation has proceeded, 33 new branches having been formed during the first quarter of the new year.

The financial test is usually the best indication of the stability of a political organisation. The local branches of the Independent Labour Party affiliate with the central body on the basis of a monthly contribution of one penny per member. These affiliation fees for the first six months of the financial year, 1909 (from March), have realised a sum of £590, as compared with a sum of £518 for the corresponding months of 1908. The Independent Labour Party has just inaugurated a National Press, the intention being for the party to do its own printing, which is very considerable. Its weekly organ is the "Labour Leader," and it also publishes a monthly review, "The Socialist Review," which was launched last year, and which has established a firm position in periodical literature. The Publication Department of the Independent Labour Party is an extensive concern, literature, chiefly in the form of pamphlets, being sold through the branches to the extent of £5,000 a year.

The British Socialist movement as represented by the Independent Labour Party is affiliated to the Labour Party; and the Parliamentary candidates promoted by the Independent Labour Party are run under the endorsement of the Labour Party. Four bye-elections have taken place during the year 1909, in which members of the Independent Labour Party have been put forward as candidates. In two of the four cases the candidature was financed by the Independent Labour Party, but in the third case (Taunton) by the Fabian Society, and in the fourth case, that of Attercliffe, the candidate, though an old and active member of the Independent Labour Party, was put forward by one of the trade unions affiliated to the Labour Party. In the last mentioned case the candidate was returned, but in the three other cases, Taunton, Croydon, and Bermondsey, the Socialist candidate was not successful.

The Fabian Society has increased its membership during the year from 2,015 to 2,462. There are now 35 provincial branches, besides seven confined to the universities. As noted above, the Society has this year definitely embarked on active political work, having financed the candidature of Mr. Frank Smith at Taunton, and it is responsible for the Labour candidate at Portsmouth in the bye-election now pending.

During the year there has been much evidence forthcoming of the spread of Socialist opinion among the Christian churches. At the time of the meeting of the Free Church Congress at Swansea in March last, a meeting of ministers was called for the purpose of considering the formation of a Free Church Socialist Society. Over 200 ministers attended, the Society was formed, and it has met with much success, branches having already been established in many parts of the country. The formation of this Socialist Society inside the Free Churches was much resented by a few individuals, who made an attempt to form a Free Church Anti-Socialist League. The attempt met with practically no response, and very soon the announcement was made that the Society had merged with the Anti-Socialist Union.

The Church Socialist League, which is confined to members of the Church of England, reports great activity and progress during 1909. It was much in evidence during the Church Congress week at Swansea, and the members of the League who were there have reported that they were much impressed by the general sympathy with Socialist ideas which prevailed among the Anglican clergy who were there assembled. Not only is Socialism permeating the churches, but Socialist Societies are springing up in commerce. During the year a Commercial Travellers' Socialist Society has been formed, and its chief method of work is the lending of small libraries of Socialist books to hotels, and the publication of leaflets on Socialism from the business point of view.

Socialist thought and policy in Britain is in a state of evolution. Hitherto its propaganda has been almost exclusively of the popular kind. In its speeches and literature the appeal has been chiefly to the working classes to band themselves together politically in order to effect their economic emancipation. The Socialist movement has grown in numbers more rapidly than its adherents have understood the vastness and complexity of the problems which are involved in the application of the Socialist theory. Men have been brought into the active work of political parties who have had no previous experience or training. Their newly imbibed and very dimly com-

prehended ideas of democracy have given them a political self-importance and authority which they were not trained to properly discharge.

This is a condition which at one time or another is reached by every democratic movement. The Independent Labour Party came to the crisis of that disease in the early part of 1909. The Annual Conference of the Party, which was held at Edinburgh last Easter, was marked by sensational happenings, which were the result of the divergent ideas which were at work in the party. The old policy of the Independent Labour Party had been to make a democratic political party by bringing together existing working-class movements, and gradually, by education and experience, to evolve a great Socialist Party. The Socialism of the Independent Labour Party is not dogmatic, nor is its policy one of isolation or exclusiveness. The new element in the party, which was represented mainly by the young men who have joined during the boom of the last two or three years, attached far more importance to a shibboleth than to a principle, and more importance to an ideal than to a practical reform.

The internal conflict between the old and the new elements in the party had become so intolerable that the four national members of the Executive of the party resigned their executive positions. These men were Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Mr. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., and Mr. J. Bruce Glasier, the editor of the party's organ, "The Labour Leader." All these men were ex-chairmen of the party, one or other of them having occupied the position ever since the formation of the party in 1893.

The step was taken with the object of bringing the Independent Labour Party to a sense of responsibility, and of enforcing obligation upon its members to be loyal to the policy of the party. The four ex-members of the Executive still remain members of the party, and take a very prominent, but unofficial part in its activities. The record of progress since Easter seems to show that the party is recovering from the internal dissensions which last year were somewhat acute. It is too much to hope that the difficulty will not, in one form or another, recur, for internal troubles seem to be the heritage of democratic parties.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM ABROAD.

The story of Socialism abroad during 1909 is a very encouraging one. The Congress of the German Socialist Party was held in September at Leipzig, and the Executive Committee gave a striking report on the position of Socialism in the Empire. The party numbers over 633,000 paying members, who are organised in 3,281 local branches; of these, 62,269 are women. The leading Socialist daily newspaper in Berlin, the "Vorwärts," has daily circulation of 159,000, and it made last year a net

profit of £5,100. In addition to this, the central body publish an illustrated comic weekly and a weekly scientific review.

Before the elections for the Saxon and Baden Diets, which have just been held, the number of Socialist deputies in the several States was as follows: Bavaria 20, Hamburg 19, Bremen 18, Württemberg 15, Baden 10, Saxe-Coburg 7, Lübeck 6, Saxe-Meiningen 6, Schwarzburg, 6, Saxony 1. The elections for the State Parliaments for Saxony and Baden were held during October, and the Socialists have won such astounding victories that the dread of the "Red Peril" is before the German bureaucracy once more. In Baden the Socialist deputies have been increased from 10 to 20, and the Socialist vote shows an increase of 35,351, while the Catholic and Liberal votes showed considerable decline. In the first ballots in Saxony 16 Socialists were definitely elected, while in 53 out of the 57 seats which went to a second ballot the Socialists went to the poll. The question of taxation was to some extent responsible for the great increase in the Socialist poll.

The last German Socialist Congress showed a gradual change of opinion in the direction of Revisionism. The newer school of Socialist thought is not dogmatic or Marxian, but conciliatory and possibilist. The fight between the Revolutionary Marxians and the Revisionists has been going on for ten years, and it has been at times waged with much bitterness. Although the Leipzig Congress in October made no definite departure from the previous policy, it was very manifest that the Revisionist policy had recently made great headway. This is due mainly to the spread of trade unionism, which by its struggles to succeed has learnt the value of practicability.

In Italy, in Holland, in Finland, in Sweden, in Austria, in Greece, in Denmark there have been elections during the year which have shown the onward march of Socialism. The elections took place in Italy last May, and the number of Socialist members of Parliament was increased from 26 in the old to 42 in the new Parliament. These figures do not really show the magnitude of the Socialist advance, for at the second ballots the Republicans and Radicals combined against the Socialists. In August last three by-elections took place, and the Socialists carried all three, raising their Parliamentary membership from 42 to 44, one of the seats being to replace a Socialist.

French Socialists have been excited during the year as to their policy at the coming General Election. There has been a rather acute outbreak of anti-Parliamentarism, led by Hervé. At the Congress of the Socialist Party held at Easter the two sections came into vigorous contact. The Hervé section, the "insurrectionals," though small in numbers, are a source of considerable irritation to the Jaurès

party. The main question discussed at the Congress was whether Socialist candidates who were at the bottom of the poll at the first ballots should withdraw from the second in order to improve the chances of the Radicals in defeating the Clerical and Nationalist reactionaries. No definite decision was reached, the groups being left to take what action they might think best. This means that in the majority of cases there will be an understanding with the Radicals at the second ballot. On the defeat of M. Clemenceau, M. Briand, a former member of the Socialist Party, became Premier. A Socialist has been elected President of the Paris Municipal Council.

The Dutch Socialists, owing partly to internal differences, did not at the elections this year gain the Parliamentary representation to which their numbers entitle them. They increased their total vote on the first ballots from 65,743 in 1905 to 82,793 in 1909, an increase of 25 per cent. The Socialist vote was 10 per cent. of the total number of votes cast. The Danish elections took place in June, and all the old Socialist members were returned, although the party did not win any new seat. There was, however, a substantial increase in the number of Socialist votes; the figures have risen from 76,566 in 1906 to 92,727 this year. The Socialist vote has risen at every successive election since 1879, when it was 767.

At the elections in Norway held in October the Socialist vote showed an increase of over 100 per cent. on that of three years ago. In Bergen, Stavanger, and Kristiansand the Socialist vote was by far the highest of any one party.

Finland holds a premier position in the march towards Socialism. Last May a General Election was held, and the Socialists returned 84 members out of a total Parliamentary strength of 200. They polled 336,659 votes out of a total number cast of 844,515. The Socialist vote showed a gain of 26,577 on the Socialist poll of 1908.

The Socialist movement does not appear to make much headway in the United States. The Socialists made a splendid fight in the Presidential election last year. They confidently anticipated that their recorded poll would show a 50 per cent. increase on the previous Socialist vote at a Presidential election. The final figures were published in the early part of this year, and it was then stated that Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate, had polled 447,651 votes, a comparatively small increase on the previous poll of 402,000. The explanation of the slow progress of Socialism in America is said to be the composite character of the population, the alien methods by which Socialism is propagated, and its antagonism to Trade Unionism.

It may be convenient to give in a summary form the figures as to the present Parliamentary strength of the

Socialist parties, affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau, and also the total Socialist vote at the last elections. The figures are supplied by the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau in his circular for October, 1909.

Country.	No. of M.P.'s.	Socialist Vote.	Year of Election.
Germany.....	44	8,258,968	1907
England.....	31	842,196	1906
Argentina.....	—	5,000	1908
Austria.....	68	1,041,948	1907
Belgium.....	42	492,210	1908/09
Denmark.....	24	92,848	1909
Spain.....	—	29,000	1904
United States.....	—	447,651	1908
Finland.....	84	386,896	1909
France.....	55	1,120,000	1906
Holland.....	7	62,404	1909
Italy.....	44	388,885	1909
Norway.....	11	46,000	1906
Sweden.....	84	76,000	1909
Switzerland.....	7	100,000	1908

The Independent Labour Party in Britain has 22 candidates in the field for the General Election. There will, altogether, be about 70 candidates of the Labour Party, which is affiliated to the International Socialist Party.

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SECTION V. THE NEW IRELAND.

BY JAMES O'DONOVAN.

I.—NATIONAL UNIVERSITY. A LIBERAL TRIUMPH.

A review of the position in Ireland in 1909, the fortieth anniversary of the initiation by Mr. Gladstone of a Liberal policy of reform destined to have the most far-reaching results, discloses a state of things satisfactory in itself and foreshadowing bright prospects, both intellectual and material, in the future.

In 1869 Gladstone set out to establish religious equality in Ireland by dis-establishing the Anglican Church. In 1909 a Liberal Administration put the finishing touch to the work begun forty years earlier by successfully establishing a National University, free from tests, but entirely acceptable to the Roman Catholics. Gladstone's Government, in 1873, came to grief in trying to solve the University question; on November 1st, 1909, a National University, under Liberal auspices, came into existence in Ireland, with the approbation of all parties. What was thought to be impossible a few years ago has been accomplished with ease by Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and his colleagues in the Liberal Cabinet.

Ireland is now admirably equipped in the matter of University facilities. There is provision for Catholics in a National University; a Belfast University, to which a Protestant Commission has appointed a Roman Catholic priest to a Chair of Philosophy; and Dublin University (Trinity College) with its fine traditions for scholarship, has acquired additional strength through an arrangement with Magee College, Derry.

Disestablishment has proved an undisguised blessing, and as a spiritual institution the Church of Ireland—as it is now known—was never in a higher position than it is to-day. It has no clergyman "passing rich on forty pounds a year," as wealthy England has, and if there are no very wealthy livings, neither is there one without a living wage. Religious rancour sometimes shows itself in a corner of Ulster, but even there asperities are dying down, while in the rest of Ireland the relations between Roman Catholics, Nonconformists, and Anglicans are certainly not less cordial than is the case in England.

There is also associated with the year 1909 in Ireland the inauguration of the Old Age Pensions Scheme by the Liberal Government. In no part of the United Kingdom have the pensions been a greater boon than in the peasant homes of Ireland, and there is the best reason to hope that, even if the Poor Law system is not abolished by law, the pensions will practically abolish it

before many years. This is how the Old Age Pensions paid in Ireland in 1909 compare with a year's cost of Poor Law relief, indoor and outdoor:—

Old Age Pensions	£2,296,000
Poor Law Relief	 1,048,000

Thus the pensions in one year are more than double the whole cost of Poor Law relief!

In the condition of Ireland as a whole there are several satisfactory features marking the passage of the year 1909. For the first time for many a long year there has been a gain in the population through an excess of births over deaths and emigration combined. It is a small gain, but it is a hopeful sign.

In 1909 there was also reported an increase in the marriage and birth rates and a decline in the death rate, especially in consumption, thanks to the crusade headed by the Countess of Aberdeen. There was a marked decrease in the cases of drunkenness. To the Gaelic League, which is pursuing a very active campaign in the work of reviving the Irish language and literature, is due great credit for its exertions in the cause of Temperance.

As regards the Irish Language, it is now taught in 3,047 National Schools out of a total of 8,468, and in these schools the best attendance on record was reached in the school year 1908-9.

Speaking generally, the Ireland of 1909 is in a more hopeful position than it has occupied in our time, or, for that matter, for centuries. The intellectual and industrial revival movements are securing enthusiastic support, and the real foundation of Irish prosperity—the land in the secure possession of more than half-a-million small holders—affords the fairest outlook for the happy future of a peasantry who have had to undergo hardships and trials without a parallel, perhaps, in Western Europe.

II.—SMALL HOLDINGS.

In a more detailed survey, Small Holdings claim the first attention, and in view of the newly-declared policy of the Tory Party to advocate for England a system of Small Holdings on the peasant proprietary basis, as in Ireland, the circumstances under which the Irish system was established are of more than ordinary interest.

The Irish Small Holdings may be traced to the legislation of the English Parliament at the close of the 17th century, which killed the manufacturing industries of Ireland. While the Protestant workers were able to emigrate the Catholics were driven to rely solely on the land for subsistence.

Long before Roman Catholic Emancipation—from 1793, to be exact—mem-

bers of that faith exercised the franchise in Ireland, though they were not eligible to sit in the Irish Parliament, which was practically dominated by the landlord interest. Under the Irish franchise system known as the "Forty Shilling Freeholders," landlords who wished to exercise political influence were able to create votes by breaking up their land into small holdings, and the greater the number of these holdings the greater number of votes cast at the bidding of the proprietors. What made such a scheme possible was the capacity of a very large population to subsist on so prolific a crop as the potato was before the famine of 1847.

The "Forty Shilling Freeholders," who were regarded by their landlords as mere slaves for voting purposes, and who were evicted wholesale whenever they rebelled, enjoyed the franchise down to the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1829. It was their revolt in County Clare, by electing Daniel O'Connell, which forced the passing of that measure, and one of the prices paid for it was their disfranchisement. A supplementary Act raised the property qualification in Ireland from £2 to £10, and the Irish electorate was reduced at a stroke from 200,000 to 26,000.

But though the small holders were disfranchised the system remained, and before the famine Ireland had a population of about 9,000,000, so that it was then almost literally true that "every rood of ground maintained its man." It was not the excess of population which caused the famine when the potato crop failed in 1846, but the fact that the people were dependent on the potato alone as an article of diet. There was abundance of corn, but that was exported in order to find money to pay the landlords their rent. While the people were dying of hunger and famine fever in hundreds of thousands, in one year foodstuffs to the value of £45,000,000 were exported from Ireland! After the famine a widespread attempt was made to replace small holdings by large farms and cattle ranches. It partially succeeded, especially in Connaught, with the result that the people were driven into the bogs and mountains; but after sixty years' experience it is found necessary to revert to the system of small holdings, and the descendants of the old holders are now being brought back to the ranches by Government action.

When the Irish system is being held up to England as an example these facts must be borne in mind, as well as another and very vital circumstance, namely, that the small holders in Ireland have always been responsible for buildings, improvements, &c.

It was to protect the holders from having their improvements confiscated by their landlords that Gladstone passed his first Land Act in 1870: but that measure failed, and after the Land

War of 1879-1880 Gladstone passed his great Act of 1881, which established the holder's right to fixity of tenure at a fair rent, estimated by a State tribunal. From this Act, which merely established by law the right of the holder to the property which he had himself created, the subsequent Tory Land Purchase Acts sprung naturally and inevitably.

Notwithstanding famine decimation, the cruel "clearances" by the landlords which followed, and the numerous evictions (accompanied by confiscation of improvements) which took place down to 1881, the small holders of Ireland displayed a wonderful tenacity in face of desperate difficulties. They still number nearly 600,000, and of these about 440,000 hold no more than 30 acres each. The progress being made in converting them into proprietors, on the basis of terminable annuities to the State (which they pay with the utmost punctuality), is shown by the following table, which gives the number of purchasers under the various Acts, with the amount of the loans and the average price per holding down to June 30th, 1909:—

Acts.	Purchasers.	Loans.	Average.
1885-88 ..	25,367 ..	£9,990,000 ..	£393
1891-96 ..	46,811 ..	13,139,000 ..	280
1903 ..	242,317 ..	80,140,000 ..	330
Totals..	314,495	£103,269,000	£323

Included under the Act of 1903 are 164,437 purchasers who have come to terms with their landlords, but on whose behalf the loans have not yet been actually advanced, owing to money market considerations. In addition to the numbers given, the Congested Districts Board had placed, or were in process of placing, on March 31st, 1909, 15,726 purchasers, at a cost of £2,252,000. It remained for the Liberal Government at the close of the Session of 1909 to remedy the breakdown of the financial side of the Tory Act of 1903, and to provide a large sum of money annually for settling the "congesta" on vacant land.

When, then, small holdings in England are advocated on the Irish basis, the two outstanding particulars in which Ireland differs entirely from England are:—

(1) That small holders were already on the land in Ireland; and

(2) That all holders, small and large, effected their own improvements, and were recognised as proprietors thereof when purchase operations commenced.

III.—AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

Another and most beneficent measure, introduced by the Liberal Government early in 1885, and adopted and carried by the Tories later in the year, was the Labourers' Act for Ireland, and the working of that Act and subsequent amending Acts has likewise a bearing on the small holdings policy of the Tories on a proprietary basis.

It is natural that in a country like Ireland, where about three-fourths of the holdings are under 30 acres in extent, there is not a great scope for agricultural labourers, since the farmer himself or members of his family engage in farm work. In this connection the census taken by the Irish Department of Agriculture in 1908 is of peculiar interest. In that year the number of persons engaged in farm work was as follows:—

Farmers (and lads over 14)	577,292
Regular Hired Hands	184,084
Temporary Hands	109,987
Women (and girls over 14) ..	112,995

Total 884,353

Thus, at the time of the enumeration, nearly a million persons were engaged in farm work in Ireland, only 184,084 of whom were farm hands in regular employment throughout the year.

In 1885 the Irish labourer lived in a wretched hovel, and he depended for the regular food supply of his family on a potato patch paid for by labour to the farmer occupying the land. At the very best it was a precarious state of existence.

The Labourers' Act empowered Boards of Guardians—there were no Rural District Councils until 1898—to borrow money from the Government for erecting cottages, with plots of half-an-acre in extent attached, for agricultural labourers, and to levy rates for the repayment of the loans. A subsequent Act empowered the local authority to extend the cottage plot to an acre. Owing to cumbersome and costly procedure the original Act was not availed of as widely as it was required, except in the Midlands and the South of Ireland, but where it was enforced it created a wonderful change in the condition of the labourers.

According to the last report of the Irish Local Government Board, 22,774 cottages were then actually let to labourers. The Rural Councils, which have replaced the Boards of Guardians, retain the ownership, and charge a rent for a cottage and plot ranging from as low as 5d. and 6d. per week in some places to 2s. 9d. per week in the vicinity of Dublin. The usual rent of the cottages does not exceed 1s. per week. The rent charged is not sufficient to repay the loans (amounting to £4,314,000), so that a rate has to be levied, and it is a noteworthy fact that the farmers, who invariably control the Rural Councils, are quite willing to tax themselves rather heavily, as they find it to their advantage to have labour available in their neighbourhood when it is required. The rates struck on account of the cost of the cottages vary from less than a penny to as high as 10-9d. in the £ in Macroom, co. Cork; 11-12d. in Kilmacthomas, Waterford; and 11-74d. in Glin., Limerick.

The Labourers' Act passed by the Liberal Government in 1906 simplified and cheapened procedure, with the re-

sult that since then Rural Councils are promoting schemes for providing many more thousands of cottages. In little more than a year from the passing of the Act of 1906 the provision of cottages and plots costing over four millions sterling was under consideration, and it is believed that under this Act about 50,000 additional cottages will be provided in a reasonable time. In their dress and mode of living the labourers are, as a rule, on a level with most of the small holders. Though they hold as tenants of the Rural Councils, they are absolutely secure so long as they pay the very modest rent charged, and they are quite independent as to the disposal of their labour for hire. All the cottagers keep fowls, most of them a pig or two, and many of them sheep and even a cow, with a donkey for market purposes.

There is good evidence to show that where the cottages have been erected to any great extent, as in the counties of Cork and Limerick, they have proved a check on emigration, and this effect is bound to be more marked when their number is multiplied. The occupiers regard the cottages as being as much their homes as if they were their absolute property, and the labourer's son, instead of emigrating, is encouraged to remain in the country in order to succeed his father in the home.

IV.—GROWTH OF PROSPERITY.

There is more than the evidence of observation in regard to the dress, food, and the housing of the Irish peasantry to show that the reforms of the past thirty years are having very perceptible effects on the comfort and prosperity of the people. In 1880, the total of the Irish deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank was only £1,481,000. The following table shows the growth in number of depositors and the amounts from 1890 to 1908:—

Year.	Depositors.	Amount.
1890	198,790	£3,585,000
1895	280,499	5,337,000
1900	381,865	7,791,000
1905	484,810	10,037,000
1908	546,560	10,627,000

On the 30th June, 1909, the deposits in the Post Office had increased to £11,187,000. In addition there was in Trustees Savings Banks the sum of £2,466,000 on that date, bringing the total up to £13,653,000, showing an increase of no less than £580,000 in the year.

The most notable feature of this great increase in the number and amount of savings is that the advance has been most marked in the counties in which small holdings very largely prevail, and in which the towns depend almost entirely on the farming industry. In the following table are shown for certain counties the number of depositors and the amount deposited, with the percentage of increase, comparing 1907 with 1881, the year when Gladstone's great Land Act was passed:—

County.	Year 1881.		Year 1907.		Increase Per cent.
	No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.	
Cavan	1,161	£32,720	6,930	£235,000	618
Clare	1,213	89,000	5,984	197,000	402
Donegal	1,707	44,000	9,871	338,700	658
Galway	2,181	59,600	10,218	805,600	412
Kerry	1,135	25,000	9,265	276,000	1,003
Leitrim	558	18,432	3,301	110,000	723
Longford	517	10,000	3,223	94,700	838
Mayo	1,679	49,000	10,846	383,000	683

For the savings of a more substantial character, we must turn to the record of deposits in the Joint Stock Banks and investments in Government Securities. Taking the three classes of savings together, the following shows how they compared on 30th June, 1909, with 30th June, 1889:—

	1889.	1909.
Joint Stock Banks..	£31,200,000	£51,900,000
Government Funds	23,200,000	89,200,000
Savings Banks	8,400,000	13,600,000
Total.....	£64,800,000	£104,700,000
Increase		£39,900,000.

In other words, there has been an increase under these headings alone of over 60 per cent. in twenty years.

V.—A MARKET FOR ENGLAND.

An aspect of Ireland that is, perhaps, less appreciated than its importance merits is the value of the Sister Isle to Great Britain, both as a source of supply for farm produce and as a market for manufactured goods.

The last report of the Irish Board of Agriculture gives figures of Irish trade:—

	1904.	1907.	Increase.
Imports	£54,100,000	£61,600,000	£7,500,000
Exports	51,000,000	60,500,000	9,500,000
Totals	£105,100,000	£122,100,000	£17,000,000

The great bulk of the Irish external trade is, of course, with Great Britain, Ireland's direct foreign trade being small, except in imports of wheat and timber. The Superintendent of Statistics and Intelligence Branch of the Irish Department of Agriculture made a careful examination of the cross-Channel traffic, and also instituted an enquiry amongst traders, with the result that he came to the conclusion that not more than one-fifth of Irish exports goes to colonial and foreign countries, the other four-fifths remaining in Great Britain, and that it is probable that at least two-thirds of the imports into Ireland are the produce of Great Britain. On this basis the trade between Great Britain and Ireland in 1907 was as follows:—

	From	To
Imports	£61,600,000	Gt. Brit. £41,000,000
Exports	60,500,000	Gt. Brit. 48,400,000
Total ...	£122,100,000	£89,400,000

Irish imports from Great Britain consist mainly of manufactured articles and coal. The total value of the im-

ports of manufactured goods in 1907 was £29,000,000, and it is safe to say that the bulk came from Great Britain. Ireland exported manufactured goods to the value of £21,000,000 in 1907, and over £15,000,000 represented the value of the textiles exported, namely, linen and woollen goods.

The exports of Farm Produce, and Food and Drink Stuffs, from Ireland in 1907 amounted to £35,000,000, and included were the following, which went almost entirely to Great Britain:—

	Value.
Live Stock	£15,000,000
Bacon, Ham, &c.	3,300,000
Eggs, Poultry, and Dairy Produce	8,100,000
Fish	400,000
Grain, Fruit, Vegetables, &c.....	1,280,000
	£28,080,000

When these exports are analysed, facts of great interest to England are disclosed. Ireland, for instance, is the country to be relied upon for horses. Great Britain obtained 29,000 horses from Ireland in 1907, or twice the number from all other countries. Again, the import of cattle from Ireland was 843,000, while the total import from foreign and colonial countries into the United Kingdom was 472,000. In 1908 the exports of Irish cattle to Great Britain increased to 861,000, the number of cattle in Ireland in that year being 4,792,000, compared with 4,998,000 in England.

The Irish export of butter to Great Britain was the second largest in quantity and value, the import from Denmark being first. Irish eggs were the second largest quantity and the largest value imported into Great Britain. The export of poultry from Ireland was much greater than that from any other country into the United Kingdom. As regards bacon and hams, the Irish export was third on the list, the largest quantities coming from the United States and Denmark.

Through the encouragement of the Department of Agriculture—first under Sir Horace Plunkett and now under Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P.—working in conjunction with the County Councils, great activity prevails in improving agricultural and dairy methods, and the breeds of animals, while earnest efforts are being made to develop the poultry and egg industry, fruit growing, the manufacture of cheese, and the cultivation of early potatoes for the British market.

VI.—MR. BALFOUR'S STATE SOCIALISM.

Some seventeen years ago Mr. Balfour established the Irish Congested Districts Board—"with large powers," as the late Mr. Michael Davitt described it, "for the application of the principles of State Socialism"—to ameliorate the particularly miserable condition of the people of the West of Ireland. In view of the fact that it is proposed to re-organise this Board and extend its powers, a word as to how its work stands in 1909 is appropriate. On the 31st March, 1909, the Board had placed or were in the process of placing, 15,726 peasant-proprietors on holdings, at a total cost of £2,252,000. This does not mean that the people have purchased their old holdings through the Board, but that untenanted land has been purchased and divided amongst "congested," houses being built for them where necessary, and draining and road-making accomplished. Within the limited means at their disposal, the Board have done excellent work in this respect. But this is only a part of their beneficent action.

Between 1900 and 1908 no less than 7,993 dwelling-houses were built or substantially improved, and 10,476 out-offices for cattle were erected or enlarged.

Along the coast, piers, slips, and curing stations have been built, and the fishermen have been enabled to procure boats in addition to being provided with instructors.

Again, the Congested Districts Board have established lace and crochet classes for the women and girls. In 1903 the sales from these lace classes amounted to as much as £23,100.

Akin to this branch of activity is the Homespun Weaving Industry which is encouraged and aided by the Board. It is noted that at Ardara and Carrick, in County Donegal, where the markets were well attended by buyers, some 3,366 webs were sold, the estimated value being over £16,000. Then, instruction is given in cookery, laundry, and domestic economy in many centres in the Congested Districts. Nor is this all. Under the influence of, and by means of loans from, the Board 64 Raiffeisen Agricultural Banks were in operation on March 31st, 1909. The Board have advanced £5,925 to these banks, which have secured an additional sum of £10,088 from the Joint Stock Banks and local depositors. The Agricultural Banks have a total membership of 5,675, and the total loans issued during the year numbered 4,229, the amount being £16,913, or an average of £4. 1s. 5d. per loan. The expenses amounted to only £144, and the profits made reached £215. The banks now find it easier to draw a larger proportion of the funds they require from the Joint Stock Banks than hitherto. The steady growth of Reserve Funds is a feature of the banks, forty-five of them having now a reserve of £1,143.

Altogether, Mr. Balfour, whatever opinion he may entertain of Socialism in general, has no reason to be ashamed of the result of his own experiment in State Socialism in Ireland.

VII.—IRISH ELECTION METHODS.

At present the Irish Representation is thus made up:—

	Members.
Nationalists	82
Liberals	3
Unionists	18
Total	103

There is very little prospect of material alteration in these figures as the result of a General Election. It is interesting to note that the notion sometimes entertained that the Province of Ulster is overwhelmingly Unionist is mistaken. There are thirty-three members for Ulster divided as follows:—

	Members.
Nationalist	15
Liberal	3
Unionist	15

There is only one county in Ulster (Londonderry) of which the Unionists have complete possession, while the Nationalists have a seat in every county but two, and hold undisputed sway in three counties.

The manner in which Nationalist candidates in Ireland are selected differs entirely from the method pursued in England. When an election is announced in Ireland a Convention is summoned in each constituency by the National Directory of the United Irish League in Dublin. At this Convention clergymen of all denominations in the constituency are entitled to attend as ex-officio delegates; the elective bodies in whose jurisdiction the constituency lies are empowered to send representatives in fixed proportions; and other delegates are sent by duly affiliated branches of the United Irish League, the Land and Labour Association (composed of agricultural labourers), and one or two other Nationalist organisations.

Before the name of a candidate can be put to a vote in the Convention he must sign a pledge "to sit, act, and vote with the Irish Parliamentary Party." The candidate who has a clear majority of votes becomes the official candidate of the Party, and the Party Funds bear the entire expenses in case of a contest.

Under such a system no "nursing" of constituency is necessary or possible. The candidate's expenses are paid for him, and, when elected, he receives, if necessary, a modest allowance from the Parliamentary Fund, said to be £5 a week, with a liability to reduction for absence from the House after having been duly summoned by a Whip. The General Election in 1900 did not cost the Nationalist Party quite £4,000.

VIII.—THE HOME RULE ISSUE.

It has been said of the legislative schemes for the removal of Irish griev-

ances that they would have the effect of "killing Home Rule by kindness." But in so far as these schemes have contributed to the awakening of the Irish people, as they have materially done, they have helped, not hindered, the cause of Home Rule. At no time were the young people in Ireland so keenly interested in the Nationalist Cause. Instead of lagging behind the Home Rule movement as represented by the Nationalist Party, they are rather in advance of it, at times to a somewhat embarrassing extent.

Again, it has been said that the success of legislation of an ameliorative character would render a Home Rule Parliament unnecessary. Any such notion is equally baseless. No matter how long National Self Government may be denied, and no matter what remedial measures may be passed at Westminster in the interval, it may be taken as an indisputable fact that Irishmen will never be content, and will never cease striving, until their National aspirations are satisfied.

One of the causes which has always operated against Irish initiative and development is the fact that they have to look outside their own country for everything. They cannot make a railway bridge in Cork or sink a main sewer in Dublin without coming to Westminster for sanction, and at heavy cost. Apart from the sentiment altogether, the very fact of looking to a Home Government for aid and reform would have a wholesome effect on the people in a material sense.

Finally, it has been urged by not unfriendly critics of Home Rule that the Irish people have lacked experience in the administration of local Self Government. This is no longer true. It is an admitted fact that in the management of local affairs for the past ten years, the County Councils since their establishment have shown remarkable aptitude for the work of administration, while the manner in which leading men, irrespective of creed, are co-operating in schemes for the promotion of industrial and educational enterprises is a good augury of what would happen if national as well as local affairs were entrusted to the Irish people.

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- Agricultural Statistics for 1908. (Cd. 4329.) (Wyman.) 2d.
 Brooks, Sydney. The New Ireland. (Maunsell.) (1907.) 1s.
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 Dicey, A. V. England's Case against Home Rule. (Murray.) (1886.) o. p.
 Dubois, P. L. Contemporary Ireland. (Maunsell.) (1908.) 7s. 6d. net.
 Duffy, Sir C. G. Young Ireland. (Unwin.) (1896.) 5s.
 Green, Alice S. The Making of Ireland. (Macmillan.) (1908.) 10s. net.
 Ireland; Industrial and Agricultural. (Compiled by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.) (Brown and Nolan.) (1902.) 5s. net.
 Irish Land Commission—Return of Advances made under the Irish Land Act, 1903, during April, 1908. (Cd. 4410.) (Wyman.) 4d.
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 Land Commission, Accounts for 1907-8. (Wyman.) 3d.
 Lecky, W. E. H. History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. (5 Vols.) (Longmans.) (1892.) Per vol., 6s.
 Lough, Thomas. England's Wealth, Ireland's Poverty. (Downey.) (1896.) 1s.
 Mitchell, John. The Last Conquest of Ireland—Perhaps. (Westbourne.) 1s.
 Murray, A. E. History of the Financial and Commercial Relations between England and Ireland. (King.) (1903.) 3s. 6d. net.
 O'Brien, R. Barry. Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland (1831-1881.) (Sampson Low.) (1885.) o. p.
 O'Brien, R. Barry. Dublin Castle and the Irish People. (Kegan Paul.) (1909.) 7s. 6d. net.
 O'Brien, R. Barry. Two Centuries of Irish History (1691-1870.) (Kegan Paul.) 7s. 6d. net.
 O'Connor, T. P. History of the Parnell Movement. 1s.
 Plunkett, Sir H. Ireland in the New Century. (Murray.) (1904.) 1s. net.
 Redmond, John. Some Arguments for Home Rule. (Speeches.) (Seeley, Briers, and Walker.) 6d.
 Russell, T. W. Ireland and the Empire. (De La More Press.) (1901.) 6s.
 For "Labour" see Reports on Truck, Sweating, &c., as in England.

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SECTION VI.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY.

The Local Government Board was constituted by the Local Government Board Act of 1871, with a view to bringing order into the existing chaos of local administration. At that time the Poor Law was under the control of a central authority known as the Poor Law Board, while local administration generally and matters relating to public health came into the domain of the Home Office and the Privy Council. Since its constitution in 1871, the Local Government Board has steadily increased the area of its operations. Its duties have been extended by a long succession of Acts, from the Public Health Act of 1875 down to the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909. It is frequently urged that the Local Government Board should be raised to the level of the other great Departments of State, and that the President's salary should be equal to that of a Secretary of State.

The Local Government Board is the central authority for all local administration, and though it is far from possessing the powers exercised by the Ministry of the Interior in bureaucratic France, it does exercise a very real control over local authorities, especially in matters relating to finance.

The control exercised by the Local Government Board over local finance has been recently defined in a memorandum issued by the Board.*

"The control exercisable over local finance is limited in character. In some instances, mostly of minor importance, the amounts of rates leviable for a specified purpose is limited by statute, but for the great bulk of local rates (e.g., those levied under the Public Health Acts) no limit is imposed. Such powers of control as are possessed by any central authority—other than Parliament itself—are exercised mainly by the Local Government Board, and this (a) through the system of audit by auditors appointed and paid by the State, and (b) in virtue of the statutory necessity for obtaining the sanction of the central authority to borrowing. These powers are, however, not universal. The financial transactions of some local authorities, including town councils generally,† who are the largest spending authorities, are not subject to official audit; and as regards control over local borrowing, a

very large portion of local debt has been directly sanctioned by Parliament through the medium of local Acts promoted by the local authorities interested. But in the case of loans raised under the Public Health Acts, the Municipal Corporations Act, and other general Acts, sanction must in the first instance be obtained from the Local Government Board. Before giving their sanction, it is the practice of the Board to satisfy themselves (most commonly by local enquiry conducted by their staff of engineering inspectors) as to the local need for a proposed undertaking, the correctness of the estimated cost, the ability of the locality (in view of any existing debt and of the annual value of rateable property within its area) to bear the annual charges for the proposed loan, and to determine the period within which any loan contracted for the purpose should be repaid, regard being paid to the general utility and permanence of the work to be undertaken. Further, in regard to the debt already contracted by local authorities, a measure of control is exercised—and here again mainly by the Local Government Board—over the repayment of the debt. For about one-half of the total debt of local authorities (241 million out of 482 million pounds) returns are made to the Local Government Board, who examine them for the purpose of seeing that the proper provision for repayment is made annually, whether by instalments, or by contributions to sinking and redemption funds."

Among the other functions of the Central Authority are the examination of private or local Bills presented to Parliament, the endowment of rural authorities with the powers of urban councils, and the settlement of appeals under the Old Age Pensions Act. The reports of the local medical officers are sent up for the inspection of the Board, which on occasion institutes special enquiries in suspected districts. Last of all, the Local Government Board is the supreme authority in the administration of the Poor Law, and as such is seriously concerned in the action to be taken on the Report of the great Commission of 1909.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Within the past two decades a series of reconstructive measures have done something towards the simplification of English local government, but this still remains a mass of confused law, complicated machinery, and enigmatical finance. There are several different classes of local authorities, each with different spheres and different functions: County Councils, City Councils,

* Public Health and Social Conditions, Section V.

† The general accounts of only eight out of 326 provincial Town Councils are subject to official audit; though the accounts of all Town Councils in regard to Elementary and Higher Education are so audited, as are also the entire accounts of Metropolitan Borough Councils.

County Borough Councils, Borough Councils, Urban District Councils, Rural District Councils, Parish Councils, and Boards of Guardians.

LOCAL FINANCE.

The expenses of local authorities are defrayed from various sources, which may be divided into three main classes:—

- (a) Income from County or Municipal property and undertakings.
- (b) Grants in aid from the National Exchequer.
- (c) Rates.

Up to 1907 local authorities received from the Exchequer the whole proceeds of certain Imperial taxes collected in their respective areas. These were the licence duties, an additional beer duty of 3d., an extra spirit duty of 6d., and a share of the revenue from the estate duties. This system was long denounced by high financial authorities as wasteful, and an alteration was imperative if the pressing question of a revision of the duty on licensed houses was to be taken in hand. Accordingly, in introducing his Budget of 1907, Mr. Asquith announced that this system would in future be discontinued. These taxes in future would thenceforward be paid into the National Exchequer, and an equivalent sum would be paid to the Local Taxation Authorities out of the Consolidated Fund. This enables the National Exchequer to reap the benefit of any increase in these duties. Under the Budget of 1909, half the product of the three new land taxes are to be paid to the Local Taxation Account.

The sums received by Local Authorities in England and Wales from the Exchequer in aid of poor relief, elementary and higher education, police, and other purposes amounted in 1874-5 to £1,681,000. By 1899-1900 they had risen to £12,249,000, and in 1905-06 stood at £19,850,000.

RATES.

Each Local Authority determines annually the sum which it requires for public purposes over and above its receipts from property and from the Exchequer.

The rates levied by Local Authorities in England and Wales are:—

Rates raised for purposes of:—

Poor Law authorities—

Relief of the poor

Other purposes

County and municipal authorities

Sanitary authorities in London and urban districts.....

Sanitary authorities and highway authorities in rural districts

Elementary education authorities

(1) The Poor Rate, by which was raised (1905-6).....	£27,100,000
(2) The General District Rate, by which was raised (1905-6)	12,600,000
(3) The General Rate in London, by which was raised (1905-6)	13,100,000
(4) Various rates, such as separate Borough rates, Consolidated and Police Rates in City of London, Improvement rates in boroughs and other urban districts, rates for special expenses in rural districts, and rates levied by local commissions for land drainage, &c., which together amounted in 1905-6 to	5,400,000
Total	£58,200,000

The relief of the poor has long ceased to be the chief purpose of the Poor Rate. Little more than one-third (£9,500,000) of the total Poor Rate raised in 1905-6 was expended under the Poor Law; the remainder was levied to meet the general expenses of rural district councils and the education expenses of urban district councils, and rates raised for burial authorities, &c.

The General District Rate is the principal rate levied to meet the sanitary and highway expenditure of the councils of boroughs and other urban districts outside London (e.g., for maintenance of roads, sewerage, lighting, scavenging, &c.).

Local taxation in London differs from that of provincial districts in that one rate only, the General Rate, is levied; it is levied to meet the expenditure (whether poor law, county, borough, or police) in the entire Metropolitan area, except the City of London, in which a separate Poor Rate and a rate for sanitary purposes and police are levied.

RISE IN RATES.

The total amount of rates raised to meet local needs rose from £9,916,000 in 1850-1 to £19,199,000 in 1874-5, and to £58,256,000 in 1905-6. The increase in the rates in these thirty years may be allocated to the different departments of local expenditure as follows:—

INCREASE

£

Millions.

3½

1½

7½

15½

1½

9½

Total..... 39

It will be seen that over a third of this increase may be put down to the Public Health Authorities, and the returns on this great increase in expenditure is to be looked for in the increased health of urban populations.

The rateable value of London alone is 21 per cent. of the whole rateable value of England and Wales, and of 58½ millions raised in rates in England and Wales in 1905-6, London was accountable for 25·5 per cent.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF POPULATION, RATES, AND RATEABLE VALUE.

Year.	Population.	Rateable Value.	Aggregate revenue from the rates.	Average Rate in the £	Average amount raised per head of the population.
		£	£		
1880-1	25,974,000	135,645,000	23,000,000	3/4½	17/8½
1890-1	29,003,000	155,896,000	27,819,000	3/6½	19/2
1900-1	32,523,000	186,563,000	42,994,000	4/7½	26/5½
1905-6	34,547,000	207,068,000	58,256,000	5/7½	33/8½

These figures are approximate, and are subject to some correction under the Agricultural Rates Act.

In 1850 the rateable value of England and Wales was £67,700,000. It had risen by 1900 to £180,406,000, and in 1905 to £212,757,000. That is, rateable value was three times as great in 1905 as in 1850, while the population had not quite doubled. In other words, rapid as has been the increase in population, the increase in wealth, as measured by rateable value, has been still greater. In 20 years the amount of rates raised per head has practically doubled, but this increased expenditure has had an excellent return in the improvement in social conditions which have followed the greater attention paid to education and public health.

Local authorities may carry out permanent works by means of capital borrowed on the security of the rates, under conditions of repayment within a specified term of years. The statistics of local indebtedness are in many ways misleading, notably in that no figures are available regarding the amount of actual realisable property which they represent. Much of the indebtedness is on municipal undertakings which not only represent considerable assets such as land, buildings, plant, markets, &c., but also provide a substantial return on the invested capital.

The accompanying diagram shows the objects for which this debt has been incurred. The 207½ million which figure as trading undertakings is not debt in the ordinary sense; it is capital. In the unredeemed debt on Public Health services, which stood in 1905-6 at £136,440,000, the two chief items were highways and street improvements, including main roads, which accounted for £51,835,000, and sewerage and sewage disposal, which cost £38,859,000.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

Time was when it was held to be entirely outside the province of a local authority to provide commodities for the use of the ratepayer in exchange for reasonable payment, but to-day the local authorities are among the largest employers of labour, and carry out a great series of trading enterprises which are in the main remunerative. In the County Boroughs of England and Wales alone in 1905-6 the net sum of £697,292 was paid over to the relief of the rates out of the profits of municipal

gas, water, electricity, and trams. This sum by no means represents the whole return of the undertakings in question, because many municipalities maintain out of income reserve, insurance and depreciation funds such as would not be insisted on in private undertakings.

The net profits from the Birmingham tramways in 1908-9 were £35,000, from gas £65,312, and from markets, &c., £3,933. Although the loss on the water supply was £65,000, the surplus on municipal undertakings was still £39,245. The total surplus at Bolton was £32,861; at Bradford, £27,397; at Burnley, £23,147; at Hull, £51,907; at Nottingham, £72,543. The relief from the reproductive undertakings to the rates was 1s. 0½d. in the £ at Bolton, 1s. 3d. at Burnley, 1s. at Darlington, 1s. at Huddersfield, 3s. 4d. at Newport, 1s. 4d. at Nottingham, 1s. 7d. at Warrington.

The nature of municipal undertakings is naturally limited chiefly to enterprises which are in the nature of monopolies. The municipality does not enter the arena of competitive trade, but confines itself to the supply of such commodities as water, gas, tramways, electric lighting, which would, in the hands of private companies, still be monopolies. In England and Wales local authorities (including the Metropolitan Water Board had in 1905-6 a capital of £118,828,741 invested in water supply, producing gross annual receipts of £4,429,778.

In the matter of Gas Supply the local authority may manufacture gas for its own purposes, and also exercise a certain control over local companies. It cannot compete with a local company, but it may by arrangement take over the work of supply. The gas supplied by the local authorities is on the whole cheaper than that supplied by the gas companies, the approximate charge per 1,000 feet being 2s. 5½d. in 1906-7, as against 2s. 8d. by the private companies. In Scotland, where gas is nearly everywhere supplied by the municipality, the difference is greater, the prices being 2s. 5d. and 2s. 10½d. respectively, and in Ireland the success of the municipal enterprise is even more marked, being 2s. 4½d. against 3s. 3½d., though there is little difference in the total quantity supplied by public and private bodies. The total

capital invested in 1905-6 in municipal gas works was £23,716,522, and the revenue £7,073,249.

The municipal ownership of tramways began with the Tramways Act of 1870; but though Parliament was willing to allow municipalities to construct or acquire tramways, they were not permitted to work them directly, and after some of the great provincial centres had succeeded in acquiring the right of operating its own tramways a Standing Order of the House of Commons prohibited the introduction of other Bills to the same effect. The order was suspended in 1896, and the mileage owned and worked by public authority has since then steadily increased.

The municipal tramways of England and Wales in 1907-8 carried 1,991,143,430 passengers at an average fare of 1·04 pence per mile. The total capital outlay was £44,820,317 for a mileage of 1,620 miles, producing a net revenue of £3,283,649. In 1907-8 the Leeds trams contributed £64,280 to the relief of the rates, equal to a 7½d. rate. Beside the sums contributed to the relief of the rates, the tramways in 1905-6 repaid £803,561 out of revenue, after the allocation of larger sums for depreciation, &c.

The law respecting Electricity Supply was consolidated in 1899, and 787 municipalities now provide their own electrical supply. The London Electric Supply Act of 1908 provided facilities for linking up various undertakings, and constituted the L.C.C. as the purchasing authority of company undertakings with the right of acquisition in 1931. Croydon in 1908-9 showed a surplus of £6,953 on its electric supply undertaking, and Salford one of £6,500.

The Housing Schemes undertaken under the various Housing and Local Improvement Acts must be reckoned with Municipal Trading. Herein, even more than in the other municipal services, it is impossible to reckon the total benefit accruing to the community in money returns, since the provision of decent, well-equipped houses adds indefinitely to the wealth-producing powers of the town-dweller. Increased powers in this direction are conferred by the Housing and Town Planning Bill of 1909, details of which are given under that heading together with some of the more important schemes carried out by local authorities.

Municipal Markets and Slaughter-houses are also profitable enterprises, while they also add enormously to the chances of cleanliness and of public health, and to the protection of the consumer from unsound food. The City of London Corporation has provided abattoirs at Deptford, and at the Islington Cattle Market, the latter at a cost of £32,000. Although the United Kingdom still lags behind France and Germany in ensuring the soundness of its food sup-

OUTSTANDING LOCAL DEBT.

1905-6.

MISCELLANEOUS
PURPOSES

£25,342,000.

PUBLIC
HEALTH

£19,440,000.

TRADING
UNDERTAKINGS

£207,805,000

LUNATICASYLUMS

£10,878,000.

EDUCATION
(ELEMENTARY
AND
HIGHER)

£44,720,000.

POOR RELIEF

£13,360,000.

ply, there has been an enormous improvement in the last few years.

The following figures relating to the undertakings of Town Councils only illustrate approximately the finance of these undertakings:—

Average annual income derived from
water, gas, electricity supply,
tramways, harbours, and markets, £
in 4 years, 1899 to 1902..... 12,571,045

Average annual expenditure on the same undertakings:—

(1) Interest on and repayment of capital debt and depreciation..	4,202,741
(2) Other charges	7,789,682
Difference between income and expenditure (average annual net profit)	578,622

HOW LONDON IS GOVERNED.

London local government is dealt with by an entirely separate series of Acts. The chief London authorities are the County Council, the City Corporation, the 28 Metropolitan Borough Councils, and 31 Boards of Guardians. To these may be added the Metropolitan Water Board; the Metropolitan Asylums Board; the Metropolitan Police; the Justices of Petty Sessions; the Thames and Lea Conservancy Boards; the Central (Unemployed) Body and Distress Committees; the different Pension Committees, and sub-committees; and the Port of London Authority.

The accompanying map shows clearly the boundaries of the conflicting authorities which divide among themselves the government of London.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

The Administrative County of London covers an area of 116.9 miles, and was constituted by the Local Government Act of 1888. The administrative powers and duties of the L.C.C. are of the most varied kind. These include the department of Public Assistance, the acquisition of small dwellings, the provision of small holdings, and the assistance of emigrants; in the department of Public Health it deals with the clearance of insanitary areas and the housing of the working-classes, with main and local drainage, with the prevention of the spread of infectious disease among animals, with infant life protection, with the regulation of midwives, with offensive trades, with dairies, licensing and lodging-houses, and also with the provision of those parks and open spaces which have helped to make London one of the healthiest of the large cities of the world. The London County Council regulates the employment of children; licenses theatres and music halls; provides general building regulations; sanctions and advances loans to local authorities within its area; and chief among its protective services is the fire brigade. As an educational authority it possesses wider powers than any other corporate body in the country. It provides for elementary, secondary, and technical education, including outside the ordinary routine special schools for defective children,

open-air schools, industrial and reformatory schools, and schools for special trades. Tramways, street improvements, the maintenance of bridges, tunnels and ferries, motor-cars, light railways, and matters of transit generally come under its care. The L.C.C. undertakes in addition a multitude of miscellaneous services tending to the benefit of the London citizen.

The London County Council consists of 19 aldermen and 118 councillors. The chairman, vice-chairman, and deputy chairman are elected every year by the councillors, usually, but not necessarily, from amongst themselves. The aldermen are co-opted by the councillors from amongst qualified persons within or without the council, and hold office for six years, half of them retiring every three years. The councillors are elected for three years, and retire in a body in the first week in March every third year. The next election will be held in March, 1910.

To be eligible for election to the L.C.C. a man or woman must

- (1) Be registered as an L.C.C. elector, and (a) have property in the county to the value of £1,000, or (b) be rated to the poor-rate in the county on a rateable value of £30; or
- (2) Be qualified at the time of election to elect to the office of county councillor; but if he or she ceases for six months to reside in the county he or she ceases to be qualified under this clause; or
- (3) Be a peer owning property in the county; or
- (4) Be a parliamentary voter registered in respect of the ownership of property in the county.

For the London franchise see the article on Franchise.

The London County electorate consists of 814,422 persons, a total which includes 147,741 women (spinsters and widows) and peers. Of the whole body of qualified electors, 55.5 per cent. exercised the vote in 1907, as against 45.7 per cent. in 1904. There is still, therefore, much to be done in increasing the interest of the London voter in the County Elections. In the Paris Municipal Elections of 1908 a far higher level was reached, for 73.4 per cent. of the electorate polled their votes.

GREATER LONDON

BOUNDARIES —

- Metropolitan Police District ————
 Water London ~~~~~~
 Central Criminal Court - - - - -
 London Main Drainage Area |||||
 Borough & Urban & Rural Districts
 Administrative County of London



FIGURES TO ILLUSTRATE MAP.

	Area in square miles.	Population in 1901.	Estimated Population in 1910.	Assessable Value, April 6th, 1909.
County of London (excluding the City)	115.8	4,509,349	4,872,710	£39,110,492
City of London	1.1	26,923	17,132	£5,451,830
Greater London (Metropolitan Police Area—the City of London)	692.9	6,581,402	7,537,196	£58,920,463

THE SEVENTH LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

Elected 2nd March, 1907, for three years.

Chairman	SIR MELVILL BEACHCROFT.
Vice-Chairman	W. WHITAKER THOMPSON, LL.B., Alderman.
Deputy Chairman	A. A. ALLEN, M.P., Bermondsey.

BATTERSEA, 22,666	DEPTFORD, 17,900	HAMPSTEAD, 15,269
William Davies, P.	Sidney Webb, P.	W. Reynolds, M.R.
A. Shirley Benn, M.R.	Robert C. Phillimore, P.	(Bye-election 24 October, 1908.)
E. Evans, M.R.	H. G. Wells, M.R.	Andrew Thos. Taylor, M.R.
J. West, P.	W. F. Barrett, M.R.	(Vice J. T. Taylor, deceased).
W. H. Humphreys, Soc.	R. R. Fairbairn, Lab.	HOLBORN, 11,839
J. Fitzgerald, Soc.	DULWICH, 17,861	E. E. Wild, M.R.
H. Jansen-Neumann, Soc.	Hy. Cubitt Gooch, M.P., M.R.	Hon. Henry Lygon, B.A.,
BERMONDSEY, 15,179	F. Hall, M.R.	M.R.
A. Salter, M.D., P.	G. A. Hardy, M.P., P.	H. Drysdale Woodcock, P.
Arthur A. Allen, M.P., P.	A. Cohn, P.	HOXTON, 11,392
J. F. Vasey FitzGerald,	FINSBURY (Central), 9,507	Dr. J. D. Davies, M.R.
M.R.	Capt. Hon. F. Hemphill, P.	E. Gray, M.R.
J. K. Foster, M.R.	A. B. Russell, F.C.A., P.	Henry Ward, P.
BETHNAL GREEN (N.E.), 10,621	Capt. G. S. C. Swinton,	Graham Wallas, P.
Sir E. A. Cornwall, M.P., P.	M.R.	ISLINGTON (East), 13,407
Edward Smith, P.	M. Chapman, M.R.	C. A. M. Barlow, M.R.
R. A. Robinson, M.R.	FINSBURY (East), 6,314	P. E. Pidditch, M.R.
L. H. Lemon, M.R.	LL.-COL. A. C. Earle Welby,	E. Smallwood, P.
BETHNAL GREEN (S.W.), 9,769	M.R.	A. A. Thomas, P.
Rev. Stewart D. Headlam,	Enos Howes, M.R.	ISLINGTON (North), 14,641
B.A., P.	T. E. Harvey, P.	F. L. Dove, M.R.
Percy A. Harris, P.	F. A. Harrison, P.	C. K. Murchison, M.R.
F. Sebag-Montefiore,	FULHAM, 25,734	H. J. Glanville, P.
M.R.	Cyril Cobb, M.R.	H. G. Chancellor, P.
F. Brinsley-Harper, C.O.,	E. G. Easton, M.R.	J. C. Clutterbuck, Ind.
M.R.	W. Lloyd Taylor, P.	ISLINGTON (South), 9,763
J. H. Harley, Lab.	J. Stephenson, P.	G. Dew, P.
BOW AND BROMLEY, 14,539	T. R. Wall, Soc.	Howell J. Williams, P.
W. S. M. Knight, M.R.	GREENWICH, 15,263	S. Lambert, M.R.
H. V. Rowe, M.R.	I. Hamilton Benn, M.R.	C. Moffatt, M.R.
Wm. Wallace Bruce, P.	Lord Alexander Thynne,	George S. Elliott, Ind.
Benjamin Cooper, P.	M.R.	E. J. James, Ind.
A. A. Watts, Soc.	D. McCall, P.	ISLINGTON (West), 10,093
J. Stokes, Soc.	Rev. J. Wilson, P.	H. J. Clarke, M.R.
J. S. Bird, Ind.	HACKNEY (Central), 11,308	Isidore Salmon, M.R.
BRIXTON, 14,109	W. B. Stewart, M.R.	R. C. Lambert, P.
W. Haydon, M.R.	G. Billings, M.R.	A. J. Mundella, P.
S. G. Hoare, M.R.	W. B. Yates, P.	KENNINGTON, 11,902
Lewen Sharp, P.	A. J. Shephard, P.	Sir John Benn, M.P., P.
Lionel Earle, C.M.G., P.	E. C. Fairchild, Soc.	Rev. E. Denny, P.
CAMBERWELL (North), 17,742	F. V. Fisher, Soc.	J. F. Budge, M.R.
Reginald Bray, P.	HACKNEY (North), 16,948	Sir W. H. Porter, Bt., M.R.
Henry R. Taylor, P.	Walter Hy. Key, C.O., M.R.	J. G. Butler, Soc.
A. Campbell, M.R.	W. Raymond Greene, M.R.	F. Kneel, Soc.
W. Edmonds, M.R.	George Lampard, P.	KENSINGTON (North), 13,036
CHELSEA, 16,070	— Price, P.	D. Davis, M.R.
T. O. E. Goff, M.R.	HACKNEY (South), 15,769	Maj. Chas. Skinner, M.R.
R. O. Norman, M.R.	T. Chapman, P.	H. L. Jephson, P.
E. J. Horniman, M.P., P.	W. A. Casson, P.	Walter Pope, P.
James Jeffery, P.	O. Winkley, M.R.	KENSINGTON (South), 14,234
CITY OF LONDON, 24,365	G. Naylor, M.R.	Richd. A. Robinson, M.R.
Ald. Fras. S. Hanson, M.R.	HAGGERSTON, 9,881	Dr. E. Baxter Forman,
N. L. Cohen, M.R.	Hon. Rupert Guinness,	J.P., M.R.
W. H. Fannell, C.O., M.R.	M.P., M.R.	V. B. Aronson, P.
H. Stuart Sankey, M.R.	Hon. Gilbert V. D. John-	Hon. Walter James, P.
O. R. Buxton, P.	stone, M.R.	LAMBETH (North), 8,090
F. Debenham, P.	Lord Monkswell, P.	Frank Briant, P.
G. S. Warrington, P.	Stephen Gee, P.	F. Smith, P.
W. H. Dickinson, M.P., P.	HAMMERSMITH, 17,862	Jabez Williams, M.R.
CLAPHAM, 28,064	Jocelyn Brandon, M.R.	G. Hinds, M.R.
Jas. Wm. Donomey, C.O.,	Edward Collins, M.R.	LEWISHAM, 29,477
M.R.	N. Shalpr, P.	Viscount Lewisham, M.R.
Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke, M.R.	L. E. Camp, P.	A. Pownall, M.R.
A. Clegg, P.	W. T. Davidson, Lab.	J. W. Cleland, M.P., P.
J. C. Kipling, P.	J. T. Westcott, Lab.	Hon. Neil Primrose, P.
		— Gee, Lab.

LIMEHOUSE, 7,700		POPLAR, 12,916		ST. PANCRAS (West), 11,287	
Cyril Jackson, M.R.	2,141	William Crooks, M.P.	3,504	P. Vosper, M.R.	3,504
J. Lort-Williams, M.R.	2,026	Sir John McDougall, P.	3,476	F. Cassel, K.C., M.R.	3,471
Arthur L. Leon, P.	1,957	T. H. Clarke, M.R.C.S.,		H. Cohen, P.	2,461
T. L. Knight, P.	1,935	M.R.	2,778	J. C. S. Hanham, P.	2,442
MARYLEBONE (East),	9,005	Col. A. Maude, M.R.	2,579	SOUTHWARK (West), 10,680	
Viscount Duncannon, M.R.	3,612	ROTHERHITHE, 12,750		Thomas Hunter, P.	2,993
J. Boyton, M.R.	3,562	Ambrose Pomeroy, P.	3,693	A. Wilson, P.	2,953
Jno. Fletcher Little, M.B.,		Harold J. Glanville, P.	3,663	J. T. Scriven, M.R.	2,746
P.	1,440	F. Freemantle, M.R.	3,365	F. Gillett, M.R.	2,649
F. Gill, P.	467	F. E. Eddis, M.R.	3,259	STEPNEY, 5,375	
MARYLEBONE (West),	11,960	ST. GEORGE'S, HANOVERSQ, 12,593		A. O. Goodrich, M.R.	2,366
Lord Henry Bentinck, M.R.	4,683	Maj.-Gen. Lord Chyles-		F. Leverton Harris, M.P.,	
Earl of Kerry, M.P., M.R.	4,625	more, C.V.O., M.R.	5,445	M.R.	2,292
John Lewis, P.	2,434	H. J. Greenwood, M.R.	5,375	C. S. Stettaner, P.	1,485
James Searson, M.D., P.	2,320	Earl of Craven, P.	1,384	C. Watson, P.	1,386
MILE END, 6,650		T. E. Morris, P.	1,348	STRAND, 10,972	
R. H. Montgomery, M.R.	2,023	ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST, 4,069		Lt.-Col. C. Probyn, M.R.	3,580
E. H. Coumbe, M.R.	2,011	H. Gosling, P.	1,183	Lord Elcho, M.R.	3,558
R. Vernon Harcourt, P.	1,988	P. C. Simmons, M.R.	1,104	S. H. Lamb, P.	903
Rev. T. Warren, P.	1,925	John Smith, P.	1,035	W. H. Howell, P.	895
NEWINGTON (West),	12,287	Rev. T. King, R.C.	952	WALWORTH, 10,483	
Evan Spicer, P.	3,778	Wm. Robt. Smith, M.D.,		J. A. Dawes, P.	2,823
James D. Gilbert, P.	3,759	M.R.	881	C. Jesson, P.	2,819
A. Waddell, M.R.	2,705	J. W. Lynch, R.C.	632	F. Oldfield, L.R.C.P., M.R.	2,337
H. Jarvis, M.R.	2,700	ST. PANCRAS (East), 12,164		C. Sproule, M.R.	2,235
NORWOOD, 16,512		St. W. J. Lancaster, M.R.	15,700	J. Clarke, Soc.	187
O. U. Fisher, M.R.	6,585	A. W. Claremont, P.	3,482	WANDSWORTH, 46,460	
P. St. John Morrow, M.R.	6,539	Rev. F. Hastings, P.	3,410	Sir W. J. Lancaster, M.R.	15,700
N. W. Hubbard, P.	4,174	Edmund Barnes, M.R.	3,181	W. Hunt, M.R.	14,535
G. Shrubbsall, P.	4,120	T. A. Organ, M.R.	3,005	F. Kellaway, P.	9,628
PADDINGTON (North),	15,466	G. Horn, Soc.	205	WESTMINSTER, 10,379	
Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P.,		ST. PANCRAS (North), 12,413		Hon. Wm. Robt. Peel, M.R.	3,419
M.R.	4,711	David S. Watlow, M.P., P.	3,847	C. Y. Sturge, M.A., M.R.	3,392
J. H. Hunter, M.R.	4,597	Robert M. Beaton, M.B., P.	3,824	W. B. Campbell, P.	1,209
J. Fairbanks, P.	3,607	Capt. Edwin J. King,		E. Herrin, P.	1,298
G. O. Maberley, P.	3,453	M.A. M.R.	3,526	WHITECHAPEL, 5,255	
PADDINGTON (South),	9,622	Lt.-Col. H. A. Pakenham,		William C. Johnson, P.	1,756
Sir Melvill Beachcroft,		M.R.	3,501	H. H. Gordon, Ind.	1,627
M.R.	3,763	ST. PANCRAS (South), 7,671		E. Hodsoll, M.R.	1,211
H. P. Harris, M.R.	3,709	George Alexander, M.R.	2,963	C. Wertheimer, M.R.	980
J. S. Holmes, P.	848	F. Goldsmith, M.R.	2,997	— Elkin, Ind. P.	773
A. Y. Mayell, P.	816	Rev. Silvester Horne, P.	1,613	WOOLWICH, 20,622	
PECKHAM, 18,608		G. Giddens, P.	1,583	W. J. Squires, M.R.	8,904
Thomas Gautry, P.	4,650	ST. PANCRAS (West), 11,287		E. A. H. Jay, M.R.	8,677
W. L. Dowton, M.R.	4,426	Allen, A. A., M.P.		Rev. L. Jenkins Jones, P.	7,850
D. C. Preston, M.R.	4,379	* Beaton, B. M., M.B.		George Lausbury, P. and	
R. Steven, P.	4,262	Benn, Sir J., M.P.		Lab.	7,611
W. T. Kelly, Lab.	499	* Bray, R., A.			

MEMBERS OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

(1) ALDERMEN.

Anstruther, H. T.	Ald. till 1913
Buxton, Alfred F.	" " 1910
Cooper, B.	" " 1910
Fisher, W. Hayes	" " 1913
Goldie, Rt. Hon. Sir Geo., P.C.,	
K.C.M.G.	" " 1913
Jephson, Rev. H. L.	" " 1910
* Lidgett, Rev. J. Scott	" " 1910
Michelham, Lord	" " 1913
Middleton, Rt. Hon. Viscount	" " 1913
* Mullins, W. E.	" " 1910
Naylor, G. K.	" " 1913
Primrose, Hon. Neil	" " 1913
* Sanders, W. S.	" " 1910
Sharp, Lewen	" " 1910
* Shephard, A. J.	" " 1910
Swinton, Capt. G. S. C.	" " 1913
* Thompson, W. W., LL.B.	" " 1910
Ward, Henry	" " 1913
White, Edward, J.P.	" " 1910

(2) COUNCILLORS.

PROGRESSIVES.

Allen, A. A., M.P.	Bermondsey
* Beaton, B. M., M.B.	North St. Pancras
Benn, Sir J., M.P.	Kennington
* Bray, R., A.	North Camberwell
Briant, F.	North Lambeth
Casson, W. A.	South Hackney
Chapman, T.	South Hackney
Claremont, A. W.	East St. Pancras
Cornwall, Sir E. A., M.P.	N.E. Bethnal Green
Crooks, William, M.P.	Poplar
Davies, W.	Battersea
Dawes, J. A.	Walworth
* Denny, Rev. E.	Kennington
* Dew, G.	South Islington
* Gautrey, T.	Peckham
Gilbert, J. D.	West Newington
Glanville, H. J.	Rotherhithe
Gosling, H.	St. George's-in-the-East

PROGRESSIVES—continued.

Harris, P. A.	S.W. Bethnal Green
Hastings, Rev. F.	East St. Pancras
*Headlam, Rev. Stewart	S.W. Bethnal Green
Hemphill, Capt. Hon. F.	Central Finsbury
Hunter, Thomas	West Southwark
Jesson, C.	Waltham
Johnson, W. C.	Whitechapel
McDougall, Sir John	Poplar
Phillimore, R. C.	Deptford
Pomeroy, A.	Rotherhithe
*Russell, A. B.	Central Finsbury
Salter, A. M.D.	Bermondsey
Smith, Ed.	N.E. Bethnal Green
Smith, Frank	North Lambeth
Spicer, Evan	West Newington
Taylor, H. B.	North Camberwell
Waterlow, D. S., M.P.	North St. Pancras
*Webb, Sidney	Deptford
Williams, H. J.	South Islington
Wilson, A.	West Southwark

MUNICIPAL REFORMERS.

Alexander, George	South St. Pancras
*Barlow, O. A. M., LL.D.	East Islington
Beauchroft, Sir Melvill	South Paddington
Benn, A. Shirley	Battersea
Benn, I. Hamilton	Greenwich
*Bentinck, Lord Henry	West Marylebone
Billings, G.	Central Hackney
Boyton, J.	East Marylebone
Brandon, J.	Hammersmith
Cassel, Felix, K.O.	West St. Pancras
Chaylesmore, Lord, C.V.O.	St. George's, Han- over Square
*Clarke, H. J.	West Islington
*Cobb, C. S.	Fulham
Cohen, N. L.	City of London
*Collins, E.	Hammersmith
Cooke, Sir C. Kinloch	Clapham
Coumbe, E. H.	Mill End
Davies, Dr. J. D.	Hoxton
Davies, D.	North Kensington
Domoney, J. W.	Clapham
Dove, F. L.	North Islington
Downton, W. L.	Peckham
*Duncannon, Viscount	East Marylebone
Easton, E. G.	Fulham
Elcho, Lord	Strand
Fisher, C. U.	Norwood
Forman, Dr. E. Baxter	South Kensington
Goff, T. C. E.	Chelsea
Goldsmith, F.	South St. Pancras
*Gooch, H. C., M.P.	Dulwich
Goodrich, A. O.	Stepney

*Gray, Ernest	Hoxton
Greene, W. Raymond	North Hackney
Greenwood, H. J.	St. George's, Han- over Square
*Guinness, Hon. R., C.M.G., M.P.	Haggerston
Guinness, Hon. W., M.P.	North Paddington
Hall, F.	Dulwich
Hanson, Ald. F. S.	City of London
Harris, F. Leverton, M.P.	Stepney
*Harris, H. P.	South Paddington
Haydon, W.	Brixton
*Hoare, S. J. G.	Brixton
Howes, Enos	East Finsbury
Hunt, W.	Wandsworth
Hunter, J. H.	North Paddington
*Jackson, Cyril	Limehouse
*Jay, E. A. Hastings	Woolwich
*Johnstone, Hon. G.	Haggerston
Kerry, Earl of, M.V.O., D.S.O., M.P.	West Marylebone
*Key, W. H.	North Hackney
Knight, W. S. M.	Bow and Bromley
Lancaster, Sir W. J.	Wandsworth
Lewisham, Viscount	Lewisham
*Lygon, Hon. H.	Holborn
Montgomery, R. H.	Mill End
Morrow, F. St. John	Norwood
Murchison, C. K.	North Islington
Norman, R. C.	Chelsea
Pannell, W. H.	City of London
Peel, Hon. W. R. W., M.P.	Westminster
Pilditch, P. E.	East Islington
Pownall, A.	Lewisham
Probyn, Lt.-Col. C.	Strand
*Reynolds, W.	Hampstead
Robinson, R. A.	South Kensington
*Rowe, H. V.	Bow and Bromley
Salmon, I.	West Islington
Sankey, H. Stuart	City of London
Simmons, P. C.	St. George's-in-the- East
*Skinner, Major Charles	North Kensington
Squires, W. J.	Woolwich
Stewart, W. B.	Central Hackney
Sturge, C. Y.	Westminster
*Taylor, Andrew T.	Hampstead
Thynne, Lord A.	Greenwich
Yosper, P., M.R.C.S.	West St. Pancras
Welby, Col. A. C.	East Finsbury
Wild, E. E.	Holborn
Williams, J. R. Lort	Limehouse

INDEPENDENT.

Gordon, H. H. Whitechapel

* Member of Education Committee.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

(Next Election, March, 1910.)

The following table shows the position of the various parties in each Council since its foundation in 1889.

Date of Election	1889	1892	1895	1898	1901	1904	1907
Progressive	18	17	12	12	13	10	7
Aldermen	78	83	58	69	84	61	33
Councillors	1	1	5	7	5	6	10
Moderate	45	84	59	48	31	34	79
Aldermen	—	—	—	—	1	3	2
Councillors	—	1	1	1	1	2	—
I.L.P.	—	1	2	—	—	—	—
Aldermen	—	—	—	—	2	1	1
Councillors	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Independent	45	67	9	27	65	57	—
Progressive Maj. (including I.L.P. and Ind.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	41
Moderate Majority	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Mr. Cyril Jackson is the Chairman and Mr. C. S. Cobb the Vice-Chairman of the Education Committee. This consists, in addition to the members indicated in the list, of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, and the Deputy-Chairman of the Council and 12 co-opted members, as follows:—

Members elected under section 17 of the Education Act, 1902.

Adler, Miss N.	Lawrence, Miss A. Susan
Anderton, F. R.	Leon, A. L.
Bryant, Mrs. S.	Liversidge, H. W.
Davison, W. H.	Phipps, Mrs. Wilton
Frere, Miss M.	St. Heller, The Lady
Gilbert, John W.	Wallis, Graham

Meetings on Wednesdays at 2-30 o'clock.

CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE COUNTY COUNCIL.

	Salary.
Clerk, G. Laurence Gomme	£2,000
Comptroller, H. E. Haward	2,000
Engineer, Maurice Fitzmaurice, C.M.G. .	2,000
Architect, W. E. Riley	2,000
Valuer, A. Young	2,000
Medical Officer, Sir Shirley F. Murphy..	1,250
Solicitor, E. Tanner	1,200
Statistical Officer, E. J. Harper	1,100
Chemist, Frank Clowes, D.Sc.	1,100
Director of Stores, F. W. Mackinney...	1,000
Educational Adviser, Dr. W. Garnett..	1,500
Education Officer, R. Blair	1,250
Chief Inspector of the Education Department, Dr. C. W. Kimmmins	1,000
Chief of Fire Brigade, Lieut. Sampson Sladen, R.N.	900

TRAMWAYS:—

Chief Officer, A. L. C. Fell	1,750
Electrical Engineer, J. H. Rider	1,200

ASYLUMS:—

Clerk, H. F. Keene	725
Pathologist, F. W. Mott, M.D., F.R.S. .	1,000
Engineer, W. C. C. Smith	1,200

LONDON'S RATES.

In the county of London a general rate is levied by the City and the 28 London boroughs. These authorities, having estimated their own expenditure, receive from the other bodies, chief among these being the London County Council, statements showing the amount of money required. They then fix the amount of the rate, which they collect, and divide among the different bodies. The total expenditure of London, which was £14,768,757 in 1898-9, had risen in 1906-7 to £24,703,037. Receipts from the national exchequer and from other sources amounted to £9,761,734, and £15,393,956 was raised by rate. The average rate was 7s. 0½d. in the £. The £25,000,000 was spent by the following bodies.

London County Council	£9,491,271
Metropolitan Borough Councils ..	5,009,982
Boards of Guardians	3,587,429
Metropolitan Water Board	2,318,618
Metropolitan Police	1,903,441
City Corporation	1,270,406
Metropolitan Asylums Board	934,468
Central (Unemployed) Body	141,284
City of London Overseers	34,757
Market Trustees	10,680
Local Government Board (Common Poor Fund)	756

Total, £24,703,037

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF RATES RAISED.

Year.	Total Amount raised by Rates.	Per % of Valuation.	Per Head of Population.
	£	s. d.	£ s. d.
1867-8	3,703,000	4 4½	1 4 0
1889-90	7,567,000	4 10	1 16 7
1906-7	15,394,000	7 0½	3 5 8

For the year 1909-10 a rate of a penny in the £ is estimated to produce £186,111. A year ago the figure was £184,717, and in 1907-8 it was £182,794. In 1889-90 it was only £131,617.

The County of London has an Equalisation Fund. This enables the wealthier districts to contribute something towards the expenses of the poorer ones, and is a step towards the recognition of the unity of London. The West End is partly responsible for the pauperism in the East End, and the education of the poor children of Poplar and of Bethnal Green is a matter which concerns the welfare of Kensington. The Equalisation Fund is one equal to a rate of 6d. on the assessable value of London. Each parish contributes to the Fund in proportion to its assessable value, and each borough receives from it in proportion to its population. Thus the City paid in 1907-8 £132,881, and received £56,682; and Kensington paid £59,727, and received £42,809; on the other hand Camberwell paid £34,076, and received £62,605; and Islington paid £48,833, and received £78,663.

RATES.

For its own purposes the County Council levied a rate of 3s. 0½d. in the £ for the current year. 14½d. of this is required for the general rate, 2½d. for a rate for special county purposes, and 19½d. for education. During recent years the rate has been as follows:—

	s. d.
1904-5	2 9½
1905-6	2 11
1906-7	3 0
1907-8	2 11
1908-9	3 0

The general rate in the London boroughs, of which the above forms part, varies considerably. In 1908-9 it was highest in Poplar (11s. 6d.) and in Bermondsey (8s. 11d.); it was lowest in Westminster (6s. 6d.) and in Kensington (6s. 8½d.). In some of the boroughs it varies from parish to parish. In one parish in the city of Westminster it was 6s. 2d.; in two others it was 7s. The average rate for the administrative county was 7s. 3½d., and for the county, exclusive of the city, it was 7s. 5½d.

INCREASE IN THE RATES.

During the past twenty years the rates of London have risen very greatly, and even in the last ten years the increase has been considerable. In 1899-90 the rate in Battersea was 8s. 1cd.,

last year it was 8s. 6d. In the same period the rate in Bethnal Green has risen 11d., in Camberwell 1s. 8½d., in Fuiham 10d., in Islington 1s. 6d., and in Lambeth 11d. Nor has the increase been confined to the poorer boroughs. Chelsea shows an increase of 10½d., Hampstead shows one of 1s. 1d., Kensington one of 11d., and Stoke Newington one of 1s. 6d. But the citizens of London, it may fairly be urged, receive good value for the money expended. Those who compare the rates to-day with those of twenty years ago must also compare the condition of London then and now. The improvement in the public health, the provision of parks and open spaces, which makes the great city habitable, the greater safety of life and property from fire and other causes, the provision of free libraries—all these cost money, and, moreover, are worth a considerable outlay.

There are three other causes which have contributed to the growth of the rates which may be referred to here. The first is the increasing cost of education. The cost of living being in general higher in London than elsewhere, teachers and other officials are better paid, while buildings cost more to erect and furnish. Against this, it must be remembered, London does not receive any larger grant from imperial funds towards the cost of its education.

The result is that in the metropolis the rates bear 87·9 per cent. of the cost of education; in county boroughs generally they only bear 45·3 per cent., and in areas under county councils 34·8 per cent. In Birmingham the rates bear 50·9 per cent. of the total cost; in Manchester 52·5 per cent.; in Liverpool 51·9 per cent., and in Leeds 47·2 per cent.

The second reason for the rise in the rates is the small share of Imperial grants for the relief of local taxation received by London. This is rather a complicated question, but there is no doubt, in the opinion of nearly all parties alike, that there is here a marked inequality which needs rectification. The rateable value of London in 1908 was 21 per cent. of that of the whole of England and Wales, and yet in the financial year 1907-8 the metropolis received only 17·6 per cent. of the amount granted to local authorities out of Imperial funds.

The third reason is the excessive price paid by local authorities for land required for improvements and other necessary purposes. The valuation proposals contained in the Budget of 1909 should do much towards remedying this grievance, and, by enabling public authorities to acquire land at something like its proper value, should save many thousands of pounds to the ratepayers in the future.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL GENERAL BALANCE-SHEET, 1907-8.

RECEIPTS.	£
Rates	6,325,670
Tramway Receipts	1,671,863
Steamboat Receipts	85,635
Grants from the Imperial Exchequer—	
(a) For Education	1,442,968
(b) For General Purposes	523,332
Rents	829,763
Receipts from other local authorities (chiefly interest on loans)	672,622
Miscellaneous Receipts	187,911
	11,189,764
Balance	98,542
	£11,288,306

EXPENDITURE.	£
Grants (chiefly to Guardians of the Poor)	619,896
Debt Charges (including management)	2,442,791
Public Health Services (various)	933,533
Judicial Expenses	81,307
Parliamentary Expenses	14,981
Education	5,024,253
Miscellaneous Services	35,038
Administration	238,141
Tramways	1,677,786
Steamboats	51,998
Expenditure on other Revenue-producing Services	160,717
	11,289,441
Deduct Surplus on Industrial and Reformatory Schools	1,135
	£11,288,306

The expenditure of the Council during the financial year ending March 31st, 1908, the last year for which the audited accounts are available, amounted to £11,288,306. A certain proportion of this was on account of revenue-producing services, such as tramways, the receipts from which are practically equal to the expenditure. Together these receipts totalled £2,037,261. Another important source of income is from Government grants. This amounted during the year in question to £1,966,300. The receipts from local authorities and payments for various services produced £860,533, and thus the Council had to find a balance of £6,424,212. The rate levied produced £6,325,670, and the deficit of £98,542 was provided out of

balances, these balances amounting on March 31st, 1908, according to a statement made by the chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. W. Hayes Fisher, to over £700,000, an increase of £217,386 over the figures of the previous year.

THE EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN DETAIL.

ELEMENTARY—	£
Day Schools	£3,097,415
Industrial Schools	91,002
Blind, Deaf, and Defective	109,599
Administration, &c.	183,988
Enforcement of attendance	58,083
Debt charge	741,199
	£4,281,291

HIGHER—

Secondary Schools and Pupil Teachers' Centres	£183,293
Evening Schools.....	127,704
Institutions for Higher and Technical Education	179,697

Scholarships, Exhibitions, and

Bursaries	£128,689
Training of Teachers.....	58,807
Administration, &c.	47,348
Debt Charge	17,364
	£5,024,253

REVENUE-PRODUCING SERVICES.

	Expenditure.		Receipts.	Balance.
	Maintenance.	Debt Charge.		
TRAMWAYS	£1,227,762	£450,024	£1,671,863	—£5,923
SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS	272	25	315	18
HOUSING OF WORKING CLASSES—				
Under Housing Acts	44,952	71,434	111,113	1,856
Under Improvements Acts	20,475	29,640	52,270	155
BOATS IN PARKS.....	2,364	555	4,174	1,255
	£1,295,825	£551,678	£1,839,735	—£5,129

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN 1908-9.

The accounts of the Council for the financial year ending March 31st, 1909, have not yet been passed by the auditors, but the following figures are available:—

The income for 1908-9 was estimated at £10,261,942, and of this amount £6,593,020 was to be raised by the rates, and £3,668,922 to come from other sources. The expenditure was estimated at £10,557,935, an increase on the preceding year of £306,570. The increase in income was estimated at £319,926. According to these figures there would be an excess of expenditure over income of £295,993, which would be met, like the previous deficit, out of balances. Rather more than one-half—or £5,437,908—of the expenditure was spent on edu-

cation, elementary education taking £4,442,007, and higher education £995,901. The net cost per child to the ratepayer, i.e., the cost after the Government grant has been deducted, amounted in 1908-9 to £4. 18s. 2d., an increase of 7s. 9d. per child over the figure for 1903-4.

Note.—The above estimates cannot be compared with the balance-sheet for 1907-8, given on a preceding page, because they only include such part of the receipts of the revenue-producing services as is applied to the interest on and repayment of debt.

At the end of this financial year it was announced that the balances of the Council showed an increase of £217,949, mainly owing to the fact that the various departments had spent less than was estimated.

BUDGET FOR 1909-10.

The London County Council estimates for the present year are as follows:—

REVENUE.

	£
From the rates	6,782,250
From other sources	3,732,617
From balances	315,117
	£10,829,984

EXPENDITURE.

	£
For education.....	5,615,114
For general purposes	5,214,870
	£10,829,984

Some of the main items of expenditure are:—

	£
Asylums	266,805
Fire Brigade	268,575
Main Drainage	295,650
Public Health	107,882
Parks and Open Spaces	140,715
Establishment Charges	214,495

The estimated increase in the revenue was estimated at £252,926, and in the expenditure at £272,049, the deficit to be met out of balances amounting to £315,117.

THE DEBT OF LONDON.

The London County Council has also a capital account. The gross amount of this on March 31st, 1909, was £79,762,687, but this figure is subject to large deductions. It includes the sum of £17,730,559 advanced by the Council to local authorities within its area, and another sum of £7,059,598, the value of surplus lands and property in its possession. This valuation, it may be remarked, has been approved by the Treasury. Other smaller sums must be deducted, and the net debt of the Council on March 31st, 1909, stood at £50,648,537. But this is not all. The debt incurred for what are known as revenue-producing undertakings, such as tramways and workmen's dwellings, amounted to £10,575,082, and, deducting this, the real debt of the Council is £40,073,455. Over a quarter of this has been raised for educational purposes, and nearly as much for highways and street improvements, while other items are sewerage and drainage, Thames tunnels, and lunatic asylums.

But the debt of the L.C.C. is only a part of the indebtedness of London.

INDEBTEDNESS OF LONDON LOCAL AUTHORITIES ON MARCH 31st, 1908.

	Gross Debt.	Sinking Funds, &c.	Net Debt.
	£	£	£
(a) SECURED ON THE RATES—			
London County Council	81,155,342	31,217,211	49,938,131
Metropolitan Water Board (a proportion for the L.C.C. area)	38,789,636	63,122	38,726,514
Metropolitan Asylums Board	3,113,612	—	3,113,612
Metropolitan Police	419,989	193,858	226,131
Central Unemployed Body	81,845	—	31,845
City of London Corporation	2,104,257	757,023	1,346,634
Metropolitan Borough Councils	12,538,353	10,950	12,527,403
Borough Market Trustees	23,801	—	23,801
Guardians and Sick Asylum and School District Managers	4,029,013	—	4,029,013
(b) Secured on the Estates and Revenues of the City Corporation	4,495,200	288,661	4,206,539
	£146,701,048	£32,531,425	£114,169,623

LOANS OUTSTANDING ON THE 31st MARCH, 1908, BY THE SEVERAL AUTHORITIES, WITH THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH THEY WERE RAISED.

PURPOSES.	London County Council.	Corporation of the City of London.	Metropolitan Borough Councils.	Other Authorities.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£	£	£
Ambulance Service	—	—	—	95,448	95,448
Baths and Washhouses	—	—	1,101,460	—	1,101,460
Bridges and Ferries	1,632,263	708,721	—	—	2,340,984
Burial Grounds	—	—	234,137	—	234,137
Central Criminal Court House	—	816,012	—	—	816,012
Clearance of Insanitary Areas	1,472,748	88,786	83,402	—	1,594,936
Depsots, Wharves, and Refuse De-structors	—	—	783,934	—	783,934
Education, Higher	842,039	13,723	—	—	855,762
Education, Elementary	11,196,044	—	—	—	11,196,044
Electric Lighting	—	—	5,408,701	—	5,408,701
Farm Colony	—	—	—	31,845	31,845
Fever, &c., Hospitals	—	—	—	1,898,765	1,898,765
Fire Brigade	924,837	—	—	—	924,837
Highways and Street Improvements	9,956,358	1,568,222	2,129,679	—	13,654,259
Imbecile Asylums	—	—	—	625,052	625,052
Industrial Schools	9,465	—	—	—	9,465
Inebriate Reformatory	40,944	—	—	—	40,944
Issue of Stock	252,549	—	—	—	252,549
Lunatic Asylums	2,152,945	7,901	—	—	2,160,936
Markets	—	2,751,809	23,801	—	2,776,610
Mortuaries and Coroners' Courts	19,717	—	33,398	—	53,115
Parks and Open Spaces	1,095,234	104,223	418,648	—	1,618,100
Parks, Boating	1,660	—	—	—	1,660
Police Stations and Offices	—	—	149,090	—	149,090
Police Court Buildings	—	—	77,041	—	77,041
Public Offices and Buildings	618,558	—	680,965	85,072	1,239,590
Public Conveniences	—	—	158,426	—	158,426
Public Libraries, Museums, and Gymnasiums	—	—	214,771	—	214,771
Public Lighting	—	—	126,378	—	126,378
Sewerage and Drainage	5,608,451	—	808,628	—	5,917,079
Special Poor Law Schools	—	—	—	400,175	400,175
Steamboats and Piers	265,484	—	—	—	265,484
Thames Floods Prevention	25,751	—	—	—	25,751
Thames Tunnels	2,489,298	—	—	—	2,489,298
Tramways	7,262,140	—	—	—	7,262,140
Water Supply	—	—	—	38,726,514	38,726,514
Weights and Measures, and Meter-Testing Offices	74,438	—	—	—	74,438
Workhouses, Infirmaries, &c.	—	—	—	4,029,013	4,029,013
Workmen's Dwellings under Housing Acts	1,770,690	18,714	625,239	—	2,414,643
Improvements Do.	711,617	—	—	—	711,617
Other Public Works and Purposes ..	115,804	24,972	269,642	9,105	419,523
Differential Account	1,999,602	—	—	—	1,999,602
Total	49,938,131	5,553,173	12,551,204	46,127,115	114,169,623

Besides the amount standing to the credit of sinking and similar funds, noted in Column 2 of the former of the above tables, the local authorities, especially the Metropolitan Water Board, possess valuable securities in the shape of property purchased, buildings, and plant. Many of these assets may fairly be described as realisable, as they consist of works of a permanent or remunerative character.

The growth of London's debt is shown by the following figures, the indebtedness of the Metropolitan Water Board being excluded for purposes of comparison.

	£
1839-90	41,294,268
1894-5	44,894,365
1899-1900	53,189,385
1904-5	70,191,300
1905-6	71,847,714
1907-8	74,583,024
1908-9	75,443,109

The amount of local debt in London per £ of rateable value, which in 1874-5 was £1. 0s. 2d., and in 1899-1900 was £1. 8s. 4d., had risen in 1906-7 to £1. 19s. 9d.

The estimate of expenditure on capital account for the current year (1909-10) is £4,611,275. The total commitments of the Council on capital account are £9,975,955, of which £4,371,693 is for revenue-producing services.

London obtains capital by issues of London County Council Stock, which is raised on the security of the rates and bears interest at 2½, 3, or 3½ per cent. The last issue was made in May, 1909, when £102 was received for every £100 of stock issued. The total amount of stock created by the Council and its predecessor, the Metropolitan Board of Works, is £77,856,012. For this, owing to the fact that much stock was issued at a discount, £75,458,408 was received in cash; however, some of the stock has been purchased and cancelled, and its amount on March 31st, 1909, was £70,350,023. Altogether, £17,311,496 has been applied to the repayment of debt, much of this being lent to various local authorities and others, thus avoiding the necessity for further issue of stock.

VALUATION.

London property is subject to a quinquennial valuation, and the London valuation lists prepared by the Overseers of the Poor form the basis of Imperial as well as of local taxation. They are, therefore, settled in co-operation with the Surveyors of Taxes. Partly in consequence of this, the growth of the rates does not exceed to the same extent the increase in rateable value, as it does in the provinces.

The most valuable of the boroughs is Westminster, with a rateable value of £6,271,188, nearly one-half of this being situate in the parish of St. George's.

Hanover Square. In 1871 the rateable value of London was £19,963,285. Of the increase of £24,000,000, £14,000,000 is due to new buildings, and £9,000,000 to the increased value of land. The greatest quinquennial increase took place in the years 1877-1881.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCILS.

A Metropolitan Borough Council consists of a Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors, who altogether must not number more than 70. The Mayor is elected annually, on November 9th. The Aldermen, who are equal in number to one-sixth of the Councillors, are chosen by the Councillors for six years, one-half of them retiring every third year. The Councillors are elected every three years, and retire in a body on November 1st every third year.

Its powers and functions are: The maintenance and control of all drainage except main sewers; the clearance of small slum areas, and the erection of houses for the working-classes; the provision of baths, burial grounds, hospitals, public libraries, and other public services; the making of by-laws for the government of the borough; the partial administration of the London Building Acts; the provision and control of the electric supply for power and lighting; the sanctioning of new tramways; the enforcement of the Public Health Acts, including the suppression of smoke and other nuisances, the sanitary inspection of factories, workshops, dairies, lodging-houses, and of articles of food exposed for sale, the provision of public conveniences and mortuaries, and the removal of house refuse; the performance of the duties of overseers; the paving, lighting, watering, and cleaning of the streets other than "main roads"; the erection of halls and other buildings for public purposes.

The total expenditure of the London boroughs in 1906-7 was £5,102,996, of which £2,617,372 was met by local rates.

The most remarkable change in the election of November, 1909, was in Battersea, where the sweeping Moderate victory is explained by the splitting of the Progressive and Labour vote. In Stepney the Council of Public Welfare increased its representation upon the Council. Fulham, which for the previous three years had been wholly Moderate, has now a leaven of three Progressives; and the Camberwell Progressives succeeded in reducing the Moderate strength considerably. The elections at Hampstead and Stoke Newington were fought upon purely local questions, and ostensibly without reference to party politics. Polling in most of the boroughs did not indicate very great interest in the conduct of local affairs, but in those boroughs where the polling was heaviest there were Progressive gains.

LONDON BOROUGHES.

Borough.	Rateable Value.	Popu-lation.	Rate for 1909-10.	Voters 1909.	Mayor.	Town Clerk.	Town Council.			
							Prog.	Mod.	Lab. and Social.	Ind.
Battersea	1,066,230	186,023	s. d. 8 5	37,656	Peter P. Haythornthwaite (M.)	W. M. Wilkins	2	52	—	—
Bermondsey	942,125	127,569	9 1	24,384	Walter W. Tyler (M.)	Frederick Ryall	26	27	1	—
Bethnal Green	650,139	131,316	8 0	20,461	Chas. E. Fox (P.)	Robert Voss	19	11	—	—
Camberwell	1,379,700	213,023	4 4½ (half-year)	54,627	Ald. J. Somerville (M.)	C. W. Tagg	27	33	—	—
Chelsea	936,212	75,249	7 1	12,085	Christopher Head (M.)	T. Holland	3	33	—	—
Deptford	645,798	113,583	7 6	17,960	E. G. H. Berryman (L.)	Vivian Orchard	7	19	4	6
Finsbury	1,038,598	95,289	7 4 (average)	15,595	Arthur Millward (M.)	G. W. Preston	7	45	—	2
Fulham	907,039	176,406	7 4	25,749	Henry G. Norris (M.)	J. P. Shuter	3	33	—	—
Greenwich	673,159	111,014	7 10 (average)	15,270	Chas. Newbury (P.)	Francis Robinson	7	17	1	5
Hackney	1,234,679	227,601	8 1½	36,027	Thos. E. Young (L.)	W. A. Williams	41	19	—	—
Hammersmith	833,979	125,704	7 5½	17,854	Samuel Bewsher (L.)	H. Thompson	31	—	—	5
Hampstead	1,106,465	94,185	7 4	15,216	Ald. E. Todd (M.)	Arthur P. Johnson	—	42	—	42
Holborn	1,075,012	53,802	Varies from 6/9 to 8/7.	11,618	Max Clarke (M.)	Lionel Walford	2	40	—	—
Lalington	1,951,173	351,202	7 6	47,889	H. J. Clarke, L.C.C. (M.)	Wm. F. Dewey	6	53	—	1
Kenington	2,429,954	183,683	6 11	27,886	Mr. Justice Phillimore	W. Chambers Leete	8	50	2	—
Lambeth	1,961,501	324,188	3 9 (half-year)	50,723	Ald. Ed. Johnson (M.)	H. J. Smith	6	52	2	—
Lewisham	1,089,195	160,749	7 8	29,443	Ed. Ball (M.)	Edward Wright	—	42	—	—
Paddington	1,544,348	151,955	7 2	28,452	Herbert H. Fuller (M.)	A. W. J. Russell	4	53	—	3
Poplar	837,986	171,965	12 3 (1909)	27,434	Robert Brown (Ratepayers Ass.)	L. Potts	7	21	10	4
St. Marylebone	1,987,692	126,027	7 0	21,071	Rev. E. A. Midwinter (M.)	J. Wilson	9	49	—	2
St. Pancras	1,801,604	237,422	7 1	43,615	James Bryan (M.)	C. H. F. Barrett	24	36	—	—
Shoreditch	811,544	114,802	8 5	21,412	J. E. Harwood (M.)	H. Mansfield-Robinson	12	23	6	1
Southwark	1,309,493	211,125	8 0½	37,003	Canon Horsley (P.)	J. A. Johnson	34	26	—	—
Stepney	1,498,917	312,525	8 5½ (average)	29,019	Geo. W. Clarke	Geo. W. Clarke	10	30	1	19
Stoke Newington	355,046	54,423	7 6½ (average)	8,072	Ald. J. R. Brough (L.)	Geo. Webb	—	—	Non-Party.	30
Wandsworth	2,103,112	297,646	7 5	58,354	Archibald D. Dawney (M.)	H. G. Hills	1	57	—	2
Westminster	6,271,138	163,883	6 5 (average)	34,068	Rev. F. H. Hillersden (M.)	John Hunt	1	54	—	6
Woolwich	796,236	133,374	8 4 (average)	20,624	Ald. W. J. Francis (M.)	Arthur B. Bryceson	—	24	10	2

THE CITY OF LONDON.

Lord Mayor, Right Hon. Sir John Knill, Bart., Bridge Ward.
 Sheriffs, Ralph Slazenger (Dowgate) and James Roll (Bridge).
 Under Sheriffs, J. D. Langton and W. J. B. Tippetts.

Aldermen:—

Charles Johnstone	Aldersgate.
Sir John Pound, Bart.	Aldgate.
Sir Alfred James Newton, Bart.	Bassishaw.
Sir Francis Stanhope Hanson, Knt.	Billingsgate.
Sir Horatio David Davies, K.C.M.G.	Bishopsgate.
Sir Charles Cheers Wakefield, Knt.	Bread Street.
Sir Joseph Savory, Bart.	Bridge Without.
Charles Augustin Hanson	Broad Street.
Sir David Burnett, Knt.	Candlewick.
Sir Vansittart Bowater, Knt.	Castle Baynard.
Sir William Henry Dunn	Cheap.
Sir John Charles Bell	Coleman Street.
Sir Walter Vaughan Morgan	Cordwainer.
Edward Ernest Cooper	Cornhill.
Sir Henry Edmund Knight	Cripplegate.
Sir George Wyatt Truscott	Dowgate.
Sir George F. Faudel Phillips, Bart., G.C.I.E.	Farringdon Within.
Sir William Purdie Treloar, Bart.	Farringdon Without.
Sir Thomas Boor Crosby, M.D.	Langbourn.
Sir William Wilkin, K.C.M.G.	Lime Street.
Sir Marcus Samuel, Bart.	Portsoken.
Sir T. Vezey Strong	Queenhithe.
Sir James Thomas Ritchie, Bart.	Tower.
Sir Horace B. Marshall, LL.D.	Vintry.
Sir George Joseph Woodman	Walbrook.

CITY CORPORATION.

CITY OF LONDON CORPORATION EXPENDITURE AND RECEIPTS.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Estate expenses	44,369	14	8
Market expenses	227,620	4	1
Civil Govt. Magistracy, Police and City of London Courts	247,851	10	1
Central Criminal Court charges	11,768	8	6
Port of London sanitation expenses	10,338	16	2
Schools and Technical grants	54,939	2	8
Guildhall Library and Museum	8,632	10	7
Salaries of Corporation Officers and Establishment charges	51,557	17	8
Gresham College and Royal Exchange	4,017	8	11
Coroner's Salary and County Rate expenses	8,348	11	10
Maintenance of Bridges	71,657	1	5
Maintenance of Open Spaces, &c.	20,072	15	4
City of London Asylum	27,232	6	5
Public Health Department	397,897	13	7
Ward Expenses	5,553	16	9
Valuation Dept. (General Rate) expenses and salaries	8,330	15	1
Valuation Dept. (Poor Rate), charges on	18,111	1	7
L.C.C. Precepts	884,695	12	4
City Guardians' Precepts	839,916	0	3
Hospitality and expenses of honours conferred	4,288	4	9
Pensions not charged to depart- ments	3,836	9	10
Debenture Redemption and Issue expenses	17,582	0	4
Committee allowances	2,497	7	11
London Almshouses	2,527	2	4
Charitable Donations	6,348	10	0
Total Expenditure	2,479,486	11	10
* Balances	444,184	0	6

£2,923,760 12 3

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
General Rate	466,522	2	3
Poor Rate	1,256,614	17	1
County Rate	7,541	8	4
Estates	224,571	16	2
Markets	259,404	18	10
School Fees and Interest Educa- tion Investments	89,101	18	1
Bridge House Estates	153,207	5	4
Court Judiciary and Police Fees and Fines	89,294	1	5
Asylum Receipts	33,547	1	9
Public Health Department Re- ceipts	392,939	16	4
Sundry Fees, Rents, Tolls, and Interest on Funds not included under foregoing	29,931	6	0
Gresham Fund	12,348	19	9
Arrears Police Rate recovered	8,735	0	11

Total Income £2,923,760 12 3

The Rateable Value of the City is £5,468,412.

* This amount includes several sums which are allocated by Statute to specific purposes.

The City Corporation (the Common Council) consists of the Lord Mayor, 25 Aldermen, and 206 Common Councillors. The Lord Mayor is elected for one year by the Court of Aldermen, in common hall, from among the Aldermen who have served as Sheriffs. The Aldermen are elected for life by the 25 wards, and one serves for Bridge Ward Without. The Councillors are elected annually on St. Thomas's Day (December 21st), by the ratepayers of the several wards. The Court of Common Council meets at the Guildhall on alternate Thursdays at 1 p.m., under the presidency of the Lord Mayor.

The powers and functions of the Corporation are: the ordinary powers and functions of a Metropolitan Borough Council; the maintenance of City bridges; the partial regulation of new building construction; the enforcement of the Shop Hours Act; the regulation, inspection, &c., of the water and gas supplies; the carrying out of the Housing Acts; the maintenance of certain parks and spaces outside the London area; the control of markets; the appointment of sheriffs and coroners; the control of the City police, for which no grant-in-aid is received from imperial funds.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

At the beginning of 1909 the Metropolitan Police numbered 18,167 men, of whom 1,918 were employed on special service. The pay of the force during 1908 amounted to £1,597,972. Among the duties of the Metropolitan Police are the supervision of 1,116 clubs. They issued during the year, on their own application, 26,448 summonses, and obtained convictions in 24,366 cases; they arrested 109,787 persons, but only a small fraction of these—477—received sentences of penal servitude.

The report of the Commissioner mentions the fact that during 1908 326 persons were killed by accidents in the streets of London and 16,774 persons were injured. In 1907 the corresponding figures were 283 and 16,772, and in 1906 212 and 14,060. During the year in question the number of burglaries decreased from 547 to 507, and the number of house-breakings from 1,962 to 1,762. 19 persons above one year of age were murdered during the year, and 9,440 persons were identified by means of their finger-prints.

The Metropolitan Police issued licences during 1908 for 4,826 hansom cabs, a decrease of 1,126, and for 2,805 motor-cabs, 3,649 four-wheeled cabs, 2,155 horse-omnibuses, 1,133 motor-omnibuses, 323 horse-tramcars, and 2,003 mechanical tramcars. The Lost Property Office at Scotland Yard received 60,407 articles, 24,646 of which were umbrellas.

METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD.

The Metropolitan Asylums Board consists of 73 members, of whom 55 are nominated by the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians, and 18 by the Local

Government Board. Since 1867 the whole duty of providing for the infectious sick poor has devolved upon it. The Board provides asylums for imbeciles, but not for lunatics, the care of whom is relegated to the London County Council; hospitals for the infectious sick, pauper and otherwise; accommodation and schools for diseased or defective pauper children; a training ship for pauper boys; and an ambulance service for the whole of London. The Board has 12 fever hospitals with 7,420 beds, and three small-pox hospitals with accommodation for 2,040 patients. It expended in 1907-8 a net amount of £1,105,554 on its various services, the heaviest items being the provision of fever and small-pox hospitals and of imbecile asylums.

L.C.C. ASYLUMS.

The Asylums Committee of the L.C.C. is obliged to "find accommodation for all London pauper lunatics certified for reception in an asylum, and for certain other lunatics, who, if suitable accommodation were not obtainable at the County asylums, would become pauper lunatics." Imbeciles are looked after by the Metropolitan Asylums Board. The Committee has nine asylums situated at Banstead, Bexley, Cane Hill, Claybury, Colney Hatch, Hanwell, Hoxton, Long Grove, and Manor. On the 1st of January, 1909, there were 19,718 lunatics therein, 8,518 of whom were males, and 11,198 were females. All except 948 of these were pauper lunatics. The increase over the figure for 1908 is 476, and the annual average increase for the past 19 years has been 506. The Committee, in its annual report, expresses the opinion "that much of the increase apparent year by year in the total number of lunatics to be provided for is due in part to a lessened death-rate and to the accumulation in the asylums of chronic cases; also in part to more comprehensive registration, and not necessarily to a greater prevalence of lunacy among the population." In the year 1907-8 the Committee spent £603,126, the greater part of which (£510,498) was recovered from the Guardians of various Unions.

LONDON'S MARKETS.

The markets controlled by the City of London are the Central Markets, Smithfield; Leadenhall Market; Billingsgate Market; Smithfield Hay Market; The Metropolitan Cattle Market, Islington; Deptford Cattle Market; and Spitalfields Market.

Covent Garden is controlled by private owners, among whom the Duke of Bedford is chief; Portman Market and Cumberland Market are also in private hands. The Borough Market in Southwark is managed by trustees, including members of the Southwark Borough Council; Woolwich controls its own market, and the Whitechapel Hay Market is under the Stepney Council.

Over 400 millions of meat is sold at

the Smithfield Market every year. Only about 21·5 per cent. of the total was home produce in 1908, the great bulk coming from America and Australia. 193,820 tons of fish passed through Billingsgate Market in 1908, and 534,691 head of cattle and sheep passed through the Metropolitan Cattle Market and the Foreign Cattle Market together.

THE OWNERS OF LONDON LAND.

The London County Council has almost completed the preparation of a ground plan of London. This, in its nearly finished state, shows that there are 34,600 owners of the ground, and that 187 of these own 60 square miles, or rather more than one-half of the total area. 19 of these square miles, however, are the property of the Crown, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the L.C.C., and the City Corporation, these bodies being the four largest owners. (See further under Land.)

PORT OF LONDON AUTHORITY.

The Port of London Authority, constituted by the Act of 1908, consists of 17 members elected by payers of dues, wharfingers, and owners of rate craft, one elected by wharfingers, and ten appointed by the Admiralty, the Board of Trade, the L.C.C., the City of London, and Trinity House. The term of office is three years. The first authority, however, was appointed under special conditions, the appointment of the chairman, of 18 ordinary members, and of an expert in dock management, being in the hands of the Board of Trade. The period of office was extended to the 1st of April, 1910.

The jurisdiction of the Port of London Authority begins from the boundary line of the parishes of Teddington and Twickenham, and ends at an imaginary line drawn from Havengore Creek in Essex to Warden Point, Sheppey. It controls 27½ miles of quays, 645 acres of docks, and 7,954,486 tonnage of shipping, about 30 per cent. of the total shipping of the United Kingdom. Goods to the value of £199,407,311 were brought into the Port of London in 1907, while the export of British produce and manufactures was valued at £74,768,238, and colonial and foreign merchandise exported reached £48,772,802.

The first chairman of the Board is Sir Hudson E. Kearley, Bart., M.P., who resigned his position as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in order to take up this appointment. Among the other members of the authority are Sir Christopher Furness, M.P., Sir E. A. Cornwall, M.P., Mr. Owen C. Philipps, M.P., Mr. H. Gosling, and Lord Ritchie of Dundee. One of its first and most important duties is to prepare a schedule of maximum rates on goods and to charge dues for the upkeep and development of the Port.

THE THAMES CONSERVANCY.

The establishment of the Port of London Authority has affected the position

of the Thames Conservancy Board, which from 1866 to 1909 was the authority for the whole course of the Thames from Cricklade in Wiltshire to the sea. Since the passing of the Port of London Act, however, this new authority supervises such part of the river as lies within the limits of the Port. The reconstituted Thames Conservancy Board now has charge of only that part of the river which lies between a point about 475 yards below Teddington lock and Cricklade.

The Board consists of 28 members, whose term of office is three years. Its accounts were kept in two distinct parts, those of the Upper and those of the Lower Navigation, and in 1908 it received altogether £150,820, and spent £143,522.

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD.

Before the passing of the Metropolitan Water Act of 1902 London water was provided by eight water companies and two urban district councils—those of Tottenham and Enfield. The new Board took over these companies, the last of them, the New River Company, being taken over in July, 1904, and since then it has had the sole control of the water supply of the 7 million persons who form what is known as "Water London," the boundaries of which are shown on the map on page 149.

The Metropolitan Water Board consists of 66 members. Fourteen of these are appointed by the L.C.C., one each by the County Councils of Essex, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Hertfordshire, two each by the City of London, the City of Westminster, and the Borough of West Ham, and one each by the 27 metropolitan boroughs, the one excluded being Westminster. Minor authorities send the remaining 14 members. The Board is elected for three years, and its chairman is Mr. E. B. Barnard, M.P., to whom a salary of £500 a year has recently been voted. The present members retire from office on June 1st, 1910. The clerk to the Board is Mr. A. B. Pilling, and the chief engineer is Mr. W. B. Bryan. Its head offices are at Savoy Court, Strand, W.C., and the number of persons in its employ on March 31st, 1909, was 4,019.

The Board has a capital or debt of £48,872,063, the charges of which, amounting to £1,470,359 fall on the revenues from water rates, with the general rates as additional security. The total amount of water supplied during the year ending March 31st, 1909, was 81,823·9 million gallons, an average daily supply of 224·2 million gallons. This gives an average for every person in the area of 31·04 gallons every day. 53 per cent. of the water came from the Thames, 25 per cent. from the Lea, and 22 per cent. from springs and wells. The Board's reservoirs can store 8,844·7 million gallons, and storage for another 4,000 million gallons is now being constructed.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

One to eleven Guardians of the Poor are elected for three years in each Guardians' Ward. Each Board may co-opt not more than four Guardians. The reconstitution of the Poor Law will bring radical changes into this particular authority. The Commissioners were unanimous in recommending that the Guardians (under whatever name they are known), should be appointed, not elected. The small interest taken by Londoners in the persons chosen to be guardians of the poor is shown by the fact that in the 1907 elections of Guardians the average percentage of voters who went to the poll in the various wards was 28.1, while in Hampstead it fell to 14.9.

Some idea of the magnitude of the task devolving on the Boards of Guardians may be gathered from an examination of the periodical returns. On September 25th, 1909, 118,701 persons received relief in London either as indoor or outdoor paupers, a rate of 2.45 per cent. of the population. In the winter months the burden is, of course, heavier. On January 1st, 1909, 130,371 persons were relieved. The total expenditure of the London Boards of Guardians for 1907-8 contained in the Local Government Board Report for 1909 was £3,234,671.

CENTRAL (UNEMPLOYED) BODY.

The Central (Unemployed) Body consists of 80 members selected from within their own number by the L.C.C., the City Distress Committee, the Westminster Distress Committee, and 27 distress committees of the London Boroughs, with eight co-opted members and eight nominees of the Local Government Board. The Central Body superintends and co-ordinates the work of the local distress committees, and controls the labour bureaux or employment exchanges set up in various parts of London.

In 1908-9 the Central Body received £104,697 from the Local Government Board, £23,267 from the rates, and an amount so small as to be negligible from voluntary contribution. The number of cases registered in 1908-9 showed an increase of 18,046 on the previous year, reaching a total of 47,731. (Further information under Unemployment.)

LONDON TRAMS.

The opening in full civic state on September 14th, 1909, by Sir George Truscott, as Lord Mayor, of the extension of the London County Council tramways over Blackfriars Bridge marked an epoch in the history of tramway enterprise in London. Closing as it did a long period of hostility to this popular form of locomotion, the speeches made give every hope of steady extension until most of the principal traffic routes of London are occupied.

In route mileage, the number of

passengers carried, car miles run, and the number of vehicles owned, the London County Council tramways are well ahead of any competitor. If to these are added the municipal and privately-owned tramways operating in and around London the total probably exceeds that of any other civic community in the world. Altogether there are in London and its environs no less than 341 miles of tramway routes, the track length totalling 649 miles, or a route length equal to the distance between London and Berwick-upon-Tweed. The statistics of passengers carried and car miles run are only available as regards the County Council system on which 412,913,841 passengers were carried in the last financial year. Of these 190 millions were carried for one half-penny, and 199 millions were passengers taking a penny ticket. The car mileage totalled 39,119,472 miles.

The number of motor tramscars belonging to the County Council and in use on their lines is 1,175. Those working on suburban lines number 978, or a total of 2,153 cars working in the Greater London area, a number likely to be increased in the near future.

The area embraced by tramway operations stretches without break from Uxbridge and Hampton Court in the west to Goodmayes and Horn's Cross, Dartford, in the east, the extreme distance measuring some 40 miles. The northern limits are marked by High Barnet and Waltham Cross in Hertfordshire, and a continuous line joins them to Purley in Surrey, the distance being 27 and 32 miles respectively.

During the year two very important additions were made to the equipment of the County Council trams by the extension of the Greenwich generating station, and the erection of the Central car repairing depot at East Greenwich. At the Generating Station the whole of the current required by the Council is generated. Forty-eight boilers, each evaporating 18,200 lbs. of water per hour are employed to work the eight huge dynamos. In these 300 tons of coal are burnt every twenty-four hours, and a store of 10,000 tons is kept in the hoppers.

The Car Repairing Depot is the only one of its kind in the world. The area covered by the buildings is at present 3½ acres, capable of extension to nearly seven acres. Here every car in the service is annually overhauled and repainted. The whole of the machinery is taken to pieces and each part separately tested. A department also exists for the manufacture of the "ploughs" used in operating the "conduit" system, on which the major portion of the County Council tramlines are worked.

The principal extensions and conversions to electric traction during the past year were: Streatham to Norbury, Hop Exchange and Stamford

Street, Stamford Street to John Carpenter Street (Blackfriars Bridge); Forest Hill extension and Hammer-smith to Putney—new lines, and Chelsea Bridge to Lavender Hill; Vauxhall to Clapham Junction via Lavender Hill, Hampstead Heath to King's Cross, King's Cross to Clerkenwell, Bow to Aldgate, Stamford Hill to Cambridge Heath via Clapton and Mare Street, Hackney; Camden Town Station to Nag's Head, St. Paul's Road to Angel via Essex Road, and Norwood Cemetery to Loughborough Junction via Herne Hill, reconstructed.

Among the lines proposed to be constructed during the coming year are a number of short lines connecting existing routes and also the completion of the reconstruction of the remaining "horse traction" lines.

HOW LONDON CHANGES.

No account of London's history for the past year would be complete without a reference to the remarkable changes that have taken place in the aspect of the Metropolis as it impresses the passing eye. London has changed her spots very considerably during recent years; but in 1909, perhaps more than in any other 12 months, the gradual transformation has been such that a visitor who comes to the capital once a year might be forgiven for failing to recognise districts that were once familiar. Public and commercial interests have combined in this evolution of a cleaner and handsomer London. It has not depended altogether upon the desire for the spectacular commemoration of great figures in national and municipal life. Thus, while we have had the unveiling of the base of that magnificent combination of ornamental water and beautiful statuary which is to keep fresh the memory of Queen Victoria, and while the stately and ornate stone entry to the glorified Mall has reared itself to the sight of people passing down the Strand to Trafalgar Square—it may be that from the general point of view the progress and elaboration of the underground railway system has produced far more impression upon the face of London.

It is not so very long since the eruption of railway travellers at comparatively rare places was regarded as one of the wonders of civilisation. In the year 1909 these regular eruptions have become, more than ever they were in history before, a definite feature of London life. The smart illuminated signs, with their very clear maps and their really clever advertising pictures, have enhanced the brightness of railway stations, which have changed and are changing their once dingy exteriors for elevations that are clean and inviting. It has been easier to travel from one point of London to another than it has ever been before, and certainly there has never been such a thorough and helpful attempt, on the part of companies which stand to gain by their enterprise, to give prospective pas-

sengers full information of the kind they need.

The coming of electrical traction, of course, has been responsible for this, just as without this modern application of abstruse science the bridges of London and the Thames Embankment would not be brilliant at night with the well-lighted tramcars which the Progressive Party introduced in the face of enormous opposition years ago. The running of the cars over Blackfriars Bridge, which became in 1909 a thoroughfare of splendid width, is not the only innovation that has altered the appearance of what many people regarded as the most dangerous crossing in the Metropolis. Before the end of the year the hoardings which disfigured this crossing had been removed, disclosing the trim iron stairways that lead the timid pedestrian safely under streams of motor traffic, heavier and more constant than any earlier year had seen. The running of the cars over Blackfriars Bridge resulted at first in new scenes of chaos at the Bridge end of the Embankment. The County Council had not made full preparations for the transference of the evening rush of passengers to that point, and the tardy provision of temporary refuges was not by any means a satisfactory means of coping with fresh needs.

In the Strand the most notable alteration has been the completion of the Victorian Government Offices, a tall, narrow building which, seen from a distance, stands out from the bare Aldwych site like a frail skyscraper which might be pushed over by a mild effort of the elements. Farther down, towards Charing Cross, the once-famous but not very lovely Exeter Hall has gone the way of Lowther Arcade, to give place to that up-to-date example of catering enterprise, the Strand Palace Hotel. Curiously, a change that attracted more heated controversy among the casual crowd than any other, the nude symbolic statuary on the British Medical Journal building, has passed into the sphere of accepted sights without much real trouble. Not one person in a hundred, it is safe to say, even notices now that these once condemned figures exist at all.

In Oxford Street the new Selfridge building marks the greatest architectural change, whilst the imposing Piccadilly Hotel has altered the face of Piccadilly and Regent Street more than anything else. The statue to the late Sir Wilfrid Lawson, in the Embankment Gardens, is the most notable new feature there.

But no single public improvement is of greater importance than the rehabilitation of the Mall, though the fine entrance to the royal Processional way from Trafalgar Square can never achieve its proper eminence until the grey and unpretentious buildings that hide two sides of it have been removed. The raising of the Victoria Memorial in front of Buckingham Palace has served to emphasize, and will emphasize still

more when it is finished, the oppressive sombreness of London's royal palace; and the gay red geranium beds which have now become so brilliant a part of the landscape at this end of St. James's Park, in the proper season, brought home more than ever in 1909 the dull exterior of King Edward's town residence.

Only a few of the changes in London's aspect during 1909 have been dealt with here, but they are enough to indicate how rapid is the progress that is being made towards a more convenient and a more attractive city.

HOUSING IN LONDON.

Up to March 31st, 1909, the London County Council had provided accommodation for **46,310 persons** in connection with the **Housing Acts**. These tenants live in 6,428 tenements in block dwellings, in 1,768 cottages, and in 3 lodging-houses, which contain 1,845 cubicles, 1,444 of which were occupied in March, 1909. In the year 1908-9 there were 25 cases of overcrowding—that is, cases where there were more than 2 persons in one room—a state of things which was immediately rectified by the Council. The yearly rental of these properties amounted to **£159,726**, being an average rent of 2s. 10½d. per room. The total capital expenditure amounted to **£2,438,263**; sinking funds have accumulated to a total of **£106,645**, and there was a surplus of **£17,395** for the year ending March 31st, 1908.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1908-9. Part 1: Poor Law—Unemployed—Old Age Pensions. (Cd. 4786.) (Wyman.) 1s. 4d. net.
- Ashley, P. English Local Government. (Jack.) (1905.) 1s. net.
- Atkinson, C. J. F. Concise Handbook of Provincial Local Government Law. (Effingham Wilson.) (1902.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Fordham, E. Mary. The Evolution of Local and Imperial Government. (Knight.) (1903.) 6s. net.
- Gomme, G. L. Principles of Local Government. (Constable.) 12s.
- Gomme, G. L. The Government of London: Studies of the Place of London in English Institutions. (Fisher Unwin.) (1907.) 15s. net.
- Jenks, E. English Local Government. (Revised by R. C. K. Ensor, 1907.) (Methuen.) 2s. 6d. net.
- London Statistics. (Published annually.) (King.) 5s.
- Municipal Year Book. (Published annually.) (Ed. Lloyd.) 7s. 6d. net.

- Maxwell, R. C. English Local Government. (Dent.) 1s. net.
- Odgers, W. Blake. Local Government. (Macmillan.) (1899.) 3s. 6d.
- Seager, J. R. The Government of London under the London Government Act, 1899. (King.) o. p.
- Seager, J. R. County Council Elections. (Liberal Publication Dept.) 2s. 9d. net.
- Seager, J. R. The Municipal Elections Act, 1884. (Warne.) 1s.
- Webb, S. and B. English Local Government, from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County (Longmans), 16s. net; The Manor and the Borough (2 vols.) (Longmans), 25s. net.
- Whelen, F. London Government. (De La More Press.) (1898.) 3s. 6d.
- Wright, R. S., and Hobhouse, H. An Outline of Local Government and Local Taxation in England and Wales. (1906.) (Sweet and Maxwell.) 7s. 6d.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

- Avebury, Lord. On Municipal and National Trading. (Macmillan.) 2s. 6d.
- Bell, J., and Paton, J. Glasgow: Its Municipal Organisation and Administration. (1896.) (McLehose.) 21s. net.
- Darwin, Major Leonard. "Municipal Ownership." (Murray.) (1907.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Dolman, F. Municipalities at Work. (Methuen.) (1895.) o. p.
- Lauder, A. E. The Municipal Manual. (King.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Municipal Socialism. (Articles from the Times.) (Wright.) 6d.
- Report of Joint Committee on Municipal Trading. (1903.) (H. C. 270.) (Wymans.) 4s. net.
- Robinson, C. M. The Improvement of Towns and Cities. (Putnams.) 5s. net.
- Shaw, Bernard. The Common-sense of Municipal Trading. (New Age Press.) (1904.) 6d. net.
- Suthers, R. B. Mind Your Own Business. (Clarion Press.) 2s. 6d. net.

CO-OPERATIVE HOLIDAYS.

With an annual membership of twelve or thirteen thousand and an annual turnover of £40,000, the Co-operative Holiday Association for the supply of holidays is scarcely the least of the co-operative phalanx. The C.H.A., as it is called, runs during the summer season, and in several cases all the year round, its own guest houses in the British and Continental country. One is next to Whitby Abbey, another half-way up Kinder Scout, two amid the Cumberland Lakes, others in Brittany, Switzerland, Germany, and every year some new centre or centres are opened. The holidays are at cost price, and the cost price, when thousands of guests are concerned, is necessarily low.

Recent Publications.

THE KING'S REVENUE.

An Account of the Revenue and Taxes raised in the United Kingdom, with a short history of each Tax and Branch of the Revenue. By W. M. J. WILLIAMS, Author of "Local Taxation," &c. Demy 8vo. Cloth, 6s. net. *Financial News*.—"Mr. Williams gives us the history and origin of each impost, the rate at which it is now imposed, and some statistics of its yield. This is a treatment of the subject which at once enables the reader to obtain precisely the information that he needs, though, up to now, there has been no attempt to supply it in exactly the same convenient way as that in which Mr. Williams has arranged it. The book is not large, but it must represent an immensity of labour, for which all students of national finance and economics owe Mr. Williams their most hearty thanks."

INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.

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An Account of the Co-operative Movement in Great Britain and other countries. By C. R. FAY, M.A., D.Sc., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Economics. Demy 8vo. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net. *Standard*.—"The appearance of Mr. Fay's careful and elaborate study marks something of a new departure in economic literature. Mr. Fay's excellent work shows conclusively that co-operation, intelligently guided, and undertaken with sincerity and enthusiasm, does actually remove many difficulties which appear insuperable."

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Figures for 1908-09.

MUNICIPAL

Borough.	Rateable Value.	Est. Pop. in 1909.	Rate in the £. 1909.	INCOME.		REPRODUCTIVE	
				Grant from Imp. Taxes.	Rates.	Tramways.	Gas.
	£		s. d.	£	£	£	£
Aberdeen	915,977	153,114 (Census 1901)	5 7	95,080	245,574	No profit ma	—
Aston Manor	262,458	82,282	—	—	—	—	—
Barrow-in-Furness	299,855	82,996	5 6	85,036	76,162	Company	5,02
Bath	332,534	48,621	6 0	11,989	71,779	—	—
Birkenhead	653,284	121,123	6 4	63,896	158,186	NIL.	10,21
Birmingham	2,915,506	563,629	About 8s.	264,050	2825,413	35,000	65,31
Blackburn	542,073	136,959	7 10	62,119	172,486	4,804 loss	5,20
Blackpool	508,831	67,341	5 6	26,153	2123,300	3,658	10,90
Bolton	837,224	187,824	6 3½	2,548	901,003	6,097	17,50
Bootle	476,673½	69,393	8 3	32,346	114,514	—	—
Bournemouth	611,515	72,368	5 0	12,120	2123,639	5,417 loss	Com
Bradford	1,556,240	293,983	7 6½	117,299	2501,895	15,318	5,30 (loss)
Brighton..... (1907-8)	902,253	130,926	5 0	—	223,066	—969	—
Bristol	1,838,890	377,642	8 7	62,756	692,502	—	—
Burnley	390,813	106,267	6 4	9,919	98,602	2,381	13,52
Burton-on-Trent	332,514	54,453	7 2	23,047	94,447	2,747 loss	3,08
Bury	283,651	59,234	7 4	—	—	620	2,86
Cardiff	1,157,054	195,303	7 4	37,044	383,188	5,955	Com'y
Cheltenham (1907-8)	312,565	51,816	4 8	—	66,815	—	—
Cork	185,424	108,000 (Census 1901)	10 6	16,735	87,531	Company	Com'y
Coventry	374,982	80,163	7 6	29,603	100,805	Company	3,24
Croydon	1,121,474	161,078	7 0	28,311	823,910	3,294	—
Darlington	250,676	50,284	5 4	17,675	44,461	1,548 loss	4,50
Derby	558,747	129,411	7 6	21,191	150,700	3,734	—
Devonport	322,671	83,103	6 4	9,386	94,225	Leased	1,61
Dudley	165,644	51,678	7 4	9,522	38,938	Leased to Company	Com'y
Dundee	896,622	160,878 (Census 1901)	3 6	14,293	132,865	Nil to Rates	Rate
Ealing	453,902	40,865	6 11	9,655	85,011	—	—
	Poor Rate						
	432,865						
	Rate						
Eastbourne	427,676	50,708	3 11½	223	34,298	—	—
East Ham	498,000	149,575	9 3	61,780	218,210	Nil.	Nil.
Exeter	275,844	48,793	6 10½	3,325	70,269	el	Com'
Gateshead	428,903½	131,024	6 9	56,660	110,565	Nil.	Nil.
Gillingham	180,289½	55,373	8 2	—	47,483	—	—
Glasgow	5,456,400	872,021	7 0½	88,843	1,075,596	200,948 gross	122,80 gross
Grimsby	283,190	73,036	7 10	35,446	78,965	Nil.	Nil.
Halifax	495,401	111,911	9 0	16,779	171,645	13,542 (loss)	11,53
Hanley	247,789	68,831	9 4	10,965	79,452	—	—
Hornsey	677,200	95,628	7 5	—	100,000 (about)	—	—
Huddersfield	508,139	94,739	8 5	49,149	169,076	2,061	Nil.
Hull	1,161,678	275,552	8 0½	33,930	317,071	27,121	83
Ipswich	339,213	74,889	8 4	5,812	295,978	Nil.	Com'y

a—Excluding Poor Rate.

b—After deducting Sinking Fund.

c—Including £5,900,000 for Dock undertaking.

CORPORATIONS.

Figures for 1908-09.

SERVICES.—NET PROFITS.			Relief to Rates from Reproductive Services.	Rate for 1910.	Local Indebtedness.	Mayor.
Electricity.	Water.	Markets &c.				
£	£	£		s. d.	£	
Surplus forwa	rd.	4,577	Nil.	5 11½	1,912,922	Coun. Alex. Wilson (Lord Provost)
—	—	—	—	—	407,813	Ald. A. Taylor
384 loss	3,097 ls.	185 ls.	1. 18d. in £	5 9	1,117,563	Coun. T. F. Butler
—	7,882	9,342	9d. in £	6 9	480,556	Major C. H. Simpson
1,000	3,018	384	4d. in £	6 8	2,081,070	Mr. A. H. Arkle
Nil.	65,000	3,933	4½d. in £	8 0	16,539,967	Coun. W. H. Bowater (Lord Mayor)
	(loss)			(about)		
976	1,654	5,372	2½d. in £	7 10	2,899,989	Ald. F. T. Thomas
7,255	—	789	5½d. in £	3 4	2,042,068	Coun. T. Fielding
6,500	Nil.	2,704	1s. 0½d. in £	6 7	3,667,076	Coun. J. T. Cooper
887	—	—	½d. in £	7 7	6449,738	Coun. H. Carruthers
Com'y.	Com'y.	Nil.	Nil.	5 0	1874,355	Coun. G. E. Bridge
2,147	8,576	1,356	•767d. in £	a7 6½	8,258,844	Ald. W. Land (Lord Mayor)
-3,658	+2,234	-6949	—	—	*3,405,032	Coun. E. Geere.
Nil.	—	1,832	—	9 2	†2,599,891	Mr. C. A. Hayes (Lord Mayor)
3,000	2,370	1,375	1s. 3d. in £	6 4	c8,754,015	Mr. A. C. Hayes (Lord Mayor)
805	Com-	1,477	£6,500	7 2	1,156,287	Ald. M. Grey
1,000	pany	(loss)	8½d. in £	7 6	674,397	Coun. T. Jenkins
	—	4,493			800,264	Coun. S. Kay
310	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	7 4	3,922,254	Coun. J. Chappell (Lord Mayor)
+640	+701	-1225	—	—	*987,523	Coun. C. H. Margrett.
Com-	9d. rate	1,354	2d. in £	11 9	†742,126	Coun. T. Donovan (Lord Mayor)
pany	made to				290,538	
	cover					
	deficit					
3,765	2,134	936	6½d. in £	7 6	1,221,837	Ald. W. Lee
6,953	3,187	Nil.	Nil.	7 0	2,184,744	Major J. E. Fox
—	5,500	1,908	1s. 0. 2d. in £	5 2	472,483	Mr. P. Prior
365	10,611	3,477	1½d. in £	7 6	1,627,198	Mr. H. A. Bemrose
790	2,282	—	Nil.	6 5	1,166,057	Mr. W. Littleton
124	Com-	1,843	2d. in £	7 11	218,584	Coun. J. A. Hillman
Nil	pny					
o rates	to rates	3,605	1d. in £	3 10½	2,575,294	Mr. James Urquhart (Ld. Provost)
1,520	—	—	Nil.	6 11	461,435	Coun. E. C. Sayers
1,938	—	—	—	—	454,778	Duke of Devonshire
2,177	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	9 11	938,281	Coun. G. Pratt
e2,070	e1,987	3,000	4½d. in £	6 9	688,000	Mr. H. H. Wippell
Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	7 1	406,261	Ald. A. Gillies
7,511	159,380	20,671	Nil.	3 9	14,670,686	Coun. G. C. Swain
gross	gross	gross				Mr. A. McL. Shaw (Lord Provost)
3,184	Nil.	250	½d. in £	8 8	209,569	Coun. B. W. Roberts
767	17,091	838	6½d. in £	9 0	3,191,916	Ald. F. W. Thompson
144	(loss)	—	1d. in £	9 6	373,445	George Frederick Adcock.
—	—	860	—	—	724,763	Mr. W. Gaskell
550	Nil.	15	1s. 0. ½d. in £	8 6	3,520,771	Ald. J. Halroyd
921	19,160	3,872	6d. in £	8 4	3,333,988	Ald. H. Feldman
Nil.	810	1,096	About 1d. in £	8 4	804,109	Mr. A. Gibb

Excluding Educational Grant, e—After payment of Loan charges, l—Less Sinking Fund. *Gross Debt. †Net Debt.

Figures for 1908-09.

Borough.	Rateable Value.	Est. Pop. in 1909.	Rate in the £. 1909.	INCOME.		REPRODUCTIVE	
				Grant from Imp. Taxes	Rates.	Tramways.	Gas.
	£		s. d.	£	£	£	£
Leeds.....	2,143,464	484,012	6 6½	242,414	660,790	47,557	2,068
Leicester	1,102,560	244,255	4 0½	7,232	194,080	11,351	34,035
Leith	565,708	76,668 (Census 1901)	2 10 Not incl. Poor and School Rates	4,739	67,492	Nil.	—
Lincoln	235,859	55,296	7 4	7,310	78,406	98 (loss)	5,169
Liverpool (1907-8)	4,679,520	760,357	6 4	165,967	1,211,675	24,858	—
Manchester	4,497,211	655,435	8 1	380,909	1,262,221	74,086	26,107
Middlesbrough	413,251	105,255	8 8	48,310	119,572	Nil.	703
Newcastle	1,717,526	281,584	5 11	—	—	Company	Com'y.
Newport (Mon.)	421,000	78,336	7 8	15,604	119,426	1,662	Com'y.
Northampton	370,941	97,752	8 2½	16,239	43,830	2,795	—
					(Borough)		
					52,780		
					(District)		
Norwich	462,863	124,136	9 10	60,127	158,597	—	—
Nottingham	1,224,099	263,443	6 0	36,826	322,551	17,000	22,543
Oldham	530,625	143,301	7 6	18,188	150,356	1,192 loss	5,021
Oxford	409,062	52,774	4 5	29,689	70,227	—	—
Pai-ley	424,900	79,363 (Census 1901)	7 0	3,718	102,580	Company	1,096
Partick	363,000	54,298 (Census 1901)	Owner 8½d., Occupier, 1 9½	3,103	44,412	Under Glasgow	Under Glasgow
Plymouth	567,698	124,180	7 10½	17,094	148,985	109	—
Portsmouth	1,035,990	214,726	6 4	31,127	234,629	13,615	—
Preston	445,239	118,519	8 10	53,875	153,768	4,439	Com'y
Reading	437,050	82,995	7 9	13,173	149,429	3,390	Com'y
Rochdale	415,238	89,653	6 3	42,216	112,362	—	11,676
Rotherham	216,159	65,070	9 0	32,595	72,232	5,047	5,395
St. Helens	400,210	95,161	6 5	8,627	89,980	Leased	9,113
Salford	1,031,541	241,950	6 6	123,085	296,009	17,000	20,048
Sheffield	1,818,398	470,958	8 11½	226,306	751,949	12,664	Company
Smethwick	274,870	70,377	7 8	6,751	72,897	1,500	4,934
Southampton	567,131	124,667	8 3½	19,501	116,537	m	Coy.
Southend	368,907	42,117	6 8	11,462	76,052	1,869	—
Southport	392,811	54,069	4 7	8,478	83,610	464	11,726
South Shields	445,032	117,627	7 10	52,904	112,356	—	Coy.
Stockport	453,876	103,706	7 6	47,532	109,775	5,000	15,000
Stockton-on-Tees	227,928	53,417	7 4	127	55,350	—	2,655
Sunderland	710,828	159,378	5 7	82,851	108,956	3,348	—
Swansea	487,247	98,308	9 0	19,118	152,549	Company	Com'y
Swindon	240,058	55,407	7 9	q	85,461	Nil.	Com'y
Tynemouth	250,023	55,808	7 10	10,072	71,943	Company	Com'y
Walsall	244,929	99,399	7 6	9,872	63,073	4,195	7,471
Warrington	260,103	72,276	7 8	36,313	170,925	2,370	13,387
West Bromwich (1907-8)	228,413	70,457	4 11	—	56,267	+310	+1,391
West Ham	1,300,085	321,767	9 2	179,571	527,293	5,330	—
West Hartlepool	263,022	79,686	7 5	35,957	63,940	—	—
Wigan	345,357	90,678	8 8	41,799	111,565	3,942 loss	10,158
Wimbleton	462,531	55,244	7 0	£1 14 2	137,966	—	—
Wolverhampton	104,422	104,633	9 2	55,853	123,917	5,825	Com'y.
Worcester	229,904	50,139	6 10	10,994	49,703	—	—
Yarmouth	253,660	53,430	7 6	10,814	59,422	148	Com'y.
York	407,272	87,004	7 5	34,434	120,190	—	—

f—Not Co. as was charged to Rates.

g—Excluding Poor and Educational Charges.

h—Profit carried to Reserve

i—Not allowed to make profit.

m—Carried to Depreciation and Renewal Fund.

n—Pier and Foreshore.

Figures for 1908-09.

SERVICES.—NET PROFITS.			Relief to Rates from Reproductive Services.	Rate for 1910.	Local Indebtedness.	Mayor.
Elec- tricity.	Water.	Markets &c.				
£	£	£		s. d.	£	
5,240	9,021	15,395	5½d. in £	8 10	12,264,120	Mr. W. Penrose-Green (Lord Mayor)
13,298	124,726	7,866	10½d. in £	4 2½	4,637,916	Coun. G. Chitham
1,217	—	Nil.	£500	2s. 11d.	447,191	Mr. Malcolm Smith (Provost)
2,522	767	5,795	£8,795	6 10	582,683	Mr. C. T. Parker
20,000	—	18,465	£63,323	—	15,180,310	Ald. W. H. Williams (Lord Mayor)
12,000	23,982	8,272	£143,400	8 6½	22,444,635	Mr. C. Behrens (Lord Mayor)
1,277	4,347	716	Nil.	9 4	2,150,055	Lt.-Col. T. G. Poole
(loss)	(loss)	(loss)				
Com'y.	Com'y.	—	—	—	—	Sir W. H. Stephenson (L. Mayor)
Nil.	Nil.	1,095	3s. 4d. in £	—	1,793,773	Coun. W. M. Blackburn
—	672	3,157	3d. in £	8 0	698,077	Mr. H. Butterfield
3,676	—	3,829	£3,075	9 11	803,426	Mr. E. E. Blyth
11,500	—	21,500	1s. 4d. in £	6 2	5,480,240	Coun. A. Ball
3,451	1,122	3,514	6d. in £	7 8	2,908,661	Ald. W. Schofield
—	6,558	592	18d. in £	13 9	434,784	Mr. W. M. Mackean (Provost)
690	Nil.	159	—	7 0	1,453,562	Mr. J. E. Salter
(loss)	(loss)	(loss)				Coun. T. Logan (Provost)
1,039	Under Glas- gow	—	Nil.	Owner 8½d., Occupier 1s. 11½d.	251,906	
2,233	5,467	5,553	£13,121	7 10½	1,973,521	Ald. J. Leo
3,930	—	687	£4,000	6 4	1,980,367	Col. Sir W. Dupree
Com'y	Nil.	11,842	7d. in £	9 2	2,233,592	Ald. Margerison
Com'y	1,638	143	8d. in £	7 10	1,175,594	Mr. W. Frame
4,830	—	—	9d. in £	6 3	2,440,212	Coun. W. Dunning
3,098	351	loss 16	5½d. in £	9 0	809,976	Coun. D. Mullins
276	1	791	4.59d. in £	6 6	846,958	Ald. A. J. Foote
6,500	247	Nil.	11.54d. in £	7 0	3,502,112	Ald. J. Snape
2,423	4,466	236	3.84d. in £	9 4½	9,412,416	Lord Fitzwilliam (Lord Mayor)
—	—	—	7.76d. in £	7 8	276,963	Ald. W. H. Goodyear
m	1	7,324	3½d. in £	4 0	998,196	Ald. C. J. Sharp
1,210	—	13,295	£1,252	6 6	725,604	Coun. W. C. King
3,189	—	1,124	10½d. in £	5 3	853,500	Coun. T. H. Gregson
—	Coy.	Nil.	Nil.	8 0	9760,549	Coun. G. T. Grey
2,000	p5,768	Nil.	1s. 1½d. in £	7 6	2,356,800	Ald. A. Briggs
626	Nil.	1,279	£3,934	9 0	1,535,595	Ald. T. B. Watson
1,748	Nil.	2,537	1½d. in £	5 11	1,404,192	Coun. A. F. Young
Nil.	Nil.	—	1½d. in £	9 4	2,206,749	Ald. David Matthews
—	—	—	Nil.	7 9	437,409	Mr. W. H. Lawson
—	—	—	Nil.	8 1	743,460	Ald. T. Coulson
Loss	—	500	6½d. in £	7 6	883,781	Coun. John Williams
943	1,095	3,156	1s. 7d. in £	7 4	1,164,071	Ald. W. J. Forshaw
+801	—	-912	—	—	*841,991	John Brockhouse
3,854	—	—	h	9 2	†565,538	Ald. G. J. Hosking
1,819	3,452	1,154	Nil.	8 0	3,016,624	Coun. T. J. Johnson
(loss)	(loss)	(loss)		8 0	1,513,370	Mr. S. Wood
12,509	—	—	Nil.	6 10	478,192	Mr. J. M. Bathgate
2,401	5,109	3,850	5½d. in £	—	1,302,545	Dr. J. Groul
160	2,105	124	2½d. in £	7 1	273,396	Hon. Percy Allsopp
207	Com'y.	1,982	Nil.	7 8	472,208	Coun. T. W. Swindell
—	—	4,258	2½d. in £	7 8	706,206	Ald. James Birch (Lord Mayor)

Fund. k—Including Relief from Estate.

o—Less Sinking Fund.

p—Carried forward.

q—Grants received through C.C.

West Brom.—Exclusive of £3,362 advanced to other Public Bodies, of which amount £721 was outstanding 31/3/08.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

Recent Psychical Research has been chiefly concerned with the subject of automatic writing, where a pencil or planchette, held by one or more persons, produces intelligible sentences not consciously framed by the mind of the automatist, nor, as a rule, comprehended by him at the time of production. This phenomenon, which is by no means uncommon, is sometimes attributed to the action of "spirits," but the early work of the society, and especially Mr. Myers's studies of the subconscious (or, as he called it, the subliminal) self, showed that a great deal of intelligent action may go on in the mind without the intervention of the ordinary consciousness, and that therefore no case of automatic writing can be regarded as evidence of any influence outside the mind of the automatist unless some definite knowledge is shown which is probably not possessed by him. In the great majority of cases no such knowledge is shown and consequently the writing possesses, as a rule, no more significance than ordinary dreams, to which, indeed, it is psychologically very similar. But sometimes, among much that is merely trivial, traces of faculty apparently transcending that of the automatist's waking self, or knowledge which is apparently beyond the scope of his consciousness, is shown, and during the last few years much valuable material throwing fresh light on this subject has accumulated. A comparison of the scripts of several automatists, all written independently of one another, revealed traces of a common influence; one automatist, for instance, would describe correctly the surroundings and occupation of another, with whom he had not even a personal acquaintance; or closely similar phrases were found to occur in the scripts of two or more writers at the same time. Coincidences

of this kind were too numerous to be ascribed to chance, and therefore seemed to afford good evidence of telepathy between the writers. But among these simple coincidences of mere phrase and thought there were occasional cases of a more complex kind, in which fragmentary and enigmatic phrases written by one automatist found their complete solution in a complementary phrase produced by the script of another automatist, and, often in immediate connection, occurred phrases indicating that these "cross-correspondences" were the result of design, and possibly due to the influence of an intelligence other than the minds of the automatists.

In order to experiment further in the phenomenon of "cross-correspondences" a series of sittings were held with Mrs. Piper (a well-known medium who writes automatically in a state of trance), with the result that the scripts of the various automatists concerned again revealed coincidences of thought and expression too numerous and too detailed to be accounted for by chance, while the experiments, through the comprehension shown in the different scripts of the apparent aims and of the successive stages of development of the ideas that emerged, strongly suggested some sort of direction by an external intelligence. But much further material and investigation are necessary before any satisfactory theory of the phenomena can be arrived at.

Reports on the subject are published in Parts LIII., LV., LVII., and LVIII. of the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, 20, Hanover Square. The work done in England on the subject up to 1901 is to be found in F. W. H. Myers's *Human Personality and Its Survival after Bodily Death*, Longmans, Green, & Co., 1907. 11s. 6d. net.

THE FIGHT AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS.

In January, 1909, the Local Government Board issued an order making notification of consumptive patients obligatory on district medical officers and the medical officers of Poor Law institutions, the order to take effect from January 1st, 1910. The area covered by this compulsory notification, though small, is an especially dangerous one.

The Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, which issued its first interim report in 1904, and its third in 1909, finally controverted Dr. Koch's theory that bovine tuberculosis was not conveyed to human beings, and laid much stress on the dangers arising from tuberculous milk.

At the International Congress on Tuberculosis a Danish doctor, Dr. Bang, reported on a method of stamping out tuberculous disease among cattle, which has apparently proved successful in Denmark. In June, 1909, the Health

Committee of the Birmingham City Council sent a small deputation to Denmark to report on the working of the system, with most favourable results.

The old belief that a particular climate was essential to the cure of consumption has been gradually giving way in favour of sanatoria where the patient is under climatic conditions approximating to his ordinary conditions of life. In the sanatoria erected by the German insurance companies 80 per cent. of the patients are cured so far as to be able to return to work, if only to light work, and a large proportion were found after several years to be in full work.

The results of a year's work at the King Edward VII. Sanatorium for Consumptives at Midhurst showed that excellent results could be obtained without a sea voyage to a southern climate.

SECTION VII.—LIFE AND LABOUR.

VITAL STATISTICS.

The population of the United Kingdom in the middle of 1909 was estimated at 45,004,384. At the census of 1901 it was 41,458,721, and in 1851 it stood at only 27,368,736. In the latter half of

the nineteenth century, then, the population increased by 51·5 per cent., but this increase was by no means evenly distributed over the three kingdoms, as the following table will show:—

	1851.	1901.	1909 (estimated figures).
England and Wales	17,927,609	32,527,848	35,765,615
Scotland	2,388,742	4,472,103	4,877,648
Ireland	6,552,385	4,458,775	4,370,121

Thus, while for every 100 people living in England in 1851, there were 199 persons living in 1909, and in Scotland 163 persons against 100 in 1851, Ireland, on the other hand, showed a decrease amounting to about one-third of the total population—that is for every 100 persons living in Ireland in 1851 there were only 67 in 1909. In Ireland the

emigration factor has affected what is known as the natural increase of population—that is, the excess of births over deaths; but the root cause of emigration and a declining birth-rate has been in this case the same—poverty.

The details of the population for the three kingdoms in 1908 are subjoined:—

	Estimated Population.	Mar- riages.	Births.	Deaths.	Births.		Deaths.	
					Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
England & Wales	35,348,780	264,647	942,611	521,644	479,614	462,997	269,356	252,288
Scotland	4,826,587	81,583	131,337	77,839	66,856	64,481	38,890	38,949
Ireland	4,364,226	22,734	102,039	76,891	52,396	49,643	38,219	38,672
	44,539,593	318,964	1,175,987	676,374	598,866	577,121	346,465	329,909

The general increase of the population of the United Kingdom has been made in spite of a rapidly declining birth-rate, which has thus far been counter-balanced by the decline in infant mortality and by the general prolongation of life, due, in a large measure, to improved conditions of labour under successive Factory Acts, and of the general conditions of life under the Public Health Acts, with the consequent great decrease in infectious disease.

INCREASE OF POPULATION.

The following figures illustrate the natural increase of population in the past fifty years in England and Wales:—

Period.	Per 1,000 of Population.		
	Average Annual Birth Rates.	Average Annual Death Rates.	Average Annual Natural Increase.
1861-1865	35·1	22·6	12·5
1866-1870	35·3	22·4	12·9
1871-1875	35·5	22·0	13·5
1876-1880	35·3	20·8	14·5
1881-1885	33·5	19·4	14·1
1886-1890	31·4	18·9	12·5
1891-1895	30·5	18·7	11·8
1896-1900	29·3	17·7	11·6
1901-1905	28·1	16·0	12·1
1906	27·1	15·4	11·7
1907	26·3	15·0	11·3
1908	26·5	14·7	11·8

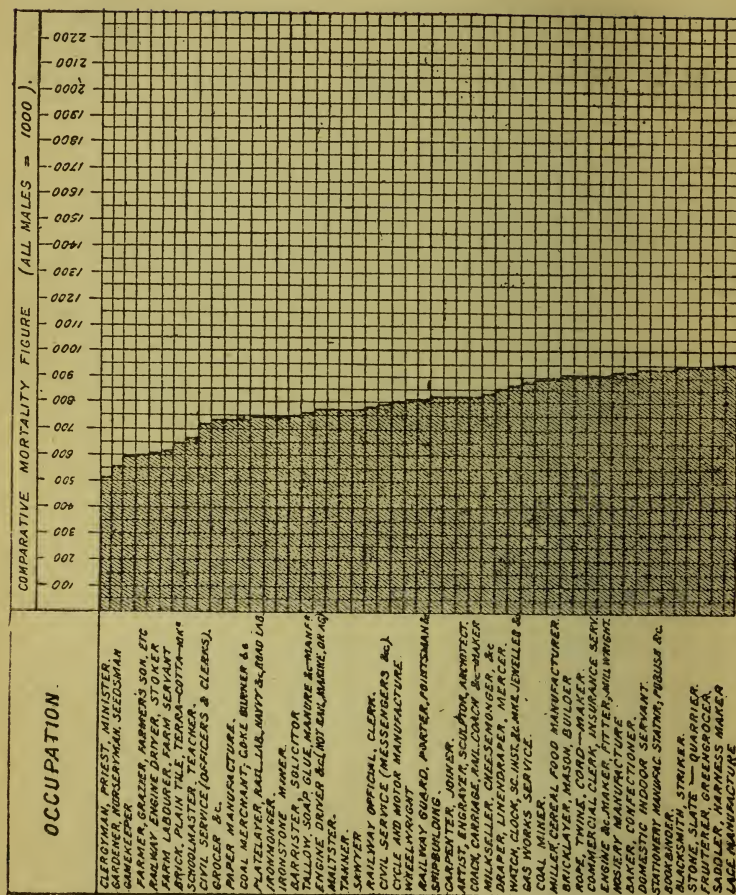
It will be noticed that in 1908 for the first time since 1875 the birth-rate shows a slight increase on the preceding year.

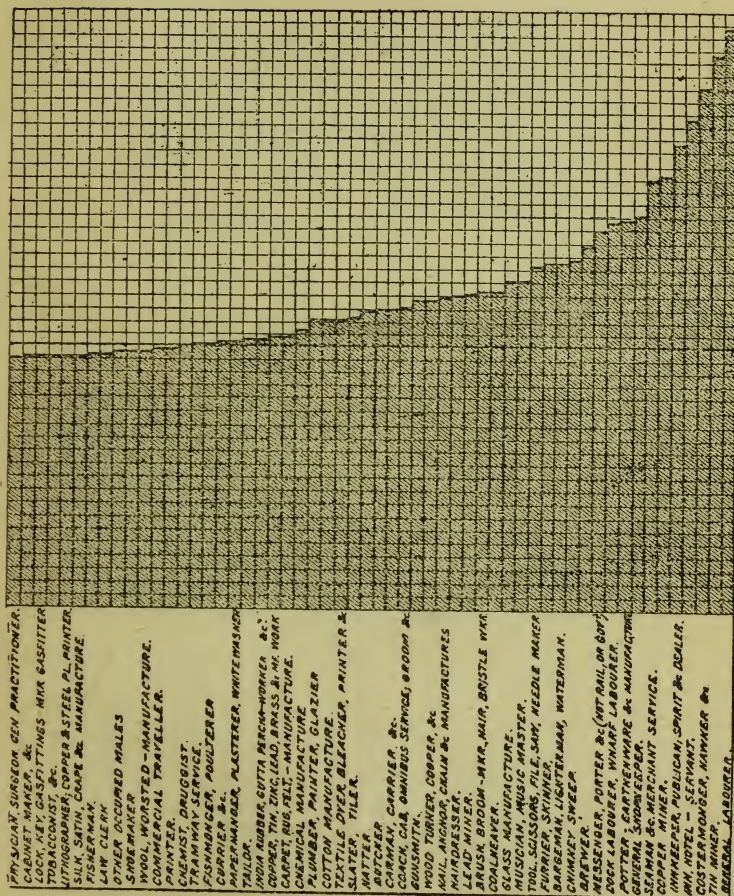
The Scottish birth-rate stands at 27·2 per thousand, and the death-rate at 16·1.

In Ireland, in 1908, the birth-rate was 23·3 and the death-rate 17·6, and the emigrant rate 5·3 per 1,000 persons, showing a net increase of 4 per thousand of the population. Though this compares very badly with English and Scottish figures, it is an advance on previous years, which have shown a constant net decrease. The difference is in the emigration figures, which have never before fallen below 7 per thousand in the past eleven years.

THE PROLONGATION OF LIFE.

Some very curious results emerge from the consideration of the age constitution of the population in 1851 and 1901. First of all, the proportion of children under fifteen to the whole population rapidly decreased in the second half of the last century. There are fewer children and more middle-aged people, so that the world has, in a special sense, grown older. In 1851, 247·7 per thousand of the population were children under ten; in 1901, children under ten only numbered 221·5 per thousand persons living. On the other hand, there were 332·7 per thousand men and women between the ages of 25 and 50 in 1901, as against 312·5 in





1851. Once the patriarchal age of three-score-and-ten is passed, however, modern conditions apparently exercise no considerable influence on health, for the proportion of old men and women to the total population remained fairly constant, 14·1 per thousand over 75 years of age in 1851, against 13·6 in 1901. More people died in early youth, and more people lived to a great age under mid-nineteenth century conditions, but for the great bulk of mankind the chances of life and health are much greater in the twentieth century.

The death-rate has been steadily decreasing under an ever-increasing stringency in the public health regulations. The death-rate in the United Kingdom, which in the seventies stood at an average of 22·1 per thousand, has declined in the present century to an average for seven years of 17·1. In the last thirty years the death-rate from smallpox has come down from 411 per million people living to 25; scarlet fever, from 759 to 126; enteric fever, from 374 to 113; and phthisis, from 2,218 to 1,215; while typhus has practically disappeared. Of non-infectious diseases bronchitis shows a decreased mortality of from 2,221 to 1,237 per million, but cancer, which only stood at 446 in the five years 1871-75, had risen to 864 in 1901-5.

The accompanying table illustrates the chances of life in various occupations. The clergyman comes an easy first with a mortality only 50 per cent. of that of ordinary mortals. Then comes agricultural labour, with a curious inset of the engine driver and stoker, whose occupation is not generally considered to be conducive to long life. At the bottom of the ladder come the retailer of beer and spirits, with his servants, then the coster and hawker, exposed to the weather at all times of day and night, the tin miner, whose day's work has its special dangers, and last of all, the general labourer from whose ranks unemployment is recruited.

In the third quarter of 1909 the births registered were 228,619, that is, in the proportion of 25·4 annually per thousand of the population. This was 2·5 below the mean birth-rate in the 10 preceding third quarters, and is the lowest birth-rate recorded in any third quarter since the beginning of civil registration. The death-rate showed equally remarkable figures, being at the rate of 11·6 annually per thousand, which also creates a record. Infant mortality was also very low, being only 102 per thousand.

THE BIRTH RATE.

The declining birth-rate is attributable to a variety of causes. The number of illegitimate births has steadily declined; the proportion of married women of child-bearing age to the total population decreases with the tendency to late marriage; and to these natural causes must be added a deliberate re-

striction of child-bearing. The importance of the statistics relating to births can hardly be over-estimated, but it will be seen that the figures relating to other European countries show an equally serious state of affairs. The French birth-rate, which stood at 25·9 in 1875, has declined to 19·7; in Belgium, it has fallen from 32·5 to 25·7 in the same period; and even Prussia, which stands higher in these matters than England and Wales, has fallen from an average of 38* to 33.

The decline of the birth-rate, striking as it is in the crude figures, is even more striking when it is reckoned per thousand women of child-bearing age. For every 1,000 women living between the ages of 15 and 45 in 1876-80, there were 153 births; in 1907, the figure stood at 195; that is, it had declined by one-third.

This decrease is due to various causes, but first of all to the decline in the marriage rate, and to the increasing tendency to late marriages. The annual number of marriages in 1876-80 was 52 per 1,000 persons of marriageable age; in 1901-5 it had fallen to 48. Further, in 1871, 15·2 per cent. of married women were under 25 years of age, while at the last census the percentage had fallen to 12·5.

TOWN AND COUNTRY.

Another serious feature of our social conditions periodically investigated by the Registrar-General is the decline of the rural population and the continually increasing numbers of people crowded together in the big towns.

The population of London has more than doubled in the last sixty years; the population of 84 large town areas has nearly trebled, while the purely rural districts show a decline of nearly 5 per cent. This decline in the number of country-bred men and women exists in spite of the fact that the birth-rate corrected to women between the ages of 15 and 45 is very much higher in the country than in the towns. In 21 large towns with a total population at the last census of 9½ million, the corrected birth-rate was 229 per thousand married women; in 112 rural districts with a total population of over 14 million the figure stood at 244. Moreover, there is a better chance of life in country districts. The corrected death-rate, which stood at 17·21 per thousand in London and certain town areas in 1902-06, was only 13·26 in sixteen country districts.

Therefore, other things being equal, the growth of country populations should be more rapid than that in town areas. That the case is quite contrary is due to the constant migration of the country men and women to the towns, and everyone knows how rare it is to meet a Londoner of the third generation. Special instances of

* The actual Prussian birth-rate in 1875 was 40·7, but the circumstances were exceptional.

the recruiting of the London population from the rural districts readily occur to the mind. The London building trade, for instance, is recruited in great measure from the country, and it is matter of common knowledge that the London policeman almost always hails from the country. Since the life of all great towns tends to the limitation of the family, the checking of this migration is obviously a matter of the first importance to the national existence. The efforts now being made in this direction are dealt with in the section on Land Reform. Meanwhile, a table illustrating the aggregation of urban population in England and Wales is appended. The figures of the census of 1851 being taken at 100, the figures for subsequent years indicate the growth or decrease of population.

	London.	84 Great Towns.	14 Typical Rural Counties.
1851	100	100	100
1861	110	122	99.6
1871	133	148	99.7
1881	162	183	97.4
1891	179	217	95.7
1901	192	254	95.5
1903	203	282	95.3

THE WASTAGE OF CHILD LIFE.

One of the results of the decline of the birth-rate has been to draw public attention to the wastage among children that are born. It is idle to advocate the gospel of larger families without consideration of the fact that the death-rate among children under one year of age was 147 per thousand in England and Wales for an average of ten years (1896-1905). The figures for other European countries show an even more serious state of affairs. In Russia, the ten years' average gave an infant death-rate of 268 per 1,000. The most creditable—or least discreditable—figures were furnished by France with 149, England and Wales 147, and Holland 144. The figures in the United Kingdom for 1908 were 121 per thousand for England and Wales, 110 for Scotland, and 97 for Ireland.

The Notification of Births Act, 1907, which obtains in London and 119 urban districts, enables official and voluntary health visitors to fight the chief enemies of healthy babyhood—ignorance and dirt. It is to be hoped that in time the efforts of the health visitors of the Local Authorities will eliminate the parent who gives baby a "bit of what we has ourselves." Some municipalities provide milk depôts for the provision of sterilized milk for infants which cannot be naturally fed. The awakening of responsibility in the matter of infant mortality is already bearing fruit, for in the last three years the figures have been brought down from 146 to 117 per thousand in London, and the Children Act should materially reduce that figure.

It is worth while to consider the birth-rate in immediate connection with infant mortality. Both are affected by the extent of women's employment in factories, by the difference in the conditions of urban and town life, and infant mortality is also affected by the percentage of illegitimate births. In Dundee, where 8 illegitimate children are born for every 92 born in wedlock, and where the mothers are largely employed in factories, infantile mortality is 150 per thousand births. Throughout England and Wales the death-rate per 1,000 of illegitimate children was 220, against 118 (an exceptionally low figure) for the same year for all children. Practically, then, a child born out of wedlock has but half the chance of the child born under ordinary conditions. Twenty-five years ago the illegitimate births numbered 47 per thousand; for the year 1908 the figures stood at 39.9.

LONDON CHILDREN.

The birth-rate in London in 1907 was 25.6 per thousand, that is slightly below the general birth-rate for England and Wales. Shoreditch and Stepney headed the list with a birth-rate of 33 and 33.6 per thousand, and in both these boroughs the infantile mortality was heavy, being 160 in Shoreditch, the highest rate in London. Stepney, in spite of its high birth-rate, compared favourably with the neighbouring boroughs in the care of infant life, counting 131 deaths per thousand, against figures ranging from 141 to 148 in Bermondsey, Poplar, Southwark, and Bethnal Green.

TOWN AND COUNTRY CHILDREN.

Children brought up in the country stand a far greater chance of living to manhood and womanhood than town-bred babies. In Nottingham, where the evils of town life are aggravated by the extensive employment of women, 165 out of every 1,000 children born in 1907 died in the first year of life. In Bilston, Longton, Tunstall, Stalybridge, Burnley, Farnworth, Ince-in-Makerfield, and Aberdare practically one in every five children born died within twelve months of birth. Hornsey, on the other hand, had a light rate of 76 per 1,000, and the general rural rate in England and Wales was 98.58, in Ireland 92, and in Huntingdonshire, which presents the most satisfactory figure, it is 72, and in Wiltshire and Dorset it is 77.

In the first quarter of 1909 the figures were even worse than these in some manufacturing centres. The death-rate among children under one year was 213 in Stockport, 214 in Burnley, 219 in Blackburn, 223 in Rotherham, and 236 in Preston. But these figures, which refer to three winter months, cannot, of course, be regarded as typical.

OVERCROWDING, WOMEN OCCUPIED, AND INFANT LIFE IN 12 LARGE TOWNS WITH HEAVY INFANT MORTALITY.

Town.	Census, 1901.			Average Rate, 1903-7 (in some cases 1904-7).	
	Popu- lation.	Per cent. of Overcrowd- ing.*	Per cent. of Married Women and Widows engaged in Industrial Occupations.	Births per 1,000 persons living.	Infant Mortality per 1,000 births.
Burnley	97,043	7.1	33.8	27.3	193
Stockport	92,832	5.0	23.7	27.4	180
Rhondda	113,735	5.0	4.0	38.6	177
Grimsby	63,138	1.9	8.9	29.4	173
Preston	112,989	2.6	30.5	28.5	171
Middlesbrough ..	91,302	10.9	6.1	35.5	171
Nottingham	239,743	3.7	24.1	27.2	166
Birmingham	522,204	10.3	19.0	30.1	165
Manchester	606,824	6.3	19.3	30.2	165
Liverpool	704,134	7.9	14.5	33.0	163
Sheffield	409,070	9.5	11.0	31.2	162
Salford	220,957	7.5	16.6	30.8	161

* Overcrowding is taken to mean more than two persons for each room.

BIRTH RATE, AND INFANT AND GENERAL MORTALITY IN CERTAIN ENGLISH COUNTIES AND ALSO IN SOME CITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND ABROAD IN 1907.

	Population, 1907.	Birth Rate.	Infant Mortality per 1,000 births.	General Mortality per 1,000 living.
County of London	4,758,217	25.6	116	14.6
Glasgow	847,584	28.3	130	18.5
Manchester	613,148	28.7	146	18.1
Hertfordshire	256,067	23.4	80	13.6
Wiltshire	271,748	24.9	77	13.9
Shropshire	262,603	23.8	87	15.0
Berlin	2,096,318	24.3	163	15.4
St. Petersburg	1,505,200	30.4	130	18.2
New York	4,285,435	28.2	154*	18.5
Paris	2,735,165	18.6	105	18.5
Vienna	1,979,003	24.8	170	17.3

* Five years' average.

It will be seen that London is one of the healthiest of the great cities, and that London infants have a better chance of life than children of most other capitals. Paris has a better record of child life, with a mortality of only 105 per thousand, but the Parisian custom of putting children to nurse in the provinces impairs the value of these statistics. Paris is an exception to the rule that a heavy percentage of illegitimate births means a great wastage of child life. Taking the year 1906, illegitimate births per thousand were 38.5 in London, 280.2 in Paris, and 302.2 in Vienna. In Vienna, where 1 in every 3 or 4 children is illegitimate, it is noteworthy that nearly 1 in 6 dies in the first year of life.

BABIES UNDER THE POOR-LAW.

With regard to infants born in the Workhouse and in Poor Law institutions the following statement made in the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission explains how desperate their case is.

"The infantile mortality in the population as a whole, exposed to all dangers of inadequate medical

attendance and nursing, lack of sufficient food, warmth, and care, and parental ignorance and neglect, is admittedly excessive. The corresponding mortality among the infants in the Poor Law institutions, where all these dangers may be supposed to be absent, is between two and three times as great. Out of every 1,000 babies born in the population at large, 25 die within a week, and 132 are dead by the end of the first year. For every 1,000 children born in the Poor Law institutions 40 to 45 die within a week, and, assuming the mortality among those who are discharged to be the same as those remaining, no fewer than 268 or 392 will be found to have died by the end of the year, the number varying according to whether we take the experience of the Poor Law institutions for legitimates or illegitimates, in the Metropolis or elsewhere."

These observations, subject to some caution on account of the limited area of the figures, as the authors of the Report are careful to explain, constitute not the least serious of the many indictments of the present Poor Law system.

HOW THE WORKING CLASSES LIVE.

UNITED KINGDOM.

Arising out of the Fiscal Controversy and in continuation of the data contained in the second Fiscal Blue Book (1904), the Board of Trade published in 1908-9 three bulky volumes under the common title of "Cost of Living of the Working Classes," embodying the results of a special enquiry instituted in October, 1905, into "working-class rents, housing, and retail prices, together with the standard rates of wages pre-

vailing in certain occupations in the principal industrial towns" of the United Kingdom, Germany, and France. This is the first attempt systematically made at arriving at a true conception of the condition of the working class in the three chief industrial countries of Europe, and though the attempt is necessarily imperfect—especially in its comparative part—its results, nevertheless, are highly instructive.

The following table summarises the main conclusions arrived at by the Board of Trade investigators, so far as rents in the United Kingdom are concerned:—

PREDOMINANT RANGE OF WEEKLY RENTS FOR TENEMENTS OF VARIOUS SIZES.

Number of rooms per tenement.	In England and Wales.		In London.		In Scotland.		In Ireland.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
One	—	—	—	—	2 0	to 2 6	1 6	to 2 6
Two	3 0	to 3 6	4 6	to 7 6	3 10	" 4 3	2 6	" 3 6
Three	3 9	" 4 6	6 0	" 9 0	5 2	" 6 5	4 0	" 5 0
Four	4 6	" 5 6	7 6	" 10 6	—	—	5 6	" 6 9
Five	5 6	" 6 6	9 0	" 13 0	—	—	—	—
Six	6 6	" 7 9	10 6	" 15 9	—	—	—	—

It will be seen that the predominant rents are on the whole considerably lower in England and Wales (excluding London) than either in Scotland or even in Ireland. On the other hand, London is by far the most expensive place so

far as rents are concerned. Taking the rents in each of the capital cities of the three parts of the United Kingdom as the basis of comparison equal to 100, we find for some of the other principal industrial centres the following index numbers:—

GREAT BRITAIN.		SCOTLAND.		IRELAND.	
London	100	Edinburgh	100	Dublin	100
Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	76	Glasgow	99	Limerick	69
Liverpool and Bootle ..	65	Dundee	92	Cork	66
Huddersfield	64	Aberdeen	84	Belfast	54
Manchester and Salford ..	62	Galashiels	69	Waterford	53
Leeds	56	—	—	—	—
Sheffield	55	—	—	—	—
Bristol	53	—	—	—	—
Birmingham	59	—	—	—	—
Hull	48	—	—	—	—

Passing now to the cost of food and fuel, ordinarily consumed in working-class families, the Board of Trade investigators give the following:—

PREDOMINANT RETAIL PRICES OF ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION IN OCTOBER, 1905.

	England & Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
Tea	per lb. 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d.	1s. 4d. to 1s. 10d.	1s. 9d. to 2s.
Sugar	" 2d.	2d.	2d.
Bacon	" 7d. to 9d.	8½d. to 10½d.	7½d. to 9½d.
Cheese	" 7d.	7d. to 8d.	7½d. to 8½d.
Butter (Danish)	" 1s. 2d.	1s. 2d. to 1s. 3d.	(Irish) 1s. 2d.
Potatoes	per 7 lbs. 2½d. to 3½d.	2d. to 3d.	2d. to 3d.
Flour	" 8d. to 10d.	10d. to 11d.	9d. to 10d.
Bread	per 4 lbs. 4½d. to 5½d.	5d. to 6d.	5d. to 6d.
Milk	per quart 3d. to 4d.	3d. to 4d.	2½d.
Coal	per cwt. 9½d. to 1s.	9½d. to 1s. 0½d.	1s.
Beef	per lb. 7½d. to 8½d.	9d. to 10d.	6½d. to 8d.
Mutton	" 7½d. to 9d.	8d. to 9½d.	7d. to 8d.
Pork	" 7½d. to 8½d.	8d. to 9d.	7d. to 8d.

It will be observed that the retail prices for articles of food and fuel are for the most part lower in England and Wales than either in Scotland or Ireland.

But in order to ascertain the actual cost of living as determined by the

expenditure on food and fuel, it is not sufficient to know the retail prices of the various commodities—it is also necessary to know the quantities of such commodities consumed in working-class households. This part of the enquiry was done in 1904 by the compilers

of the second Fiscal Blue Book, who had obtained and analysed 1,944 working-class budgets of various grades of income, from below 20s. to 40s. and upwards per week. Taking, however, only the average working-class family budget for all incomes we find that the following was

THE WEEKLY BUDGET.

	Cost.	Quantities.
	s. d.	lbs.
Bread and Flour	3 7	32.04
Meat	5 5½	6.50
Bacon	0 11½	1.38
Eggs	1 0	Twelve
Fresh Milk	1 3½	9.91 pts.
		lbs.
Cheese	0 6½	0.83
Butter	2 1½	1.96
Potatoes	0 11	16.92
Vegetables and Fruit ..	0 11	—
Currants and Raisins ..	0 2½	0.70
Rice, Tapioca, Oatmeal ..	0 6	2.95
Tea	1 1½	0.80
Coffee and Cocoa	0 3½	0.22
Sugar	0 11½	5.31
Other Items.....	1 7½	—
All articles	22 6	—

Thus, an average working-class family in urban districts, enjoying a weekly income of 36s. 10d. (the mean of 1,944 budgets investigated), spends on food and fuel an average of 22s. 6d. per week. This is the mean cost of living for an average working-class family, as determined by its expenditure on these two items.

Taking now the rents and prices in London as the base equal to 100, and distributing the rest of the towns investigated according to their geo-

graphical position, we obtain the following:—

COMPARISON OF ENGLAND AND WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND IN RESPECT OF RENTS AND PRICES. (The figures in brackets denote the number of towns in each group.)

	Rent.	Prices.	Rents and Prices combined.
England and Wales:—			
London	100	100	100
Northern Counties and Cleveland (17)	62	97	90
Yorkshire (except Cleveland) (10) ..	56	94	87
Lancashire and Cheshire (17)	54	92	84
Midlands (15)	51	93	85
Eastern Counties (7)	50	93	88
Southern Counties (10)	61	102	93
Wales and Monmouth (4).....	60	96	89
Scotland (10)	69	102	95
Ireland (6)	50	97	87

UNITED KINGDOM AS COMPARED WITH GERMANY AND FRANCE.

Bearing in mind the difficulties of international comparisons arising from the differences of tastes and habits, as well as from those inherent in the nature of the commodities produced and used in different countries, we find that on the whole the cost of living, as determined by rents and retail prices of articles of consumption, is in the United Kingdom considerably lower than in the two countries mentioned. The following table will show the advantages of the working class of the United Kingdom over those in Germany and France:—

RENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, GERMANY, AND FRANCE COMPARED.

No. of Rooms.	Predominant Range of Weekly Rents in England & Wales. Germany. France.						Ratio of Mean Predominant Rent to that in England and Wales taken as 100 in Germany. France.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		
2	3 0	to 3 6	2 8	to 3 6	2 4	to 2 10	95	79
3	3 9	„ 4 6	3 6	„ 4 9	2 11	„ 4 2	100	86
4	4 6	„ 5 6	4 3	„ 6 0	3 6	„ 4 4	102.5	78
Arithmetic Mean							101	81, or
Deducting local rates in the case of English Rents							123	98

It thus appears that while the rents in England and Wales are considerably lower than in Germany, and but slightly higher than in France, the cost of food and fuel is lower in this country than in either of the others. An English working-class family emigrating to Germany or to France, and living there in the same style as it did in its own country, will find its weekly expenditure on food and fuel increased in one case from 15s. 5d. to 18s. 2½d., and in the other from 13s. 11½d. to 16s. 6½d., equivalent in each case to an increase of 18 per cent. Combining the expenditure on food and fuel with that on rent,

we find that such a family will have its cost of living increased in the case of Germany by 19 per cent., and in that of France by 14 per cent.

It is as well to quote in this connection the results of a comparison of the weekly wages and hours of labour in the three trades—building, engineering, and printing trades—common to all the three countries, which the Board of Trade investigators have drawn up at the same time as they enquired into the rents and retail prices. Leaving actual figures aside and operating only with index numbers, we obtain the following figures:—

WEEKLY WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR IN ENGLAND AND WALES AS COMPARED WITH THOSE IN GERMANY AND FRANCE (OCTOBER, 1905). TAKING THE ENGLISH STANDARD AS 100.

Trades.	Predominant Wages in			Weekly Hours of Labour in		
	England and Wales.	Germany.	France.	England and Wales.	Germany.	France.
Building	100	77	69	100	111	120
Engineering ...	100	83	81	100	112	114
Printing	100	83	85	100	103	113
All the above trades ..	100	83	75	100	111	117

COST OF THE AVERAGE BRITISH WORKING-MAN'S BUDGET (EXCLUDING CERTAIN ARTICLES FOR WHICH COMPARATIVE PRICES CANNOT BE CITED) AT THE PREDOMINANT PRICES PAID BY THE WORKING CLASSES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, GERMANY, AND FRANCE, AT OCTOBER, 1905.

Commodity..	Quantity in average British Budget.	Cost in England and Wales.	Cost in Germany.	Cost in France.
Sugar.....	5½ lb.	10½d.	12½d.	15½d.
Bacon	1½ lb.	12d.	14½d.	—
Cheese	¾ lb.	5½d.	4½d.	—
Butter	2 lb.	26½d.	27½d.	25d.
Potatoes	17 lb.	7½d.	6½d.	7½d.
Flour	10 lb.	12½d.	18d.	19½d.
Bread	22 lb.	27½d.	39½d.	31½d.
Milk	5 qrts.	17½d.	13½d.	12½d.
Beef	4½ lb.	30½d.	37d.	33½d.
Pork	½ lb.	4d.	5d.	4½d.
Mutton.....	1½ lb.	9½d.	13½d.	12½d.
Coal	2 cwt.	21½d.	26½d.	36½d.
Total cost of the above		15s. 5d.	18s. 2½d.	—
" " Bacon and " Cheese) (exclusive of		13s. 11½d.	—	16s. 6½d.

In comparison with this country the wages in Germany are by 17 per cent. and in France by 25 per cent. lower, while the hours of labour are in Germany by 11 per cent. and in France by

17 per cent. longer. It is thus clear that the British workman earns more, works less hours, and lives cheaper than his comrade either in Germany or in France.

THE TRADE UNION GROUP AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

The Liberal-Labour or Trade Union group of Members of Parliament made a working agreement with the Labour Party during 1903, the terms of which are as follows:—

- (1) That monthly meetings of the Labour Party and the Trade Union group be held during each Parliamentary session, and that special meetings be called as agreed upon by the officials of the respective groups.
- (2) That the Labour Party and the Trade Union group agree that their members shall in no way oppose either members of the Labour Party or of the Trade Union group, or candidates endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and by the Executive of the Labour Party.

Two members of the Trade Union group, Messrs. H. Vivian and F. Maddison, declined to be bound by this agreement, and may be regarded as having severed themselves from the group and joined the Liberal Party. The group now contains 21 members, of whom 16 are miners' representatives.

The Miners' Federation decided in June, 1903, by a majority on the ballot

of 44,843 votes, definitely to join the Labour Party. The result of this is that at the next General Election the 16 miners' representatives—who have been reinforced during the year 1909 by the election of Mr. J. G. Hancock for Mid-Derbyshire—will be obliged to sign the constitution of the Labour Party, or to resign their candidature. Two of them, however, the Right Hon. T. Burt and Mr. O. Fenwick, have refused to accept either alternative, and thus to sever a long connection with the Liberal Party. They have declared their intention of contesting their seats at the next election against all comers, and it is probable that the miners will run candidates against them. Another member of the group, Mr. Richard Bell, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, is in a similar position and has taken up a similar attitude, but Mr. W. O. Steadman, the representative of Central Finsbury, has declared his readiness to join the Labour Party. It is believed that the remaining members of the group will decline to leave the Liberal Party, but at all events the followers of Mr. Arthur Henderson will receive some notable additions to their strength after the next General Election.

TRADE UNIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

At the end of 1907 there were in the United Kingdom 1,173 separate Trade Unions with an aggregate membership of 2,406,746. They were distributed among the various trades as follows:—

Trades.	No. of Unions.	No. of Members.
Building	77	193,190
Mining and Quarrying:—		
Coal Mining	64	683,022
Other Mining and Quarrying	11	20,322
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding	222	376,805
Textile	263	354,427
Clothing	40	68,810
Transport:—		
Railway Servants	7	138,887
Other	55	99,926
Printing, Paper, and Allied Trades	39	68,221
Woodworking & Furnishing	100	44,388
Chemical, Glass, Pottery, &c.	37	18,522
Food and Tobacco	33	18,447
Enginemn	23	10,308
Shop Assistants	6	46,117
General Labour	17	127,034
Other Trades	101	48,927
Employés of Public Authorities:—		
National	64	70,239
Municipal	14	19,154
Total	1,173	2,406,746

It will be observed that most of the trades are split into a number of Unions, which circumstance is partly due to historical traditions, partly to local requirements, and partly, no doubt, to local jealousies. With a view to counterbalancing the disadvantages that may result to Trade Union action from this decentralisation, Federations have been established in many trades and one **General Federation for all the Trade Unions**. The latter consisted at the end of 1907 of 116 associations (seven of which were Federations) with 691,195 members, including 41, with 215,883 members, in the engineering, metal, and shipbuilding trades; 28, with 227,980 members, in the textile and clothing trades; eight, with 86,271 members, in the dock and general labour groups, and 29, with 41,104 members, in the printing, wood-working, glass, pottery, and other trades. The miners were not represented in this General Federation, having a federation of their own. The number of Federations in separate trades and their membership were at the end of 1907 as follows: **Building**, 19, with 57,453 members; **mining**, 11, with 741,234 members; **metal, engineering, and shipbuilding**, 17, with 477,032 members; **textile**, 35, with 550,604 members; **printing**, two, with 60,267 members; and other trades, 21 with 324,585 members; a total of 105 Federations with 2,216,275 members. Since many Unions are

affiliated to more than one Federation, the membership figures just quoted represent gross totals, involving some duplication.

The following table shows the growth of the Trade Union movement in the United Kingdom during the 10 years 1898 to 1907:—

End of Year.	No. of Unions.	Members.	Percentage increase (+) or decrease (-) of membership.
1898	1,287	1,688,531	—
1899	1,282	1,848,570	+ 9.5
1900	1,271	1,955,704	+ 5.8
1901	1,265	1,966,761	+ 0.6
1902	1,232	1,953,307	- 0.7
1903	1,218	1,931,043	- 1.1
1904	1,183	1,895,109	- 1.9
1905	1,181	1,920,373	+ 1.3
1906	1,200	2,113,806	+10.1
1907	1,173	2,406,746	+13.9

Within the 10 years under review the membership of the Trade Unions increased by nearly 800,000, or **43 per cent.**, which is pretty good progress. It will be observed, however, that the bulk of this progress took place during the last few years, the figures in the middle of the period showing a considerable decrease owing to the combined effect of bad trade and the Taff Vale judgment. Between 1894 and 1907 the total membership of the Trade Unions rose by 27 per cent., all the main trade groups, with the exception of the building trades, combining to effect this result. The printing trades, for instance, increased their membership by 9 per cent., the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding trades by 13 per cent., the clothing trades by 17 per cent., the mining and textile groups by about 40 per cent., and the transport group by about 50 per cent.

TRADE UNION FINANCE.

Though all registered Trade Unions make returns to the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies with reference to their income, expenditure, and so on, it has been the invariable custom of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade to publish only the accounts of 100 principal Trade Unions selected for their size and importance in the trade groups to which they belong. The building trades supply 13 such representative Unions, the mining and quarrying group, 16; the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding group, 15; the textile trades, 20; the clothing trades, 4; the transport group, 10; the printing, paper, and allied trades, 7; and the remaining trades, 15. At the end of 1907 these 100 principal Trade Unions included a membership of 1,457,356, or more than 60 per cent. of the membership of all Trade Unions. Their aggregate income amounted during the year to £2,493,282, their expenditure to

£2,054,157, and their accumulated funds at the close of the year to £5,637,661.

The following table summarises the

financial accounts of 100 principal Trade Unions at the end of each year during the 10 years 1898 to 1907:—

Year.	Membership at the end of the Year.	INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.		Funds at the End of the Year.	
		Total Amount.	Per Member.	Total Amount.	Per Member.	Total Amount.	Per Member.
	No.	£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.
1898	1,090,872	1,902,130	1 14 10½	1,476,337	1 7 0½	2,656,800	2 8 8½
1899	1,169,972	1,835,398	1 11 4½	1,252,011	1 1 4½	3,240,187	2 15 4½
1900	1,213,287	1,947,957	1 12 1½	1,456,716	1 4 0½	3,731,428	3 1 6
1901	1,220,257	2,043,951	1 13 6	1,641,031	1 6 10½	4,134,298	3 7 9½
1902	1,218,466	2,086,819	1 14 3	1,800,234	1 9 6½	4,420,883	3 12 6½
1903	1,205,949	2,100,998	1 14 10½	1,917,105	1 11 9½	4,604,774	3 16 4½
1904	1,199,571	2,115,902	1 15 3½	2,054,009	1 14 3	4,665,857	3 17 9½
1905	1,213,789	2,211,733	1 15 5½	2,064,535	1 14 0½	4,813,055	3 19 3½
1906	1,298,226	2,344,157	1 16 1½	1,958,676	1 10 2	5,198,538	4 0 1
1907	1,457,856	2,493,282	1 14 2½	2,054,157	1 8 2½	5,637,661	3 17 4

Both income and expenditure of 100 principal Trade Unions have remained, in spite of considerable fluctuations, practically the same at the end of the period as they were at its beginning, if measured with reference to the number of members. On the other hand, the accumulated funds in the hands of the Unions have considerably increased both in absolute figures and in relation to membership.

It is important, however, to note how the expenditure was distributed under the different heads which go to make up what may be termed the Trade Union budget. Broadly speaking, the needs of the Trade Unions are twofold: those which arise from their nature as militant bodies established to secure for their members better conditions of labour, and those which are

common to all associations of the working-classes having for their object the insurance of their members against untoward accidents of life. Accordingly the expenditure which the Trade Unions incur can be classified under two heads: expenditure incidental to Trade Union action as such, that is, expenditure on trade disputes, and expenditure incurred in connection with various benefits—some more properly Trade Union, such as unemployed benefit, and others more of a Friendly Society nature, such as sick and accident benefits. The following table shows the expenditure of the principal Trade Unions classified under the main heads (excluding working expenses) together with the percentage proportion which each item forms of the total expenditure:—

Year.	DISPUTES BENEFIT.		UNEMPLOYED BENEFITS.		SICK AND ACCIDENT BENEFITS.		SUPERANNUATION BENEFIT.	
	£	Per cent.	£	Per cent.	£	Per cent.	£	Per cent.
1898	326,428	22.1	233,613	15.9	266,024	18.0	158,823	10.7
1899	119,979	9.6	184,564	14.8	287,505	23.0	173,518	13.8
1900	153,516	10.6	261,295	17.9	307,812	21.1	183,721	12.6
1901	210,001	12.8	325,264	19.8	325,458	19.9	197,460	12.1
1902	218,691	12.1	429,524	23.9	340,309	18.9	216,956	12.1
1903	171,962	9.0	516,258	26.9	363,839	19.0	237,747	12.4
1904	124,285	6.1	654,993	31.9	386,651	18.8	265,372	12.9
1905	210,758	10.2	522,967	25.4	401,828	19.5	285,871	13.8
1906	152,053	7.8	424,030	21.6	413,400	21.1	306,089	15.6
1907	133,363	6.5	465,668	22.7	431,559	21.0	327,688	15.9

It will be seen that the expenditure in connection with trade disputes forms but a small fraction of the total expenditure of 100 principal Trade Unions, and has during the decade under review considerably decreased. On the other hand, the unemployed and the Friendly Society benefits form the ever-growing bulk of the expenditure. Recent legislation on the subject of Old-Age Pensions and the projected legislation with regard to unemployment, and sick and accident insurance will, no doubt, go far to relieve the Trade Unions from the bur-

dens which they have now to bear in the form of insurance benefits, and will allow them freer scope in their endeavours to improve the conditions of labour by economic action.

FEMALE TRADE UNIONISTS.

At the end of 1907 there were in the United Kingdom 182 Unions which included women and girls as members, compared with 152 in 1898. The total female membership in 1907 was 201,769 (as against 117,184 in 1898), or 8.4 per cent. (as against 6.9 per cent. in 1898) of the combined male and female mem-

bership of all Trade Unions. By far the greater part of female members, namely, 172,120, or 85.3 per cent. of all female trade unionists, belonged to the textile trades, principally (109,834 or 64.4 per cent.) to the cotton weaving branch.

TRADES COUNCILS.

The table below shows the total number of Trades Councils, and the number of members represented in each of the years 1898 to 1907:—

Year.	No. of Trades Councils.	No. of Members of Trade Unions Represented.
1898	172	713,335
1899	178	705,537
1900	183	752,743
1901	188	793,493
1902	194	810,372
1903	211	845,186
1904	232	874,724
1905	237	900,549
1906	245	936,981
1907	250	980,299

TRADE UNIONS ABROAD.

The following gives the number of trade unionists in certain foreign countries on the authority of the 5th report of the International Trade Union Secretariat, corrected in some instances to date from other sources:—

Germany (1908)	2,337,010
France (1908)	957,102
Austria (1908)	482,297
Italy (1907)	387,384
Belgium (1908)	181,015
Sweden (1908)	169,776
Hungary (1907)	142,030
Switzerland (1907)	133,377
Netherlands (1906)	128,845
Denmark (1907)	109,914
Norway (1907)	48,215
Spain (1908)	43,478
Finland (1907)	30,000
Bulgaria (1907)	10,000
Croatia (1907)	8,700
Servia (1907)	5,434
U.S.A. (1906)	1,970,700
Australia (including New Zealand).	213,136

By far the most important Trade Unions on the continent of Europe are the German. The bulk of them, with an aggregate membership in 1908 of 1,831,731, are the so-called Free Trade Unions (practically Social-Democratic), the others being Christian Trade Unions (Catholic) with a total membership of 264,519, the Hirsch-Duncker (Liberal) with a membership of 105,633, and a small number of independent local organisations. The growth of the Free Trade Unions since the fall of the Socialist Laws has been most remarkable. They numbered in 1891 277,659 members, in 1896 329,230, in 1901 677,510, in 1906 1,689,769, and in 1908 1,831,731 members. Their financial accounts for 1908 can be summarised as follows:—

Income: £2,427,219. Expenditure: Dispute Benefit, £312,983; Unemployed Benefit, £406,719; Sick, &c., Benefits, £493,696; Propaganda, £124,002; Trade Papers, £103,564; Travelling Benefit, £59,217; other expenditure, £602,694; total, £2,102,875; accumulated funds at the end of the year, £2,041,989.

The year 1908 being marked by bad trade, much was paid out in unemployed benefit, and comparatively less in dispute benefit. During the 18 years 1891-1907 the Free Trade Unions expended in various benefits a total of £7,196,219, of which £3,244,210 were paid out in dispute benefits, £1,359,417 in sick and similar benefits, and £1,275,948 in unemployed benefit.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS, 1909.

The 42nd Congress was opened at Ipswich on the 6th of September. Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presided, nearly 1,700,000 trade unionists being represented by 497 delegates.

In his opening address the chairman gave a general approval to the Budget and the legislation affecting labour introduced by the Liberal Government. The Congress, after some opposition, carried a resolution condemning compulsory enlistment, and others in favour of equal wages for equal work for men and women, and the maintenance of school children by the State, and other matters concerning education; they expressed the opinion that labour exchanges should not supply labour in cases of dispute between employers and employed.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

The First Part of the Report for 1908 of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies states that 96 new societies were registered during the year. The 55 collecting societies numbered nine million persons. No less than 149 societies exist for the purpose of providing small holdings and allotments for their members. Land valued at £733,165 was held by the societies, and the balance of profit and reserve carried forward on December 31st, 1908, was £78,099.

On June 30th, 1909, 12,553 out of a total of 24,530 friendly societies in England and Wales met on licensed premises. In Scotland only 10 out of 2,108, and in Ireland one out of 581, met in public-houses.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Bell, Richard. Trade Unionism. (Jack.) (1907.) 1s. net.
 Drage, Geoffrey. Trade Unions. (Methuen.) (1905.) 2s. 6d. net.
 Howell, G. Trade Unionism, New and Old. (1891.) (Methuen.) 2s. 6d.
 Trades Union Congress Annual Report. (Trades Union Parliamentary Committee.) 6d.
 Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. History of Trade Unionism. (Longmans.) (1902.) 7s. 6d. net.
 Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. Industrial Democracy. (Longmans.) (1902.) 13s. 9d. net.

WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR IN THE TEXTILE TRADES.

The publication of part of the results of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour of Workpeople in the United Kingdom is of the greatest interest, since no comprehensive enquiry of the kind had been undertaken since 1886. The number of workpeople concerned has trebled in number since the date of the earlier investigation, which dealt with a million cases.

From the figures given it appears that the average earnings of men employed in the textile manufactures was 28s. 1d. per week. The highest average was in the lace trade, where the average wage reached the high figure of 39s. 6d., the lowest in the hair-cutting industries where the average figure was 21s. 3d. One in two-hundred received £3 or more among the operatives in the cotton trade, which, with the notable exception of the lace trade, is fairly typical of the group. Women's earnings in all the trades averaged 15s. 5d. a week, while lads and boys working full time made 11s. 4d., girls 9s. 7d., and half-timers of the two sexes 3s. 7d. and 3s. 4d. respectively. These figures are based on the wages paid in the last pay-week of September, 1906, by firms employing a total of 514,867 workpeople.

Of still greater importance are the figures of average annual earnings, which are given by the compilers of the Report for the various groups of workpeople engaged in the different branches of the textile trades. The figures are shown in the following table:—

Industry.	Aver. annual earnings per head in 1906.
	£ s.
Cotton	43 0
Woollen and Worsted	40 0
Linen	29 10
Jute	34 10
Silk	34 10
Hosiery	38 10
Lace	54 10
Carpet	40 10
Hemp	36 0
Smallwares	29 10
Flock and Shoddy	46 10
Elastic Web	37 0
Hair	30 10
Other Textile	39 0
Fustian and Cord Cutting	30 10
Bleaching, Printing, &c.	54 10
All the above Industries	£43 10

After due allowance has been made for various considerations which affect the averages available for comparison in 1886 and 1906 it would seem that men's wages have risen by about 16 per cent., and women's about 18 per cent. in twenty years. Any figures of

this kind must be accepted with the caution that the introduction of new machinery has in many cases replaced skilled by unskilled labour. Moreover, prosperity can only be gauged by taking the increase of wages in connection with increase of the standard of living.

The second volume dealt with the clothing trades which employ one and a half million persons. In these trades the average earnings of men-workers were 30s. 2d. a week, of women 13s. 6d. a week, of lads and boys 9s. 8d. for full-timers and 2s. 10d. for half-timers a week, and of girls 5s. 9d. for full-timers and 2s. 9d. for half-timers a week. The table below shows the average annual earnings of all workpeople employed in the various branches of the clothing trade:—

Industry.	Av. Annual earnings in 1906.
	£ s.
Dress, Millinery, &c. (workshop) ..	30 0
Dress, Millinery, &c. (factory) ..	34 10
Shirt, Blouse, Underclothing, &c. ..	30 10
Tailoring (bespoke)	54 10
Tailoring (ready-made)	35 10
Boot and Shoe (ready-made) ..	45 10
Boot, Shoe, and Clog Making (bespoke), and Repairing	57 10
Silk and Felt Hat	53 0
Leather Glove	42 10
Corset (factory)	29 10
Fur	58 10
Straw Hat and Bonnet	43 10
Other Clothing	32 0
Dyeing and Cleaning	42 10
Laundry (factory)	32 0
Laundry (workshop)	29 0
All above industries	£37 0

TRADE BOARDS.

The sweated Industries carried on for "unduly low rates of wages," to use the sober official language, with "excessive hours of work and insanitary conditions of the work places," have at last been seriously dealt with in the Trade Boards Bill of 1909. Since the great enquiry instituted by the House of Lords in 1889 onwards, public attention had been drawn over and over again to the waste of life and the danger to the community arising from the appalling conditions under which such trades as wholesale tailoring, machine lace finishing, shirt making, cardboard box making, chain making, and similar trades were carried on. In May, 1906, a great effort was made under the auspices of the "Daily News" to put the thing in a concrete form before the London public by the Sweated Industries Exhibition, which was held at the Queen's Hall, and was afterwards repeated at various industrial centres in the provinces.

In 1908 the Select Committee on Home Work received a mass of evidence as to sweating and the methods of repressing it. Mr. Thomas Holmes, whose

experience was gained as a Police Court missionary, stated that for a coat and skirt, which would be sold in the shops for 29s. to 39s., the two women who made the garments were paid 1s. 1d. Children's coats were made for 9d., the worker providing the silk and thread. For elaborate cardboard boxes the witness had never seen 1s. 6d. a gross paid. Evidence was given of a woman who with her family worked at carding hooks and eyes for a whole week; the total wages of the family were 2s. 5d. This was an exceptionally startling instance. One worker witness brought before the Commission stated that for making blouses she received from 1s. 6d. to 4s. per dozen. Being an expert worker of 18 years' standing, this woman, by working 12 hours a day, with short intervals for meals, succeeded in making from 9s. to 11s. a week. Incidentally it appeared she had bought a machine costing £8. 9s. in weekly instalments of 1s. 6d. Even the 9s. to 11s. a week was not net profit; the work had to be fetched and taken back, and fares and cotton came to 2s. 6d. Payments got worse instead of better, she explained. "The blouses are trimmed more, and there are more tucks and lace, and the work is put on, and the prices go down."

Instances might be accumulated ad infinitum. Of the necessity of providing a remedy for the low rates of wages paid in the home industries there was no difference of opinion; but competent authorities were by no means agreed as to the methods to be employed. A minimum wage had already been applied to most organised industries, but the problem of securing its observance in the scattered homes where sweating is most rife was another question. The Report of the Committee proposed the creation of Wages Boards, which, however, should be limited to fixing wages for home work. The proposals of the National Anti-Sweating League, founded as a result of the Exhibition mentioned, were embodied in a Bill which passed its second reading in 1908, and was again brought forward in 1909. The Government promise in the King's Speech to promote legislation on the subject was fulfilled on March 25th, 1909, by Mr. Churchill's introduction of the **Trade Boards Bill**, which brought, said Mr. W. Crooks, "a ray of hope to the most hopeless of God's creatures in this country."

Trade Boards, formed of representatives of employers and employed, and working under the direction of officials appointed by the Board of Trade, shall fix minimum wages for time work, and may fix minimum rates for piece work, which become obligatory throughout the trade six months after notice has been given by the Trade Board, on the issue of an order of the Board of Trade. Any employer infringing the law is liable to a fine not exceeding £20. At the outset the Act applies only to four trades, but it

includes factory workers as well as home workers. The trades are:—

- (1) Ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring;
- (2) Cardboard, paper, or chip box making;
- (3) Machine-made lace and net finishing, lace-curtain finishing;
- (4) Hammered or dolled or tommied chain making.

The Board of Trade may make Provisional Orders, subject to the sanction of Parliament, extending the Act to other trades in which the rate of wages is exceptionally low as compared with that in other employments.

Recognising that the principle was gained, even though there might be difference in detail, the promoters of the Sweated Industries Bill withdrew their measure in favour of the Government Bill. This Bill differed in many particulars from that now passed into law. Only three trades were scheduled—tailoring, dressmaking, and the making, finishing, and repairing of shirts—but the Secretary of State was empowered to establish Trade Boards for any other trades in any district. Under the present Act, although the Board of Trade may make an order extending the provisions of the Act to other trades, no such order can have effect until it is confirmed by Parliament. The Sweated Industries Bill proposed to give the Trade Boards power both to fix the minimum wage and the date upon which it should come into force. The Trade Boards Act is much more restricted. It provides for a delay of six months after the Board has given notice of a wage rate fixed by it before the Board of Trade may issue an order making that rate obligatory, "unless they are of opinion that the circumstances are such as to make it premature or otherwise undesirable."

The Government Bill received the King's Assent on October 20th, 1909, and comes into operation on the 1st of January, 1910. Its importance goes beyond the redemption of the miserable workers in the under-paid trades mentioned in the Bill, for it secured the official acknowledgment of both sides of the House of the principle that it is better even that a trade should cease to exist than that it should be carried on at the cost of the home life, the health, and the very existence of the workers.

The labours of those who wish to secure decent wages and decent conditions for the humbler workers in the home trades are not ended with the passing of the Bill. The workers in the four scheduled trades must be organised, and voluntary committees are being established in various districts to supervise the working of the Act, and to prevent evasion of the awards of the Trade Boards.

EMPLOYMENT.

A chart published by Mr. Burns in "Public Health and Social Conditions," throws considerable light on the question of Employment and Unemployment. The enormous decrease in the number of agricultural labourers goes hand in hand with an increase especially in the building trade, one of the most widely distributed of all the great trades. The peculiar conditions of the building trade make it one of the chief sources of casual labour. The silk weaver stays by the looms, and his unemployment falls on his district. The building contractor has to find the men where the building has to be done—with the result that as soon as he receives a big contract he has to bring together a number of men from a distance. There must always therefore be a large margin of building labour. Building is more quickly affected by declining trade than any other, and is often the last to recover. Moreover, it suffers from seasonal fluctuation. There is a danger that the building trade, which nearly trebled in the last half of the 19th century, may create on its outskirts a "swamp" similar to that which environs dockyard labour.

Agricultural labour, which declined from 3,350,000 labourers in 1851 to 2,050,000 in 1901, has improved its wage

standard enormously. In 1850 the average wage was 9s. 3½d.; in 1901 it was 14s. to 15s. It has shared in the all-round increase of wages, accompanied by a levelling down of prices which makes the increase in the standard of prosperity greater.

CHANGES IN RATES OF WAGES.

At the end of 1907 wages stood at a higher level than at the end of any year since 1893, when reliable figures were first available. During the first two months of 1908 wages continued to rise, but from March onwards wages followed the general downward trend of trade conditions. The figures which follow show the aggregate increase or decrease per week in the rates of wages in certain trades; they do not show the aggregate increase or decrease in the earnings of any trade, as they take no count of unemployment. They indicate the cycles of rising and falling wages, and show that in every trade the net result of changes in the rate of wages since 1896 has been in the direction of increase with the single exception of quarrying, which shows a decrease of £308 per week in wages. The weekly wages of the trades taken together show that the workers in 1908 earned £400,000 per week more than their fellows in 1896-1900. The changes in 1908 affected 963,000 workers.

Groups of Trades.	Net Amount of Increase (+) or Decrease (-) in the Weekly Wages of those affected in the				Net Amount of Increase (+) or Decrease (-) in period 1896-1908.
	Period of Rising Wages, 1896-1900.	Period of Falling Wages, 1901-05.	Period of Rising Wages, 1906-07.	Year 1908.	
	£	£	£	£	£
Building Trades	+ 38,993	+ 1,251	+ 75	+ 226	+ 40,545
Coal Mining	+ 273,125	- 208,206	+ 200,801	- 47,055	+ 218,635
Other Mining (Iron, &c.)	+ 7,129	- 5,585	+ 4,098	- 2,936	+ 2,706
Quarrying	+ 1,433	- 1,458	+ 7	- 290	- 308
Pig Iron and Iron and Steel Manufacture	+ 32,192	- 20,841	+ 11,986	- 9,656	+ 13,681
Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades	+ 39,061	- 10,707	+ 11,105	- 4,050	+ 35,409
Other Metal Trades	+ 7,255	- 1,212	+ 325	- 207	+ 6,161
Textile Trades	+ 11,845	+ 10,256	+ 24,503	+ 1,132	+ 47,736
Clothing Trades	+ 1,554	+ 937	+ 1,238	+ 149	+ 3,878
Printing, &c., Trades	+ 876	+ 1,639	+ 838	+ 956	+ 4,109
Glass, Brick, &c., Trades	+ 3,977	- 1,550	+ 597	+ 208	+ 3,232
Other Trades*	+ 13,410	+ 631	+ 1,011	- 368	+ 14,684
Employés of Public Authorities	+ 6,933	+ 5,937	+ 2,225	+ 2,750	+ 17,065
Total*	+ 437,643	- 228,908	+ 258,809	- 59,171	+ 408,373

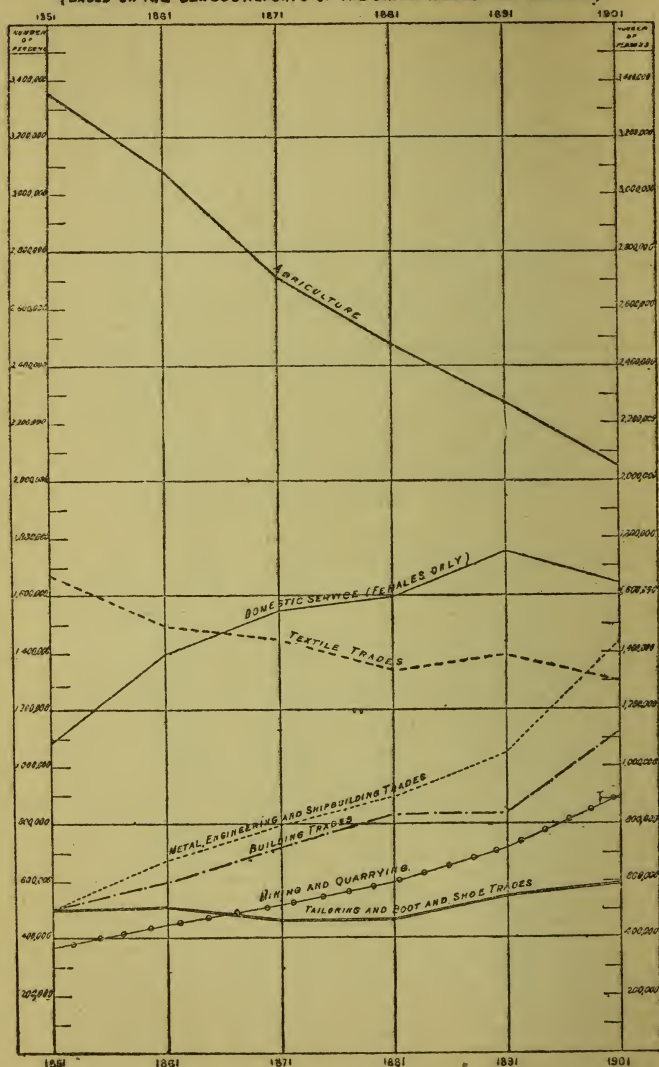
* Exclusive of Agricultural Labourers, Seamen, and Railway Servants.

In the first nine months of 1909 wages continued the downward trend which had marked 1908. The decrease in both years averaged 1s. 2½d. per head in the weekly wage of the workers affected, but the decrease affected a greater area. It must, however, be taken into account that there were large reductions in the hours of working in other trades beside coal-mining. The figures were seriously affected by

the reduction in the coal-mining trade in March, when the sum total of the weekly wage decreased by £42,800. In April the decrease stood at £4,100 per week, but in July, August, and September notable improvement began, as the decrease dropped to £600, £420 and £67, respectively.

In September employment in the various trades was on the up-grade.

CHART 2. OCCUPATIONS.
CHANGES IN NUMBERS OCCUPIED IN CERTAIN MANUAL LABOUR GROUPS OF TRADES
IN UNITED KINGDOM, 1851-1901
(BASED ON THE CENSUS REPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FOR 1851-1901)



iron mines, the tinplate and steel-sheet industries, linen, hosiery, reported good work with a marked improvement on the preceding year, and most other trades reported improvement, though the

building and shipbuilding trades, always slow to recover, continued slack.

This table gives the number of persons affected and the total increase or decrease of the national weekly wage.

Groups of Trades.	January—September.			
	1908.		1909.	
	No.	£	No.	£
Building	11,141	+ 179	10,501	- 563
Coal Mining	661,750	- 41,592	847,202	- 55,843
Iron, &c., Mining	14,318	- 2,870	7,721	- 280
Quarrying	2,413	- 253	2,051	- 71
Pig Iron Manufacture	17,050	- 1,990	14,381	- 494
Iron and Steel Manufacture	51,564	- 6,330	24,078	- 1,064
Engineering and Shipbuilding	99,653	- 3,878	48,812	- 2,488
Other Metal Trades	1,873	- 205	3,357	- 368
Textile Trades	12,206	+ 1,107	155,727	- 8,021
Clothing Trades	1,463	+ 66	677	+ 65
Printing, &c., Trades	10,828	+ 944	1,074	+ 60
Glass, &c., Trades	6,210	+ 249	37	+ 1
Other Trades	6,781	- 434	1,679	- 76
Employés of Local Authorities	2,633	+ 214	579	+ 51
Total	898,883	- 54,794	1,117,874	- 69,085

THE CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER EMPLOYMENT.

The Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, was never intended to provide for the "professional unemployed." Putting aside this class, which is too apt to absorb public attention, there remains the problem of those who, through no fault of their own, are thrown out of work, and find it impossible to discover other suitable employment.

It is computed that between 70,000 and 80,000 men are thrown out of work every year by the bankruptcy of their employers.* The displacement of labour owing to the decline in the demand for a particular commodity also throws numbers of men out of work. The men who formerly tended horses or were employed in saddle-making and kindred trades cannot turn in middle life into motor engineers; the joiner cannot become a maker of steel doorway frames. Woolwich Arsenal has discharged 9,000 men since the end of the South African War.

Other wage-earners are displaced by the introduction of new machinery which is specially designed to save labour. The Secretary of the Brass-finishers' Union in Birmingham said that one new lathe displaced three men, and that in file-cutting one girl managed a machine which formerly employed eleven men. The boot and shoe trade has to contend against the constant introduction of new machinery, the increasing sub-division of labour, and, in addition, against home-work in the villages, the employment of boys, and alien immigration. The difficulty has been partly met in this case by energetic action on the part of the

National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, which insists on the basing of all payments on an accepted "statement," the meeting of fluctuations in the market by short time instead of by discharge, and the elimination of disputes by a trust deed or covenant between employers and employed.

"The Leicester factory," says the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, "where the union is most powerful," with its ninety-eight distinct processes and fifty-nine distinct machines through which a boot has to pass, is in the long run a far more potent instrument of competition than the sweater's workshop, however low may be his piece rates and however long his hours of work."

The irregular Trades are answerable for the bulk of unemployment. The London figures show that the unemployed are recruited most largely from "transport," which provided 40 per cent. of the unemployed, this term covering dockers, porters, carmen, van boys, &c. Next comes the building trade, always slack in winter, and next that of the metal worker. The figures of applicants to distress committees throughout the country in 1908-9 give 32 per cent. from general or casual labour, 16 per cent. from transport, and 30 per cent. from the building trade.

The irregularity of labour in these trades is the result of the enormous surplus labour which it is, in many cases, to the interest of the capitalist to have at his call.

In spite of the efforts of Mr. Charles Booth and others to improve the conditions of dock-yard labour in London, there are some 24,000 men hanging round the docks, of whom 14,500 as a maximum and about 11,000 as a minimum are employed on one day.

Work which might be spread over a long period is in some trades

*The number of bankruptcies in 1908 was 4,334, as against 4,129 in 1907. Of these 291 were in the building trade, 102 in the decorative painters and plumbers, 80 in the boot and shoe trade.

executed by the use of outside labour in a few weeks. So long as this is the case there will be men hanging round the gates of all big concerns in the hope of a casual job. Under present conditions there can be no reasonable guarantee of continuous employment for the navy who carries out works of construction; nor do the conditions of his labour favour thrift, or render reasonably possible any form of out-of-work insurance.

Another cause of unemployment, and one less susceptible of control, is the **tide of trade**. The bad year 1908 brought 89 per cent. skilled trade unionists out of work, as against 41 and 43 in the two preceding years.

One remedy for the discontinuity of employment was propounded by Mr. John Burns as early as 1892. "I believe," he said, "that by a reorganisation of the works of all public bodies such as town and county councils, school boards, vestries, guardians, docks, port, harbour, and sanitary authorities, and all State departments, it is possible to reduce enormously the number of men seeking employment at the beginning and end of each year. To do this the example of the Battersea Vestry, the L.C.C., and many other public bodies must be followed in **abolishing contracts, which mean casual labour**, as soon as possible. For the ordinary maintenance and repairs a regular transferable staff should be kept employed direct, with no overtime, except in cases of social urgency; and we should adjust all the special and extraordinary work to be done . . . to the general exigencies of the labour market."

The army of casual labour is the natural product of the careless way in which boys straight from school are pitchforked into "transport" and kindred occupations because of the high wages they can immediately earn without any regard to their future. The matter is being taken in hand by the Education Authorities, and is dealt with under that head in this book.

Writing in the "Daily News" of November 11th, 1909, Mr. L. G. Chiozza-Money enumerates eight main causes of unemployment. These are: (1) Vagaries of climate; (2) variations in supplies of material; (3) the seasons; (4) vagaries of taste; (5) war; (6) progress of science and invention; (7) general unorganisation; (8) the rhythms of trade. After remarking that the difference between the amount of wages paid in good years and in bad years is enormous, Mr. Money continues:—

"Between 1908 and 1907 British exports fell thus:

British exports of British goods, 1907	£426,000,000
Ditto, 1908	377,000,000

Decline

Here we see that export trade alone fell off by nearly £50,000,000 in a single year. If we take wages roughly as 40

per cent. of product, there was a decline of £20,000,000 in the wages paid in connection with the export trade alone in 1908, as compared with 1907. But the amount of wages paid in the export trade cannot be more than about one-fifth to one-sixth of the total wages bill. There may therefore have been in 1908, as compared with 1907, a falling off of £100,000,000 to £120,000,000 of wages paid in the United Kingdom.

The slump of 1908 was unusually severe and rapid, but our past records exhibit variations of great magnitude. Thus, exports fell from £255,000,000 in 1873 to £200,000,000 in 1876; they rose to £241,000,000 in 1882, and declined to £213,000,000 in 1885; they rose to £263,000,000 in 1890, and fell to £227,000,000 in 1892. Any of these cases shows a variation in wages paid in the export trade, which, taken by itself, is evidence of the existence of great mass of cyclical unemployment, but which, taken together with the corresponding fall in home trade, points to severe distress."

THE EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 was a measure designed to meet a crisis which would, it was hoped, be of short duration. The remedy has proved not only inadequate, but in some respects an aggravation of the difficulty. It is extremely difficult to secure any figures sufficiently comprehensive to serve as the basis of an estimate of the extent of unemployment. Certain trade unions which are able to gauge at stated periods the number of their men who are out of work supply regular returns to the Board of Trade. The fluctuations in the number of unemployed returned at the end of each month is considerable. For every 100 persons in these trades unemployed in 1899, for instance, there were 185 in 1907 and 390 out of work in the bad year of 1908.

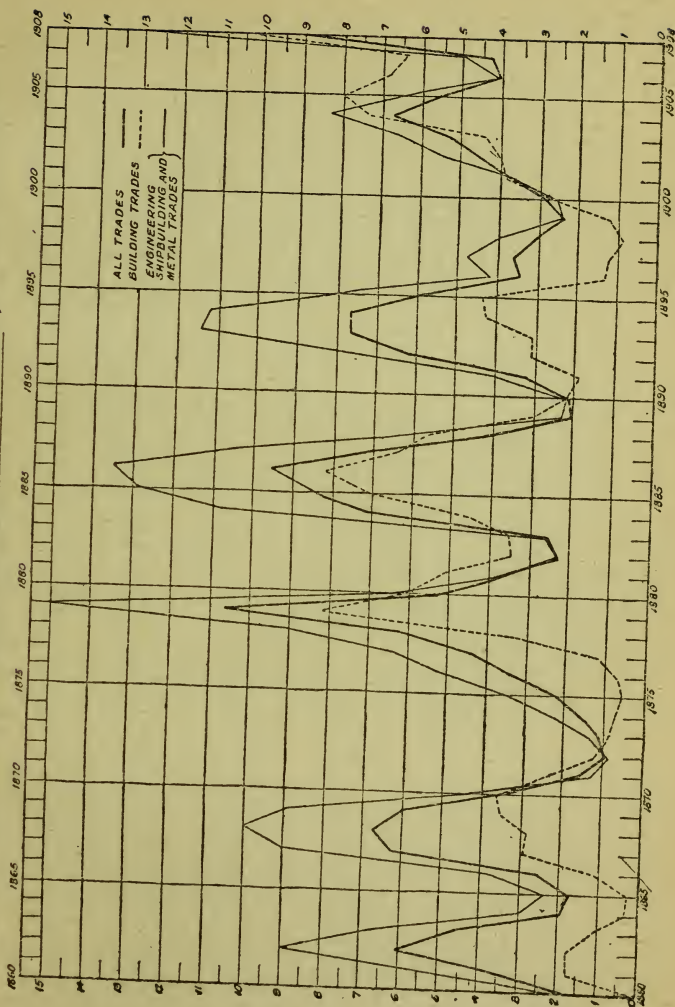
PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYED 1898-1908.

1898	2.8	1904	6.0
1899	2.0	1905	5.0
1900	2.5	1906	8.6
1901	3.3	1907	8.7
1902	4.0	1908	7.8
1903	4.7		

At the beginning of 1909 this percentage stood at the high figure of 9.1, but gradually came down to 7.4 by the end of September, as trade improved.

These figures cover over 600,000 members of trade unions, but only a small portion of the whole labour area, which, in building, mining and quarrying, metal, engineering, and shipbuilding trades, the textile trades, tailoring, the boot and shoe trade, female domestic service, and agriculture, reached at the last census a total of over nine million workers, and may now be safely estimated as at least eleven million. Nevertheless, the fluctuations in these organised trades are to some extent an

CHART 5. UNEMPLOYMENT
 (ANNUAL AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS UNEMPLOYED IN (A) ALL TRADES, (B) THE
 BUILDING TRADE, AND (C) THE ENGINEERING, SHIPBUILDING AND METAL TRADE)



index of the general condition of the labour market, since an increase in skilled labour usually carries with it an increase in unskilled labour, and vice versa. The chart here given shows the nature of these changes over a period of 28 years.

The only other definite information on which to work is the extent to which use was made of the Distress Committees and the Labour Bureaux established in connection with them. The total applications in Great Britain during the first three years (1906-8) of the operation of the Unemployed Act gave an average of 106,924, or 14 per 1,000 of the occupied population. Of the sum total of applications a little more than half were made in the London area. Unfortunately the Distress Committees failed to attract the better classes of unemployed workmen, and offer no comprehensive data.

DISTRESS COMMITTEES.

The Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 provided for the establishment of Distress Committees by boroughs and large urban districts, with a special Central Body for the London area. The Distress Committees, now numbering 102 in the provinces and 29 in London, were to investigate the conditions of labour and of unemployment in their respective areas, and to assist applicants to obtain work, to remove to other localities, or to emigrate. The Committees were also empowered to provide relief works, and to provide Labour Bureaux. The Labour Bureaux were as far as possible dissociated from the first from unemployed relief, and the further development of the movement is entirely independent of the idea of public assistance.

Total number of applicants to
Distress Committees in England and Wales:—

	1905-6.	1906-7.	1907-8.	1908-9.
(i) London	39,728	28,181	32,624	49,239
(ii) Rest of Eng. and Wales ..	71,107	58,820	57,433	147,518
Total ..	110,835	87,001	90,057	196,757

The applicants in 1908-9 represented 11·7 per thousand of the population within the areas of the Distress Committees and 25 per cent. of the applicants had applied in previous years. 47 per cent. of those found qualified for assistance were general or casual labourers, 17 per cent. were returned as belonging to the building trade, and 12 per cent. to the engineering and shipbuilding trades. The increase of the numbers in 1908-9 was partly due to the removal in November, 1908, of the pauper disqualification in applicants for employment relief. Work was found or provided for 88,190 persons, and 1,139 were helped to emigrate.

THE RELIEF OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Municipal effort to relieve unemployment on any considerable scale outside the Poor Law dates from Mr. Chamberlain's experience of the distress in Birmingham in 1885. He then urged upon the Guardians that "the law exists for securing the assistance of the community at large in aid of its destitute members; and where the necessity has arisen from no fault of the persons concerned, there ought to be no idea of degradation connected with such assistance. Those compelled to apply have probably paid rates and taxes in past time. This payment is, in part, an insurance against misfortune." The Birmingham Board of Guardians definitely refused to accept any responsibility in the matter. They would not give out-door relief in exchange for work in the Labour Yard. In 1886, when Mr. Chamberlain was President of the Local Government Board, he sent a circular to the local authorities urging them to provide municipal work on wages for persons thrown out of work by special circumstances, whom it was undesirable to familiarise with Poor Relief. Mr. Chamberlain had made it a condition that such work should be paid at lower rates than ordinary labour from a well-founded fear that too easy conditions would prevent men from making adequate effort to secure regular employment elsewhere.

This was found to be impossible in practice. The municipality could not undersell the Trade Unions. The drawbacks to relief works were and are very strong.

(1) Even if the work were necessary it was carried out at excessive cost. In order to give some employment to a larger number of men the work was in many cases discontinuous, that is, three days a week only was given, with the result that the men left off work just when they were beginning to learn the use of their tools. In some cases men were physically unfit.

(2) The provision of municipal relief works inevitably tended to the displacement of ordinary labour.

(3) They did not confer any substantial benefit on the worker, who was in no better position when the work was over than at the beginning. He had merely been receiving a kind of relief. The system of relief works was, in fact, practically subsidising casual labour.

(4) Only a small proportion of the money spent on relief works went into the pockets of the unemployed; it was necessarily spent on materials, on cartage, in expenses of supervision, &c., so that out and out relief would in some cases have been cheaper.

"Municipal relief works," said the investigators of the Poor Law Commission, "have been in operation for twenty years, and must, we think, be pronounced a complete failure—a failure accentuated by the attempt to organise them by the Unemployed

Workmen Act of 1905. The evidence we have collected seems conclusive that relief works are economically useless. Either ordinary work is undertaken, in which case it is merely forestalled, and, later, throws out of employment the men who are in the more or less regular employ of the Councils, or else it is sham work, which we believe to be even more deteriorating than direct relief."

Destitution and a large family, it is pointed out, are excellent reasons for Poor Law relief; but competence to do the work should be the first condition for engagement on public works. In practice there has been a natural tendency to neglect these principles under the Unemployed Workmen Act.

The Report of the Central (Unemployed) Body, issued in October, 1909, also condemned the system of relief works, which could offer no suitable or sufficient work to the regular workmen for whom the scheme was originally devised. The Central Body reported that their most successful work was accomplished through employment exchanges and the machinery for emigration.

One of the remedies for unemployment, Labour Exchanges, has already been put into practice. Among other suggestions dealt with elsewhere are the limiting of boy and girl labour, an all-round reduction in the hours of labour, the regularisation of Government and municipal work by the careful distribution of big contracts over a series of years, and last of all the formation of a Ministry of Labour to organise industrial conditions.

LABOUR COLONIES.

It was perhaps inevitable that some of the unsatisfactory features attending relief work in general should attach to the Labour Colonies established under the Unemployed Workmen Act; but there is no doubt that the money expended did, in this case, produce a substantial and permanent improvement in the condition of the men who were sent there. Had there been at the disposal of the authorities of the colonies any complete system of labour exchanges the results would no doubt have been very much better. As it was the men who showed themselves capable

of good work on the land had in many cases to be emigrated because no adequate machinery for discovering existing vacancies in this country was available. This is, of course, in process of being remedied. The Local Government Board decided that the terms of the Unemployed Workmen Act did not admit of a systematic settlement of the men on small holdings, but the men were assisted, as far as possible, in making applications for small holdings in the ordinary way.

Mr. Long and the authors of the Unemployed Act aimed at systematic training as well as the mere provision of relief. Unfortunately the policy of the Hollesley Bay Colony, which may fairly be taken as typical, was divided between a desire to train men for agricultural life, and the provision of employment partly self-supporting for batches of casual labourers sent down from the London Distress Committees.

The Hollesley Bay estate, consisting of 1,300 acres of arable land and pasture, gardens, orchards, dairy and poultry farms, some heath ground to be brought into cultivation, and a brickfield, was placed at the disposal of the authorities for a labour colony by Mr. Joseph Fels. The men sent to Hollesley Bay were most of them married men. They received an equivalent of about 25s. a week each, including an allowance for their wives in London and 6d. a week pocket money for themselves. They had two days' leave once a month in which to visit their families and look for work. In making the stay of men at the colony a serious training, the management was continually hampered by having batches of men, sometimes eighty in one day, dumped on them by the Central Body. These men, many of them, looked on the establishment merely as a kind of labour yard, hateful because of its distance from London, and because of the wages, which they regarded as id. a day.

COST OF THE EXPERIMENT.

The initial cost of purchase was £43,475. The total cost up to March 31st, 1909, was £59,232. 2s. 7d., on the official figures, allowing for improvements on the estate. The cost per man, and the annual deficit, are shown as follows:—

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF COST OF WORKING.

	12th Dec., 1905, to 30th Sept., 1907.	1st Oct., 1907, to 31st March, 1908.	1st April, 1908, to 31st March, 1909.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Excess Expenditure over Revenue:			
Farm and Garden	2,644 14 1	1,654 18 6	2,175 2 11
Other Costs	28,423 12 0	9,520 2 3	14,813 12 10
Totals	31,068 6 1	11,175 0 9	16,988 15 9
Men-weeks in period	19,710	7,239	12,038
Cost per man per week	£1 11 6	£1 10 10½	£1 8 2½

The treatment is therefore costly. The results for 1908-9 showed that out of 1,051 men sent to the colony 216 found work, 9 were emigrated, 8 were settled elsewhere in England, and 514 left on the expiration of their time. The rest left for various causes, 27 for misconduct, 17 on account of drink, and 66 did not return from furlough. An enquiry made by the Royal Commission into the after careers of 1,853 men from Mollisley Bay showed that 90 per cent. of the men had gained in health and strength by their stay at the colony, but in 10 per cent. of cases actually visited, the men had failed to reap permanent benefit and had sunk from the ranks of skilled to unskilled labour. Mollisley Bay, therefore, or any other colony which is not interdependent on a better social and industrial organisation is bound to be a costly failure. It remains to be seen what the Labour Exchanges and the working of the Small Holdings Act will effect in this matter.

EMIGRATION.

The Central (Unemployed) Body in 1908-9 found its emigration scheme one of the most useful sections of its work. In 1906-7 1,800 cases representing families which totalled 5,415 were provided for by emigration; in 1907-8 and 1908-9 the number fell off, owing to depression in Canada. Only 4 per cent. of those sent out were deported from Canada as undesirable immigrants, and the bulk of the men are fulfilling the obligation laid on them to refund part and in some cases the whole of their passage money.

INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.

Out-of-work benefit in the larger trade unions includes a weekly sum during unemployment from ordinary causes, travelling allowances to members in search of work, and emigration grants. In 1908, the trade unions paid £647,000 and in 1907 £495,668 in unemployed benefit. The highest figure in the last ten years was £652,471 (for 100 unions), an average of 11s. 1d. per head. Not all trade unions, however, can afford to pay out-of-work benefit, and it is in these poorer and less organised trades that the charge for unemployment would be the heaviest.

In the House of Commons on May 19th, 1909, Mr. Churchill outlined a scheme of unemployment insurance to which both employers and workpeople should contribute, their contributions to be supplemented by subventions from the Treasury. Insurance within the specified trades—building, engineering, machine and tool making, ship-building, vehicles, and sawyers—was to be compulsory.

INVALIDITY INSURANCE.

Among the numerous recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws one is dealing with the important question of insurance against invalidity, that is, permanent

incapacity for work. It will be interesting to note what has been done by the States abroad—more especially in Germany, which is the classical land of workmen's insurance.

In Germany insurance against invalidity (coupled with old age) was introduced in 1891, as complementary to sick and accident insurance, which had been in existence since 1884, and was amended by subsequent legislation in 1899. Under it all men and single women earning less than £100 a year (numbering in 1906 over 14 millions) are compulsorily made to contribute weekly sums varying from 2d. to 2½d., according to their earnings (which for this purpose are divided into five grades from £17. 10s. upwards), to which the employers add equal sums. If, then, the insurer, who begins his contributions at the age of 17, breaks down and becomes permanently incapacitated for work, he receives a pension in accordance with the number of years which he has subscribed, varying from a minimum of £5. 16s. a year in the lowest grade for four years' subscription to a maximum of £22. 10s. a year in the highest grade for 50 years' subscription. Of these sums, the State contributes the fixed amount of £2. 10s. a year, and the remainder is paid out from the insurance funds. The total number of permanent invalidity pensions in course of payment on January 1st, 1907, was 814,575, the average amount being £8. 0s. 2d. The receipts from all sources in 1906 amounted to £10·5 millions, and the accumulated funds exceeded £65 millions. It is expected that legislation will shortly be introduced, increasing the scale under which pensions are paid, or diminishing the contributions which are levied on the workpeople and the employers.

It may be added that in case of temporary invalidity the pensioners are treated in State sanatoria and receive temporary sickness pensions, while if the insurers reach the age of 70, they receive, according to a fixed scale, old-age pensions, irrespectively of whether they are incapacitated for work or not.

Germany is the sole country where compulsory invalidity insurance obtains. In France a law of January 1st, 1909, provides an invalidity pension to every necessitous French citizen of from 5 to 20 francs a month, at the expense of the commune, the department, and the State. A general compulsory insurance scheme accepted by the Chamber on February 23rd, 1906, has not yet been passed by the Senate.

In Italy a law of 1898 provides for voluntary insurance entitling the pensioner, after at least five years' contribution, to an invalidity pension to which the State contributes 10 lire. A similar provision exists in Spain in virtue of the law of February 27th, 1908, entitling the pensioner, whose earnings must not exceed £120 per annum, to a pension up to the amount of £60 a year, to which both the commune and the State contribute. In the majority

of other countries, including Austria, Sweden, Norway, some cantons in Switzerland, Russia, and the Netherlands, schemes for compulsory insurance on the German model are in the course of preparation or at least under official consideration.

THE WORKMEN IN SEARCH OF WORK.

In every considerable town in Germany there is a Workman's Hostel or Travelling Homes, where three kinds of guests are received—travellers who pay for their entertainment, boarders who make a longer stay, and travellers who have to perform a task at the public relief works to pay for their board and lodging. Over one and three-quarter million travellers paid their way in these hostels in 1908, and work was found for 139,088 men.

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LABOUR EXCHANGES.

By T. A. INGRAM, M.A., LL.D.

The Labour Exchanges Act, which will be in operation over a greater part of the Kingdom in 1910, should mark a very considerable step forward in the solution of the difficult problem of unemployment. The Act provides for the establishment by the Board of Trade, in such places "as they think fit," of Labour Exchanges or employment registers. The necessary staff will be controlled by a Director (Mr. W. H. Beveridge) and a General Manager (Mr. O. F. Rey). The whole country is mapped out into eleven divisions (Ireland forming one division), at the head of each being a Divisional Inspector. In all the more important towns one or more exchanges will be established, the exchanges being classified as Class A, Class B, or Class C, according to the population of the town. In the smaller towns will be established sub-offices, while eventually it is intended that each village post-office shall keep an employment register. All these exchanges will be in telephonic or telegraphic communication with each other

or with a divisional clearing-house, these divisional clearing-houses in turn being in direct communication with the central clearing-house in London. The machinery to be put in force under the new Act is modelled to a very great extent on that existing in Germany, an exhaustive account of which will be found in a Report to the Board of Trade on Agencies and Methods for dealing with the Unemployed in certain Foreign Countries, by D. F. Schloss (1904, Cd. 2304, 1s.).

THE HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

The first practical attempt made to establish Labour Exchanges was that under the Labour Bureaux (London) Act, 1902, which gave Metropolitan boroughs power to establish and maintain bureaux, to be paid for out of the general rate. Only some few boroughs took advantage of the Act, and as these confined their energies for the most part to local employes and employers, and as there was no system of co-operation between the exchanges, they very soon fell into a moribund condition. The Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, gave somewhat extended power, and under the control of a Central Body for London some twenty exchanges were established throughout the administrative county. These exchanges filled between 500 and 600 situations a week during 1909, a result which is not so striking when the size of London is taken into consideration, but which is full of promise when regard is had to the initial difficulties which had to be overcome. The London exchanges came into existence tainted with the fact that they owed their existence to an Act passed for the relief of distress. Employers looked on them with distrust, fearing that it was the incapable only who were likely to be obtained in response to an application for workmen. The best class of workmen, too, did not use them at first, fearing the inquisitorial methods of the Distress Committees. The exchanges, moreover, were handicapped by insufficient staff and accommodation, so that the wonder is, not that they did so little, but that they did so much under such conditions. Another difficulty under which the London exchanges laboured was that if a job was found by an exchange (say, Woolwich) for a man in some distant part of London (say, Finsbury), its function ended in having informed him of the job. The man might be an excellent workman, specially capable of carrying out the work, but if he had no means of transporting himself to the job found for him the exchange was helpless to aid him in that direction.

PROVISIONS OF THE NEW ACT

The new Act contains a valuable clause, providing "that the regulations of the Exchanges may authorise advances to be made by way of loan towards meeting the expenses of work-people travelling to places where em-

ployment has been found for them through a Labour Exchange." There is also a clause giving power for the establishment of advisory committees for the purpose of giving advice and assistance in connection with the management of any Exchange. This is an important proviso, in view of the possible attitude of the trade unions, which have enunciated that Labour Exchanges should not be used to the detriment of organised labour by preference of employment being given to non-union men, nor by the supplying of workmen during any industrial lock-out or dispute, nor by the providing labour at less than the recognised rate of wages or under conditions of employment other than those obtaining in each particular trade in a district. The London Exchanges have always remained neutral with regard to trade disputes, but have adopted the attitude that as everybody contributes towards the upkeep of the Exchanges in the shape of rates it would be impossible to impose conditions of any kind, and that once employer and employed are brought into contact it must be left to them to do their own bargaining; this will undoubtedly be the policy of the new national exchanges. The attitude of the German trade unions was at first that adopted by the English unions, but the principle of joint control by means of an advisory committee—half trade-union representatives and half employers' representatives—proved to be such a satisfactory safeguard to the interests of organised labour that the unions for the most part now actively co-operate with the Exchanges.

THE FUTURE.

What is the future of the Labour Exchange? It is not to be supposed that it is a solution of the problem of unemployment. It is only a step towards completing our knowledge of the problem, and even that will not be until it has been some years in operation. It will not make more work, nor fewer men. It will only alter the distribution of work. Unemployment is a problem because in the unskilled trades there are more men than there is work for, but how many more the men and how much less the work there is no existing machinery for ascertaining. This is where the Exchange steps in. It will redistribute and concentrate work. It will unite the opposite fluctuations of various employments. It will have the imprimatur of a national system, to which in time all employers and all unemployed will come. It will give us then in its returns the amount of work available in the Kingdom, and the surplusage ready to do it. The State must then find some means to dispose of or satisfy the army of irregular workmen who are now but half employed or not employed at all.

T. A. INGRAM.

TRADE DISPUTES.

The Trade Disputes of the first nine months of 1909 were 306 in number, affecting 251,226 persons, and causing an aggregate loss of working days amounting to 2,257,704 days. The disputes in the coal trade accounted for 80 per cent. of the loss in working days. Even so, the figures compared favourably with those of 1908, when 284 disputes, affecting 246,978 workpeople, with a total duration of 6,369,300 working days, were recorded.

In the whole year 1908 there were 399 disputes, affecting directly and indirectly nearly three million workpeople, and causing an aggregate loss of 19½ million working days. This was the worst record for the last ten years, and was due to difficulties in the engineering, shipbuilding, and cotton trades. In the cotton-spinning industry 123,000 people were involved. The most serious trade disturbance in 1909 was in connection with coal mining.

ARBITRATION BOARDS.

Mr. Churchill's scheme for settling trade disputes by conciliatory methods came into action at the beginning of the year. When both parties to an industrial dispute desire to have their differences settled by arbitration it is open to them jointly to apply to the Board of Trade under the Conciliation Act of 1896, either (1) for the appointment of a single arbitrator, or (2) for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration in accordance with the scheme devised in 1908 by the President of the Board of Trade.

The Court consists of three or five members according to the wishes of the parties concerned. It is nominated from three panels, forming a kind of pyramid, of which the apex is the chairman's panel selected from eminent persons outside the question in dispute. The employers' panel and the labour panel are drawn from persons who from their position know the circumstances from both sides. Technical assessors may be appointed to give information on technical points, but they do not vote as members of the Court.

The first application for the formation of an Arbitration Court was received in connection with a dispute in the Northamptonshire boot and shoe trade, and began its sittings on January 7th, 1909. Courts were formed later to settle other disputes—at the Dunkerton collieries, near Bath, at Alkirk among the irondressers, at Briton Ferry in the copper smelting trade, at the Hallside Axle Works in Lanarkshire, and elsewhere.

The first actual achievement under the Railway Conciliation Scheme initiated by Mr. Lloyd George was made in February, 1909, when Sir Edward Fry gave his award in disputed questions between the London and North-western Railway and its employés. The scheme

provided that applications for changes in rates of wages or hours of labour were first to be made through the officers of the department concerned. If no satisfactory reply was received within two months the matter could be referred to the sectional board representing the men affected, and thence to the Central Conciliation Board representing all sections of the railway. If no agreement is reached, the matter is then referred to arbitration, the arbitrator being appointed by mutual consent or by the nomination of the Master of the Rolls and the Speaker of the House of Commons. The chief railways of the Kingdom have adopted the scheme, the North-eastern Railway, with different arrangements for conciliation, being the chief exception. Other awards were given by Lord Cromer for the Midland Railway, by Mr. H. E. Duke for the Great Western Railway, and by Lord Gorell on the North-eastern Railway.

The advent of Railway Conciliation Boards and of the Courts of Arbitration shows a definite advance in the direction of conciliation, but there is no sign that compulsory arbitration would be acceptable to the mass of working-people. Indeed, at the Trade Union Congress held in September a resolution in favour of compulsory arbitration in trade was rejected by a large majority.

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Report on Rules of Voluntary Conciliation and Arbitration Boards and Joint Committees, 1907. (Cd. 3788.) (Wyman.) 1s. 4d. net.

MINERS' EIGHT HOURS DAY.

After a long and wearisome struggle extending over twenty years, the coal miners of this country have succeeded in obtaining at last a definite limitation of the hours of their labour by a legislative Act, which came into force on July 1st, 1908, exclusive of the North-umberland and Durham collieries, where the Act becomes operative on January 1st, 1910. The Act, however, is not a complete fulfilment of the miners' wishes. It is, properly speaking, not an eight hours', but an eight-and-half or even nine hours' Act, both windings being excluded from the specified eight hours' period. Originally it had been proposed that the exclusion of the two windings should be a temporary measure for a period of five years, after which one of the windings was to be included. Ultimately, however, the Government accepted an amendment making the temporary arrangement permanent. In addition to this, the Act further provides that mines may be worked one additional hour a day on condition that the total number of days on which this hour is worked does not exceed 60 in any year. Also the King in Council is empowered, in cases of great emergency, to suspend the operations of the Act.

In spite of these limitations, the Act is a great boon to the miners. Hitherto the miners' working day greatly varied for different classes in different localities, extending from 6 hours 49 minutes for hewers in Durham to an average of 9 hours 57 minutes for all underground workers in Monmouthshire. The average working day for all underground workers in the collieries of Great Britain amounted to 9 hours 3 minutes.

THE APPLICATION OF THE ACT.

Unfortunately, as was the case with the introduction of the ten hours' day in the textile trades 67 years ago, the first application of the Act met with considerable difficulties, which threatened to produce one of the greatest industrial calamities on record. The coalowners in South Wales, even before the Act came into force, intimated to their workers, numbering about 160,000, their intention, in view of the expected reduction of the output, to introduce double shifts, and to make full use of the power given to them under the Act of working the mines additional sixty days during the year. In Scotland the masters, immediately after the Act had come into force, presented a claim for a reduction of 12½ per cent. of the wage rates, which would have reduced the latter from 6s. to 5s. 6d. a day. This

would have affected 80,000 workers. In both cases the men offered a stout resistance. The Welsh miners were willing to concede the double-shift system only in individual cases, when both parties should locally agree to it, and disputed the coalowners' right under the Act to work additional 60 hours a year without any pressing necessity. The Scottish miners, on their part, declined to accept the proffered reduction, and demanded instead that the rate of 6s. a day, which had hitherto been the average rate, should henceforth become the standard minimum rate. In the struggle which ensued the Miners' Federation took the part of the workers, and in virtue of Clause 20 of its rules decided—and the decision in the Scottish case was actually endorsed by a ballot of its 600,000 members resulting in a majority of 9 to 1—to order the whole body of miners of Great Britain to come out on strike should the masters persevere in their claims, and not satisfy the men's demands. Happily at the eleventh hour the contending parties, with the assistance of the Board of Trade, came in each case to an agreement which settled the dispute—at least, provisionally. In the Welsh case the masters accepted the principle that the question of the introduction of double shifts should each time be decided by agreement between the men and masters, with further reference, if needs be, to the Conciliation Board and arbitration. They also agreed not to persist in their demand for the additional 60 hours a year pending the decision of the courts on a test case as to the right of the coalowners to work them at their discretion. This agreement lasts till March 31st, 1910, after which each side will formulate its definite demands. In the Scottish case the masters agreed to withdraw their demand for a 12½ per cent. reduction, and to grant the demanded standard minimum wage of 6s. On their part, the miners agreed to abate any claim for an increase due on an increase in coal prices up to 6½ per cent., should such an increase take place before March 31st, 1910. This agreement holds good till August 1st, 1912.

Besides these two formidable disputes, there were in other parts of the country minor disputes, as, for instance, one in Warwickshire concerning "snap" or meal time, which the masters wanted to reduce from half an hour to 15 minutes. Ultimately the dispute was referred to Mr. Churchill, who gave his decision in favour of 20 minutes.

HOURS OF LABOUR.

The working day has shown a constant tendency to decrease in the last ten years. The persistent demand for reduced hours is due to a variety of causes, one of which is no doubt the increasing demands made on leisure. Men and women are increasingly dis-

satisfied with the meagre provision for recreation provided in former days. More important than this is, however, the purely economic factor. The specialisation of industry inflicts on industrial workers a monotony which did not exist when a man took his turn at different jobs; while the increasing complication of machinery demands a more exacting standard of concentration. The industrial worker works harder and at a greater strain than ever before, and hours must be proportionately reduced. The relation of the hours of labour to the problems of the market and of employment in general were well put by the General Federation of Trade Unions in 1905:—

The hours of labour have not been reduced, nor the wages of labour increased, proportionately to the increased productivity of labour. It is asserted that the result is that the wage-earner has, at the present time, a smaller proportional effective demand for the product of labour than was formerly the case, and that over-production, or rather over-consumption, is the inevitable consequence.

The fact that there is not enough work, at the present rate of production, to go round the whole population was officially acknowledged by a conference of London local authorities in 1902, under the auspices of the L.C.C. The conference suggested that the reduction of the hours of labour to a reasonable limit was, in the interests of industry and labour alike, a matter of the highest importance. When the L.C.C. took over the tramways in 1898 the men were working 67½ hours a week, with no compulsory rest day except for drivers and conductors, who had the eleventh day off, and were docked of their wages on that day. The hours of labour under the L.C.C. were reduced in the first two years to sixty hours a week, with a weekly rest day, with the result that an additional 426 men were taken on.

A reduction in excessive hours does not produce an equivalent diminution in the product of labour. The rule of three applied to this kind of problem in schools does not give correct results in practice. A man whose labour at six hours a day is worth 34s. a week may produce 40s. worth with an 8 hours day, but another hour a day will only raise the weekly value of his work by 1s., and if the day is prolonged to 10 hours, production in many cases will fall to 40s. worth. This is the standard put by Professor S. J. Chapman in his Presidential Address to the Economic Section of the British Association in 1909.

The wages of half a million workers were affected by the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1908, commonly known as the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Act, which came into force on July 1st, 1909. The last far-reaching change in the hours

of labour had been in 1902, when the hours in textile factories employing over a million workpeople were reduced by one hour per week. During 1908 there were no considerable changes, the net reduction in hours per week being 38,423, the smallest since 1904. In the first nine months of 1909 the net reduction amounted to 102,713 hours.

Under the Coal Mines Eight Hours Act some quarter of a million persons were affected. The reduction to an 8½ hour day differed in various parts of the country. In South Wales the average underground had been 9½ hours, and the total decrease in output compared with September of the previous year, which was put down by Mr. Goldsworthy, to the working of the Act, was 87,000 tons. Swansea, however, showed an increase of 23,000 tons. Throughout Great Britain, making various allowances for holidays, &c., a full week's work had averaged at 49 hours 53 min. The Act brought this down 10·27 per cent.

FATAL INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

The toll levied by industry in human life shows no serious change. The last complete annual returns available are those for 1908, when 4,224 deaths from industrial accidents were recorded, representing a decrease of 253 on the returns of 1907, but an increase of 29 in the average of the five years 1904-8. About six million workpeople come under the purview of the returns, which give about 7 deaths for every 10,000 employed. Of these by far the greater number occur in the two most dangerous trades, those of the sailor and the miner. The deaths from accident

among seamen are 50, and among miners 13 per ten thousand. These figures do not include the persons injured. In the railway returns, for instance, the deaths only represented between 7 and 8 per cent. of the accidents to railway servants in 1908.

The deaths from accident do not exhaust the roll. Diseases of occupation, though minimised by successive orders from the Home Office, still account for many lives, and for much disablement. Lead poisoning contracted in a variety of factory occupations was responsible for 646 cases, 32 of which proved fatal. House-painting and plumbing, where the disease is not necessarily reported under the Factories and Workshops Act, provided 239 more causes with 44 deaths. Mercurial, phosphorus, and arsenic poisoning accounted for 34 cases with one death; anthrax contracted in handling wool, horsehair, hides, furs, &c., gave 47 cases, the lowest figure for five years, with seven deaths.

During the nine months ended September, 1909, 2,125 workpeople (not including sailors) were killed in the course of their employment, the death-roll showing a decrease of 51 on the corresponding figures of 1908. During the same period 685 seamen lost their lives as against 917 in January—September, 1908.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

The first complete returns for a whole year of the indemnity paid under the more stringent rules of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 show, with certain limitations the approximate cost of this wastage in industry. The figures are, for 1908:—

Industry.	Number Employed.	Fatal Cases.		Disablement Cases.	
		Number.	Amount of Compensation.	Number.	Amount of Compensation.
			£		£
Shipping	235,001	371	61,333	5,877	51,519
Factories	5,497,938	951	130,506	136,367	660,301
Docks	67,929	156	21,254	10,591	65,220
Mines	1,047,862	1,301	226,226	137,622	601,848
Quarries	85,475	88	11,501	5,284	23,056
Constructional Work ..	127,106	119	13,551	6,505	38,269
Railways	451,392	461	67,715	20,688	63,079
Total	7,512,753	8,447	532,086	323,224	1,523,392

In addition there were 26 fatal and 2,260 disablement cases as a result of industrial diseases, the amounts paid being £4,037 and £21,257 respectively.

"TOO OLD AT FORTY" A MYTH.

It has been asserted time and again that men of 45 and 50 are less likely than ever to be kept on by their employers or to find work if thrown out. The investigations of the Poor Law Commission (Minority Report, p. 1,168), dispose of this allegation. In 1885 the average age of men beginning to draw Superannuation Benefit in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was

61½ years, in 1906 it was 63½, and in 1907 64½. One of the reasons alleged is that employers are unwilling to take the risk of old men for fear of industrial accidents. But the Insurance Companies, on whom the payments fall, deny that any stipulation is made in insurance contracts against the employment of middle-aged and older men. In point of fact the risk of accident is greater for less experienced workers. Sir George Livesey, in a record of accidents at the Metropolitan Gas Works, between 1897 and 1905, found that the most hazardous age was between twenty and thirty years of age; the percentage of accidents among men

between fifty and sixty was only two-thirds as great. Other firms gave evidence in the same sense.

DANGEROUS TRADES.

In Germany the devising of scientific appliances for the prevention of accidents is encouraged by the Imperial authorities in a very striking way. A special museum was built at Charlottenburg in 1901-3 where exhibits of contrivances for ensuring safety are shown. Electric motors are provided for the working of the machines, so that the accident-saving apparatus can be observed actually at work. Another section shows scientific apparatus for the testing of air contrivances for ventilating workrooms, and models of sanitary and other arrangements.

During 1909 orders were issued from the Home Office regulating the conditions of the generation, distribution, and use of electrical energy in any factory or workshop.

DANGER IN COAL MINES.

The Royal Commission on Mines appointed in June, 1906, issued its second report dealing with technical questions relating to the health and safety of miners in September, 1909. The recommendations of the Report include: (1) an increase in the staff of Government inspectors, (2) practical suggestions for the diminution of coal-dust in mines, (3) the codification of the rules in regard to shot-firing, (4) the enforcement of a better system of timbering to avoid falls of roofs or sides, (5) that engine-winders should be subjected to a periodical medical examination. There are also general recommendations for the increase of the administrative powers of the Home Office.

THE

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The Co-operative Movement dates from the establishment of the Rochdale Pioneers' Society in 1844.

Co-operative enterprise in Great Britain may be divided into three classes of undertakings—Productive Societies, Wholesale Societies, and Retail or Distributive Societies. The spheres of activity of the Productive and Retail Societies are well known, but that of the Wholesale Societies needs perhaps to be shortly explained.

There are two great Wholesale Co-operative Societies, one for England and one for Scotland. The share capital in these is entirely held by Retail Societies, which elect the directors through their delegates. Their function is partly productive and partly that of middlemen. They either purchase or produce goods in large quantities, and sell them to the Retail Societies. They are prohibited from selling to anyone else, although on the other hand the Retail Societies are free to buy where they choose. Loyalty on the part of the latter therefore counts for much, but in the end, of course, the success of the Wholesale Societies depends on their ability as manufacturers. How great that success has been may be seen from the figures given below.

There also exists an organisation called the Co-operative Union, to which all Co-operative societies may be affiliated, and which fulfils for co-operators much the same functions as those fulfilled for trade unionists by the General Federation of Trade Unions.

The societies connected with the Co-operative Union made the following returns at their Congress in 1909:—

		Societies.	Members.	Shares.	Trade.	Profits.
				£	£	£
Wholesale Societies,	1907.....	2	1,417	1,794,545	32,390,028	866,821
"	1908.....	2	1,414	1,984,676	32,433,968	731,424
Retail Societies,	1907.....	1,443	2,323,378	20,038,649	68,147,529	10,899,332
"	1908.....	1,428	2,404,595	30,037,352	69,783,278	10,773,005
Productive Societies,	1907.....	125	80,668	816,488	2,973,549	177,098
"	1908.....	120	81,036	830,678	3,093,071	164,421
Supply Associations,	1907.....	4	77,053	377,118	2,073,558	50,875
"	1908.....	4	77,955	377,201	2,107,341	52,693
Special Societies,	1907.....	8	1,574	28,492	133,035	7,415
"	1908.....	6	1,194	25,073	132,996	7,104

This gives a membership of 2,516,194, a trade of £107,550,654 for 1908, with profits amounting to £11,728,647.

The Co-operative Societies have invaded the textile, boot and shoe, the metal and hardware, printing, baking, laundry, woodwork, and building trades, with a yearly output of over eleven millions. The Wholesale and Distributive Societies carried on farming on their own account over an acreage of 10,119 acres, with an invested capital of £216,908. The Agricultural Organisations' Society, affiliated to the Union, included 293 societies, with a

membership of 15,000 and a turnover of £850,000.

In 1908 249 new societies were registered in England, 36 in Ireland, while 61 were amalgamated or dissolved.

Outside the 1,041 societies which compose the Co-operative Union, with its membership of 1,201,222 members, there are 670 smaller Co-operative Societies, with a membership of a quarter of a million, which stand outside the movement.

The Forty-first Annual Co-operative Congress was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne during Whit Week, when about 1,700

delegates were present from Co-operative Societies in the United Kingdom, together with deputations from co-operative organisations in Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

Mr. W. E. Rae, of the Sunderland Co-operative Society, presided over the Congress, which was convened by the Co-operative Union.

Among the resolutions discussed and adopted by the Congress were those in favour of the removal of the restrictions upon the importation of live Canadian cattle; of a minimum wage for co-operative adult male employes of 24s. per week, and of 17s. per week for adult female labour, with a sliding scale according to age for young people under 21 years of age; of the adoption of means for preventing overlapping of societies in certain districts; the promotion by Co-operative Societies of garden suburbs and villages in connection with their factories and workshops; and in support of the international alliance of Co-operative Societies.

A list of Co-operative Societies will be found in the Directory of Societies.

PROGRESS of CO-PARTNERSHIP

By HENRY VIVIAN, M.P.

The principle of co-partnership has strengthened its position considerably during 1908-9. There has been no increase in the number of co-partnership manufacturing businesses established by workmen, but those already established have, on the whole, prospered, and many are able to record a large increase in trade and employes. There are 112 of such businesses with £1,941,112 of capital, and their output for the year was £4,214,542, on which a profit of £182,663 was made.

The town whose workpeople in proportion to its population has made the greatest progress in applying this principle is Kettering. There are in the town two co-partnership boot, one co-partnership clothing, and one co-partnership corset factories, with an annual trade of £161,500, and about 1,150 employes.

The aggregate capital is £64,873, practically the whole of which belongs to workmen or workmen's societies. These workmen's societies determine in their rules how profits shall be divided. One society allocated the profit of £5,509, which it made on the year's trade as follows:—

To Shares at 5 per cent.....	£704
„ Customers at 7d. in the £ on purchases.....	2,130
„ Workers at 1s. 4d. in the £ on wages.....	1,504
„ Share Capital, in addition to 5 per cent. interest.....	375
„ Education Fund.....	110
„ Provident Fund.....	220
„ Reserve Fund.....	440
„ Balance forward.....	26

Total .. £5,509

The Working-Class Co-partnership Societies grouped in trades show 18 clothing and textile, 16 agricultural, 16 boot and leather, 14 metal, 18 building and wood-working, 13 printing, and 17 various trades, or 112 societies in all.

A great extension of the principle has taken place during the year amongst gas companies. The first gas company to adopt the principle was the South Metropolitan. Beginning in 1889 with profit-sharing, it has gone steadily forward to complete co-partnership, capitalising the employes' profits and giving them representation on the Board. Up to June 30th, 1909, their 5,146 employes had received under the scheme, in addition to the standard wage, £464,779 as a share of profits. They held about £400,000 in the capital of the company, and elected by ballot three representatives on the Board of Directors. The amount of profit credited to the employes in the year ending June, 1908, was £38,426, and for the year ended June, 1909, £37,500.

The South Suburban Gas Company followed in 1894 with a similar scheme, and the Newport Company in 1900, the Commercial (London) and Chester Companies in 1901. The success of these was so marked that in 1908 the co-partnership principle was adopted by the Leamington, Rugby, Walker and Wall-send, Wrexham, Tunbridge Wells, Tottenham, Croydon, Gloucester, Bournemouth companies; and in 1909 by the Wellingborough, Cardiff, Gas Light and Coke Company (London), Watford, Cambridge, and Grantham companies.

These companies represent an aggregate capital of £43,500,000, being more than half of the total capital of the gas companies of the Kingdom.

The Ilford and Southend companies have the question of applying co-partnership under consideration.

Messrs. J. T. & J. Taylor, woollen manufacturers, Batley, whose employes have under their co-partnership scheme received over £55,000 from the profits, have, with a view to encouraging the employes to acquire a larger share of the capital of the concern, modified their scheme during the past year so as to provide that all those employes of not less than 21 years of age, who have been five years in the company's service, and who own shares to the amount of half-a-year's wages, shall, in future years, receive double the bonus that other employes receive. For instance, in a year when the bonus on wages is, say, 7½ per cent., a man whose wages for the year amount to £70, who owns shares to the extent of £35, who is not less than 21 years of age, and has been five years with the company, will receive a bonus in shares on his wages at the rate of 15 per cent. instead of 7½ per cent., that is, he will get £10. 10s. instead of £5. 5s. as hitherto.

Messrs. Gilbert Brothers, boot and shoe manufacturers, of Nantwich, were the first to apply labour co-partnership under the "Limited Partnership Law."

which came into operation in 1908. This Law has enabled the employés of this firm to register as a corporate body under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, and through this corporate body become partners in capital and profits with Messrs. Gilbert Brothers, with limited liability, whilst the firm retains its old name. The partners other than the employés only have unlimited liability.

During the year Messrs. Lever Brothers, of Port Sunlight, have adopted a co-partnership scheme, under which £500,000 in par value partnership certificates may be allotted to employés who are 25 years of age and upwards, and who have been with the firm not less than five years. The value of the certificates which may be issued to an employé is based on the amount of salary, working out roughly at 10 per cent. of the salary per year, so that an employé receiving £100 a year, and who has been employed for eight years, and who is in other ways qualified may be allotted £80 in partnership certificates, this being increased by yearly increments of £10 until a maximum laid down in the scheme is reached; as to dividends, after interest on preference shares has been met, 5 per cent. will be paid to ordinary shares, then 5 per cent. on Preferential Certificates held by aged retired employés, after which partnership certificates and ordinary shares will participate equally *pari passu* in any profit, so that if it is possible to pay to ordinary shares a further 5 per cent., making 10 per cent. in all, partnership certificates will get 5 per cent.

Another development is the recent proposal made to the employés of the

firm of Furness, Withy, & Co., by the Chairman, Sir Christopher Furness, and adopted by them. The scheme does not provide for a share of profits going to the workpeople in proportion to their earnings, but it creates a preference capital which employés will take up, and, in addition to obtaining a fixed guaranteed interest of 4 per cent., this capital will participate with ordinary shares in the profit after a fixed interest of 5 per cent. has been paid on ordinary shares.

Provision is also made for a Works Council of the employés to be formed.

Under Labour Co-partnership an effort is made to enlist the active interest of the worker (1) in the profit, (2) in the capital, (3) in the general administration and representation of the business.

If we substitute the word "tenant" for "worker" in the Co-partnership Tenant Societies, the methods are somewhat similar. On these Co-partnership Tenants' Estates the usual rents are charged, a fixed interest paid on capital, and the surplus is divided according to the rules, a substantial share going to the tenants as dividend on their rents. This dividend is not paid in cash, but is credited to the tenants as shares in the society. By preventing unnecessary waste in empties or in repairs, and helping to keep up the value of the property, the tenants can assist in increasing the fund from which the dividend on their rent is paid.

The following figures will show the progress made in recent years. Those for 1909 include an estimate for the last quarter of the year, based on the figures for the first nine months.

CO-PARTNERSHIP TENANTS' SOCIETIES, PROPERTY YEAR ENDING

Name of Society.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Tenants Co-operators, Ltd.	23,680	28,680	28,680	28,680	28,680	28,680
Ealing Tenants, Ltd.	17,808	26,840	36,765	71,197	97,166	138,600
Garden City Tenants, Ltd.	—	5,000	37,670	72,357	81,000	81,000
Sevenoaks Tenants, Ltd.	—	4,550	14,500	16,550	16,550	16,950
Leicester Anchor Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	1,500	4,555	10,480
Bournville Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	10,801	22,000	31,330
Manchester Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	8,660	23,500	43,500
Hampstead Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	16,674	65,672	120,000
Harborne Tenants, Ltd. (Birmingham)	—	—	—	16,501	45,933	97,760
Oldham G.S. Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	9,000	20,500	21,500
Fallings Park G.S. Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	1,200	8,138	14,160
Rubery and Eachway Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	—	2,088	3,000
Derwentwater Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	—	—	7,350
Trentham Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	—	—	6,550
Second Hampstead Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	—	—	2,000
Wayford Tenants, Ltd.	—	—	—	—	—	3,000
	£45,938	£65,070	£117,615	£253,120	£415,782	£625,860

HENRY VIVIAN.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Annual Report of Co-operative Congress. (Co-operative Union, Manchester.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Aves, E. Co-operative Industry. (Methuen.) (1907.) 5s. net.
- Board of Trade Report on Workmen's Co-operative Societies, 1901. (Cd. 698.) (Wyman.) 1s. 3d. net.
- Co-operative Wholesale Society's Annual. (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Manchester.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Devine, H. C. People's Co-operative Banks. (Cassell.) (1908.) 1s. net.
- Fay, C. R. Co-operation at Home and Abroad. (King.) (1908.) 10s. 6d. net.
- Holyoake, G. J. History of Co-operation in England. (2 Vols.) (1875-9.) (Co-operative Union, Manchester.) 6s. 6d. net.
- Jones, B. Co-operative Production. (Co-operative Union, Manchester.) (2 Vols.) (1894.) 4s. 6d. net.
- Lloyd, H. D. Labour Co-partnership. (Harper.) (1898.) 5s.
- Schloss, D. F. Report on Profit-Sharing. (1894.) (Eyre & Spottiswoode.) 10d. net.

GENERAL.

- Abstract of Labour Statistics, 1906-7. (Cd. 4413.) (Wyman.) 6d. net.
- Board of Trade Directory of Industrial Associations, 1907. (Cd. 8554.) (Wyman.) 11d. net.
- Booth, C. Life and Labour in London. (Vol. 5 of Second Series.) (Macmillan.) (1889-1897.) 5s. net.
- Brooke, E. A Tabulation of the Factory Laws of European Countries. (De La More Press.) (1898.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Clark, V. S. The Labour Movement in Australia: A Study in Social Democracy. (Constable.) (1907.) 6s. net.
- Drage, Geoffrey. The Labour Problem. (Smith, Elder.) (1896.) 14s.
- Hobhouse, L. T. The Labour Movement. (1893.) (Fisher Unwin.) 1s.
- Howell, G. Labour Legislation, Labour Movements, and Labour Leaders. (2 Vols.) (Fisher Unwin.) (1905.) 7s.
- Leaflets of the National Anti-Sweating League free on application to the Secretary, 133, Salisbury Square, E.C.
- Nicholson, J. Shield. Strikes and Social Problems. (1896.) (Black.) 3s. 6d.

- Report of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, 1903. (Cd. 1741.) (Wyman.) 6d. net.
- Report of Wages Boards and Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts of Australia and New Zealand. By Ernest Aves. (Wyman.) 1s. 10d.
- Rogers, J. E. T. Six Centuries of Work and Wages. (Abridged Edition.) (Sonnenschein.) (1894.) 2s. 6d.
- Shadwell, A. Industrial Efficiency: A Comparative Study of Industrial Life (England, Germany, America.) (2 Vols.) (Longmans.) o. p.
- Toynbee, A. Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century. (Reminiscences of Toynbee, by Lord Milner.) (Longmans.) (1896.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Tuckwell, G. M., and Smith, C. The Workers' Handbook. (Duckworth.) (1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

TRADE UNION.

- Annual Report of the Board of Trade on Changes in Wages and Hours of Labour, (1908.) (Cd. 4713.) (Wyman.) 9d. net.
- Black, Clementina. Sweated Industries and the Minimum Wage. (Duckworth.) (1907.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Bibliography of Sweating and the Minimum Wage. (Nat. Anti-Sweating League.) 3d.
- Bowley, A. L. Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century. (Cambridge University Press.) (1900.) 6s. net.
- Cadbury, E., and Shann, G. Sweating. (Headley.) (1907.) 1s. net.
- Chapman, S. J. Work and Wages. Part 2: Wages and Employment. (Longmans.) (1908.) 10s. 6d. net.
- Malvery, Olive C. Baby Tilters. (Hutchinson.) (1907.) 2s. 6d.
- Report of the Board of Trade on Earnings and Hours of Labour in 1906. 1.—Textile Trades. (Cd. 4545.) (Wyman.) 2s. 7d. net. 2.—Clothing Trades. (Cd. 4844.) (Wyman.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Report of Conference on Sweated Industries. (Scottish Council for Women's Trades.) 1s. net.
- Report upon Railway Conciliation Boards. (Wyman.) (Cd. 4534.) 6d. net.
- St. Clair, O. Low Wages and No Wages. (Sonnenschein.) (1908.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Truck Acts, Departmental Committee on.

SECTION VIII.—LAND REFORM.

THE LAND PROBLEM.

"By this or that law affecting land," said John Ruskin, "you determine whether a nation shall consist of fifty or one-hundred millions." And not only do you determine the numbers of a people, but you determine what is of far greater importance, their condition and their character.

Under one system you may produce a race of sturdy and stout-hearted yeomen, such as Cromwell's Ironsides, who broke the power of absolute monarchy in this country. Under another system you may have a race of poverty-stricken drudges such as those who suffered the most frightful tortures of oppression until the limit of human endurance was reached and they crushed their tyrants at the great French Revolution. A proverb that was in vogue among our Saxon ancestors declared that "a landless man is a slave." In the present day the accuracy of such a belief is apt to be obscured by the large part which capital plays in modern life. But its truth remains, for the masters of the land are masters of the people whose very existence depends upon it. The history of a people is very largely the history of their land system. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the influence of institution of the feudal system in England, and the adoption of the main principle of the Norman land laws under which every piece of land had its lord, the king himself being the supreme lord, and "all the rest merely his vassals.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF LANDLORDS.

In the centuries that have elapsed since the battle of Hastings many changes have taken place in the conditions of land tenure, but the essential feature of feudalism remains unaltered. It is still a maxim of British law that all land is solely vested in the individual head of the State. **Absolute property in land is unobtainable by any subject of the Crown.** There is no need to take counsel's opinion upon this. All the legal authorities are agreed about it. Sir Edward Coke said, "All lands or tenements in England in the hands of subjects are holden mediately or immediately of the King." No rent or services may be payable, and no grant from the Crown may be on record, and yet, as one authority (Williams on Real Property) puts it "All landowners are merely tenants in the eye of the law." The use of the comparatively modern term "freehold" is evidence of this, for it simply means a State tenancy free of rent. How the freeholders of British soil secured themselves in their vast and profitable privileges, and how they have conducted themselves in the exercise of them, are common knowledge to every student of history, and ought to become so to every citizen.

LAND RESUMPTION.

The right of the King to take the land away from one man and to give it to another was the main source of his power. This power of land resumption still exists although the manner of its assertion is changed. The State now acts through its Parliament, and the resumption is never arbitrary nor unaccompanied by compensation. The power is only exercised where the land is required for purposes to which the landholder is unwilling to permit it to be devoted. But, in the present day, exactly as in former days, the State's right to resume the land is unquestioned. The only difference is that forfeiture without compensation has been replaced by compulsory acquisition at a price. Church sites for the Established Church (but for no other), land for railways, for public buildings, for allotments and small holdings, can be taken from private owners by the authority of Parliamentary enactments, though Parliament possesses no such authority in respect of other commodities. This statutory recognition of the fundamental difference between land and ordinary movable property refutes the claim of the landlords that they may do as they like with their own.

A NATURAL MONOPOLY.

It is impossible to understand the land question at all unless we keep in mind the essential characteristics of land. Of no other property can we say as we can say of land that it is unmakeable, indestructible and indispensable. An inventor or an author can only be sure of his reward by means of his patent right or copyright. Monopoly in private hands in such cases is unquestionably just, but it is only allowed even then for strictly-limited periods. On the other hand the land monopoly is practically interminable except in the comparatively rare cases of compulsory acquisition for public purposes. Whether it should always remain so is a question which has been forcing itself on public attention increasingly in recent years. Certainly the terms upon which the land of a country is to be held in the future will have to be revised on the lines of curtailing privileges which under present circumstances are practically impregnable.

In no country in the world are the masses so divorced from the possession of land as they are in this country. Nowhere else is there such a sharp

dividing line between the landlord and the worker. In England the landless labourer has been deprived of his old rights of common, and has been driven by the hundred-thousand from the land that would still have supported him if it had been obtainable on just and easy terms.

LANDLORDS' PRIVILEGES.

How the landlords have evaded their obligations in regard to taxation is an old story. The same spirit is still alive, the same reluctance to contribute their fair share for the defence of the country, and for the expenses of corporate life. As predominant members of the rural magistracy they still wield important judicial power, and they still enjoy in many cases the much-prized privilege of appointing the clergyman of the parish. It has been computed that about 6,000 clergymen are still appointed to their "livings" by the great landowners. One noble lord has fifty-six church benefices in his gift. The dangers of this system of church patronage are too obvious to need recapitulation here.

CONTROL OF LEGISLATION.

The secret of the strength of the British landlord is to be found in the persistent domination of the whole legislative machinery by the landed interest. Until the franchise was extended by the great Reform Act of 1832 the qualification for the vote in the counties was the possession of a freehold worth at least forty shillings a year, and for a generation after that every candidate for Parliament was forced to prove that at least £300 of his annual income was derived from the ownership of land. When the great lords had their pocket boroughs and could nominate members to the House of Commons, and at the same time could sit in the Upper House themselves, it is not to be wondered at that class legislation was the order of the day. Even now the territorial influence is very great at elections in most country districts, while the House of Lords itself stands on guard to prevent any sacrilegious hand from meddling with what is to its members the very Ark of the Covenant. It is inevitable that such a system of power and privilege should be challenged, and that a way should be found of making the land "less a pleasure ground for the rich and more a treasure house for the people."

IS LAND A MONOPOLY?

Everyone knows that the bulk of the land of the United Kingdom is held by a comparative handful of the population. It is impossible for any apologist of the existing system to get over this awkward fact. Yet we find that the thing is often attempted. Fortunately, although it is not a perfectly satisfactory one, there is an authoritative record of the number of landholders, and the extent of their properties. It is unquestionably sufficient for a fairly accurate view of the general position.

THE NEW DOMESDAY BOOK OF 1876.

In the Occupation Returns of the Census of 1861 only 30,766 persons described themselves as land proprietors, and in their criticisms of the landlord system it was only natural that John Stuart Mill, John Bright, and other land reformers should cite those figures. But Lord Derby gave it as his opinion that there were "at least ten times as many," and on February 19th, 1872, he asked for a Return. The Government agreed, the Local Government Board took it in hand, and four years later it was published. For some reason the metropolis was excluded from its scope, and only 72,112,961 acres were dealt with out of the total area of 77,793,793 acres. Only "approximate accuracy" was claimed for it, and examination shows that it contains many errors. Leaseholders are counted as if they were landowners if their leases are 99 years or more, and many individuals appear over and over

again to swell the total. The Duke of Buccleuch counts as 14, and four other dukes as 11 each. Every clergyman counts as if he were the actual owner of the glebe land, although he is merely the life-tenant of it. All woods (except saleable underwoods) were excluded, and as they generally belong to the great estates their omission is to be kept in mind. Moreover, no distinction was drawn between copyholds and freeholds, or between house property and land, and there were 14,367 separate entries for land belonging to churches, charities, and public authorities, all of which tends to make it appear that land is much more widely distributed than it really is.

GENERAL SUMMARY (from the Return of 1876)

Holders of—	No.	Acreage.
Less than one acre ..	852,438	188,413
One to 100 acres	252,725	4,910,723
100 to 1,000 acres....	51,090	15,133,057
1,000 acres and upwards	10,888	51,885,112
No stated acreage ..	6,459	—
No stated rental	124	2,570
	1,173,724	72,119,961

Even if we take the Return as it stands we see that the imposing total of "over one-million landholders" is chiefly composed of small landlords whose average property is only a little more than a fifth of an acre each. The Duke of Sutherland has seven times as much as the whole of the 852,438 holders of less than one acre. Now add the first two classes together.

1,105,183 landlords hold 5,099,136 acres.
61,978 " " 67,018,175 acres.

The average holding in the first case is a trifle less than five acres, and in the second case it is 1,100 acres.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE LAND (from the Return of 1876).

	Separate Estates.	Acreage.
28 Dukes	158	3,991,811
83 Marquises	121	1,567,227
194 Earls	634	5,862,118
270 Viscounts and Barons..	680	3,780,009

Mr. Shaw Lefevre (now Lord Eversley) shows from the Return itself that there are no more than 166,000 owners of more than one acre, and that 2,250 persons own nearly half the enclosed land of England and Wales. Nine-tenths of Scotland are owned by 1,700 persons, and two-thirds of Ireland by 1,942 persons.

The overwhelming majority of the people do not possess a square inch of the soil of their native country, and are simply tenants-at-will and residents on sufferance, and not by right. It is surely impossible that such a fundamental inequality as this state of affairs indicates should much longer remain unaltered.

PRIMOGENITURE AND ENTAIL.

When a landlord dies without having made a will his landed property goes by right to his eldest son. This is the law of primogeniture. But there is a custom as well as a law, and under it the great majority of the landed aristocracy leave their land either by will or settlement to their eldest sons. By this means the estates are kept together as they would not be if the law of succession were the same in the case of land as it is in the case of personal property. The practice of primogeniture is traceable no farther back than the feudal system. At the death of a tenant the land reverted to his superior lord, and it was re-granted to the son of the late tenant who was most able to fulfil the conditions of military service. As the most able of the sons was generally the eldest one the feudal lord generally granted the land to him. This preference for the eldest son has applied ever since, although the original reasons for it have no longer any force. It is now continued with the object of keeping the estate from being broken up, and of maintaining the dignity of the family. Williams, on the Law of Real Property says: "In families where the estates are kept up from one generation to another, settlements are made every few years for this purpose; thus, in the event of a marriage, a life-estate merely is given to the husband; the wife has an allowance for pin money during the marriage, and a rent charge or annuity by way of jointure for her life, in case she should survive her husband. Subject to this jointure, and to the

payment of such sums as may be agreed on for the portion of the daughters and younger sons of the marriage, the eldest son who may be born of the marriage is made by the settlement tenant-in-tail." "Most family properties," says Mr. Brodrick, "are disentailed in each generation with a view to re-settlement by the joint act of the life-owner for the time being as 'protector,' and of his eldest son as powers in that matter. In many cases the entail is perpetuated by fresh limitations to a period as distant as the law permits, and the father often gains in the process the means of discharging his own debts. The son, on the other hand, taking a life-estate in lieu of his estate-tail, forfeits the prospect of becoming master of the property on his father's death; but, in consideration of this sacrifice, he usually receives an immediate rent charge by way of allowance, and is, placed in a position to marry early."

Most land reformers have condemned this system on the ground that it is one of the chief obstacles to the diffusion of land among the people, and they contend that while it certainly does tend to the aggrandisement of the county families it is contrary to the public welfare.

RIGHTS OF WAY.

Footpaths across the fields have always been necessary conveniences of country life, and a pleasant relief from the ordinary roads. Since the advent of the swift motor, often recklessly driven through clouds of dust, they have become more desirable than ever. And they have never been fully adequate in point of numbers. It is, therefore, to be the more regretted that old footpaths are closed much more frequently than new ones are opened. Encroachments upon these old rights of way are unpleasantly frequent, and take place to a far greater extent than most people realise. The Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society deals with no less than 700 cases per annum.

It is the duty of District Councils and other highway authorities to maintain all public rights of way within their area. If they fail to do so the Parish Council may apply to the County Council to take over their powers in that matter. In many cases however, the offending landowner is either himself the chairman of the Council, or a number of his friends and tenants are members of it. So no action is taken.

JUDGE-MADE PRECEDENTS.

The most serious stumbling-block in the way of the protection of footpaths is to be found in the fact that in recent years judges have built up a set of precedents which render it easy for the owner to raise technical objections to invalidate the public claim. Until lately a right could be proved if evi-

dence of long and unchallenged user was forthcoming from the testimony of the oldest inhabitants. It is now held that this well-established rule of law may be set aside unless there is proof that the path has been actually dedicated as such by the owner. The owner of a settled estate, having only a life-interest, cannot dedicate, and so in such cases scores of paths are annually lost owing to this modern interpretation of the law.

A RECENT CASE.

In one recent case the Duke of Sutherland took proceedings against a lady for asserting a right of way at Trentham. The jury found in her favour on the ground that the public had acquired a right by long usage. But the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Alverstone) gave judgment for the Duke on the ground that, although 85 years of public use had been shown, the estate was entailed between 1760 and 1895, and therefore no one could have dedicated the path.

THE PUBLIC RIGHTS OF WAY BILL.

The Commons Preservation Society has prepared a Public Rights of Way Bill, which seeks to remedy this grave defect in the Law. It provides that where a path has been freely and openly used for 20 years over land belonging to and occupied by the freeholder, a public right must be presumed; where the land is under lease or is entailed the term of 40 years is proposed. This Bill has three times received a Second Reading, and last year passed its Committee Stage only to be blocked by a few members.

THE LANDLORD AS A PREFERENTIAL CREDITOR.

A landlord, when rent is due, is a creditor, with all the remedies of a creditor—the right to sue, to make the debtor bankrupt, and all the rest of it. But over and above these he has the right to distrain. He has the right, the moment the rent is in arrear, to seize, without process of law and without warning, whatever goods (with a few limited exceptions) may happen to be upon the premises. For instance, furniture obtained on the hire purchase system belongs to the vendor till the last payment is made, but it is liable to be seized for rent as if it were actually the property of the tenant.

Comparatively recent alterations in the law now exempt from seizure:—

- (1) The goods of a lodger;
- (2) Any goods sent to be worked at in the course of trade;
- (3) Wearing apparel and bedding to a maximum value of £5.

Where a tenant is bankrupt, the landlord can now only distrain for one year's arrears, but in all other cases for six years' back rents. In all cases except rent where contra accounts exist the creditor can only sue for the

balance due to him. But a landlord can distrain for the full amount of the rent due even though he may actually owe more than that to the tenant.

COMMONS INCLOSURES.

Until the investigations of Professor Nasse, Sir Henry Maine, and others, the accepted theory as to commons was that they were the uncultivated parts of the old English manors, which were granted by the Sovereign to individual owners, and that the rights of common over these wastes had been acquired by the freehold and copyhold tenants of manors, either by grants from their superior lords or by custom. It is now generally held, said Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in his "English Commons and Forests," "that the common rights now existing are the survivals of a system of collective ownership of land by the inhabitants of their several districts, the prevalence of which in the early stages of communities has been traced over the greater part of Europe."

THE FOLK-LAND.

The extent of this "Folk-land," or "People's land," was at one time very great, but it has been steadily and relentlessly diminished by the encroachments of the neighbouring landlords, with or without the authority of Parliament, so that to-day only the "shadow of its former self" remains. Emile de Laveleye describes the process by which the change from the Saxon system to the Feudal system took place in these words: "The fief having been granted by the Sovereign to the lord, the latter assumed as a consequence that the whole land belonged to him. He did not, on this account, suppose himself able to despoil the peasants of the enjoyment of their land or their right of using the Common, Forest, or Pasturage, but these rights were regarded as privileges exercised over the property of the lord." But this complaisance on the part of the Lord of the Manor soon gave way to a different feeling, and the old story of Ahab and Naboth's vineyard was repeated. The Statute of Merton of 1235 was the first Inclosure Act, the barons themselves forming the Parliament of that time. Up to that time two-thirds of England was common land. In 1603 the judges finally ruled that the claim of the inhabitants of a village or manor to the legal recognition of their customary rights was invalid, and that only freeholders or copyholders of the manor could exercise common rights. This iniquitous judgment made the inclosure of commons a comparatively simple matter, and it went merrily on. In the reign of Queen Anne it began to be the custom of securing special Inclosure Acts. Between then and 1845 there were no fewer than 4,000 separate Acts passed, and upwards of 7,175,000 acres of commons and common fields were inclosed.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE OLD YEOMEN.

Apart from their effect on the labourers in the villages, one of the worst results of these inclosures was that it destroyed the class of small yeomen who had been cultivating their own land. The common rights were essential to their very existence, and they were compelled to sell out.

THE GENERAL INCLOSURE ACT OF 1845.

This Act established a new procedure, and appointed independent Commissioners who were to consider no application for inclosure that was not supported by at least one-third of the commoners, and to sanction no scheme that was not supported by two-thirds of them. It gave them power within very narrow limits to allot land for gardens and recreation to the labouring people. In the next 24 years there were 614,820 acres of common land inclosed and only 1,742 acres were set apart for recreation grounds, and 2,220 acres for garden allotments.

INJURY TO THE LABOURING CLASSES.

Arthur Young, in his "Inquiry into the Propriety of Applying Wastes to the Better Support and Maintenance of the Poor," said: "By nineteen inclosure Acts out of twenty the poor are injured, in some cases grossly injured. The poor in these parishes may say, and with truth, 'Parliament may be tender of property, but all I know is I had a cow, and an Act of Parliament has taken it from me.'"

Why Prosecute the man or woman
Who steals a goose from off the
common,

And let the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the
goose?

In 1795, the Rector of Barkham said: "Cottages have been progressively deprived of the little land formerly let with them, and also their rights of commonage have been swallowed up in large farms and by inclosures. Thus an amazing number of people have been reduced from a comfortable state of partial independence to a precarious state as mere hirelings, who when out of work immediately come upon the parish."

THE INCREASE IN POOR'S RATES.

The Labourers' Friend Society, established in 1831, reported: That inclosures and the severance of the labourer from

the land was a principal cause that had led to the peasant's degraded condition, and instanced the Parish of Abingdon Pigotts, in Cambridgeshire, which was inclosed in 1770. "Before the inclosure every man had a cow. On the inclosure the owners of common rights had allotments assigned to them, but they were soon severed from the cottages and thrown into the adjoining farm. Before the inclosure no poor's rates had been levied, but ever since the allotments had been taken from the cottages the poor's rates had been gradually increasing, and they now bear a large proportion to the rental. In the Parish of Lidlington the poor's rates, which were only sixpence in the £ in 1751, became 4s. in 1801, and had been gradually increasing."

Such were some of the disastrous results of adding the old folk-lands to the property of the rich.

ANALYSIS OF THE TOTAL AREA OF GT. BRITAIN.

	Acreage.	Per-centage.
Arable Land	14,611,974	26
Permanent Pasture	17,838,026	31.8
Rough Grazing on moun- tains and heaths	12,460,000	22.2
Woodland	2,809,000	5
Land used for residential and industrial purposes, or occupied by roads, railways, mines, quar- ries, &c., and land which is unsuitable for any agricultural or pastoral uses	8,430,000	15
Total area according to the Ordnance Survey	56,199,000	100

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CULTIVATED AREA OF GREAT BRITAIN.

	Acreage.	Per-centage of culti- vated area.
Large Farms exceeding 300 acres	8,775,000	27
Medium Farms between 50 and 300 acres	18,600,000	53
Small Holdings between 1 and 50 acres	4,875,000	15
Allotments (approximate)	250,000	—
Total	32,500,000	—

NUMBER AND CLASSIFICATION OF HOLDINGS IN GREAT BRITAIN IN 1908.

	1—5 Acres.	5—50 Acres.	50—300 Acres.	Above 300 Acres.	Total.
England	79,837	165,265	109,830	14,651	369,583
Wales	10,121	81,953	18,034	390	60,498
Scotland	18,136	84,601	23,138	2,673	78,548
Great Britain	108,094	231,819	151,002	17,714	508,629

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE ACREAGE UNDER CROPS, BARE FALLOW, AND GRASS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, SHOWING THE CHANGES IN THE PAST 20 YEARS.

	1888.	1908.
Wheat	2,668,226	1,664,860
Barley	2,204,448	1,824,410
Oats	4,177,121	4,189,378
Beans	344,812	296,918
Peas	242,414	164,183
Potatoes	1,406,484	1,161,122
Turnips and Swedes	2,216,542	1,837,997
Mangold	407,558	500,740
Cabbage, Kohl-Rabi, and Rape	208,836	215,674
Clover and Rotation Grasses	5,979,351	6,725,921
Small Fruit	—	97,570
Flax	115,795	47,202
Other Crops	607,441	436,962
Bare Fallow	473,116	315,462
Total Arable Land	21,178,585	19,478,399
Permanent Grass	26,698,229	27,523,562
Total Acreage under Crops and Grass....	47,876,814	47,001,961

THE SHRINKAGE OF THE FARMED AREA.

Between 1891 and 1903 the farmed area has been reduced by half a million acres, of which 32,000 acres went out of cultivation for one reason or another in the last twelve months. A great part of this is due to the expansion of the building area in urban districts. There were small expansions of the agricultural area in 1908 in ten English counties.

THE CONVERSION OF ARABLE INTO PASTURE LAND.

While the plough was stopped over 170,000 acres, the amount of grass land increased 138,000 acres. The total extent of arable land in 1874 was 183 million acres, but it has fallen to 143 million acres. The loss in England and Wales has been more than 20 per cent., and in Scotland it has been less than 4 per cent.

THE LAND MONOPOLY IN LONDON.

That the bulk of the London area is held, like the rest of the country, in a comparatively small number of large estates, is a matter of common knowledge. Owing, however, to the fact that the metropolis was expressly excluded from the Landholders' Return in 1874 no one knows the full particulars either of their area or of their gross rateable value, and still less is known of the income which their owners receive from them. The details of these veritable goldmines are jealously guarded, except in the case of the Crown Lands, the reports of which necessarily appear in the public accounts. The Crown possesses valuable estates in the Regent Street area,

and on the north side of West Strand, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners possess a large area stretching south from Lambeth Palace, the Bishop of London has much property in Paddington, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster's estate extends from High Street, Kensington, across the Uxbridge Road to the Great Western Railway, and the estates of the City Corporation, the City Companies, and various charities occupy a considerable area of the City.

The Westminster Estate.—The most valuable private estates are those which belong to the Duke of Westminster. The larger one extends from Vauxhall Bridge to Hyde Park Corner including the Eaton, Belgravia, Eccleston, and Warwick Squares, and is bisected by the railways that run into Victoria Station. It was a Crown Farm in the time of Queen Elizabeth and yielded a rental of £21 per annum. The late Duke once told the readers of the "Times" that his income from it was "about" £200,000 per annum. But as the leases fall in this income is enormously increased, and the Gorrington case in the Buckingham Palace Road gives us a clue to the potential value of the reversions that will fall like ripe fruit into the landlord's lap in the fullness of time, unless prevented by some radical change in the land laws in the meantime. The Grosvenor Estate in the Grosvenor Square district stretches along Hill Street, round by Park Lane, Oxford Street, and Bond Street, and includes Brook Street, Grosvenor Street, and Mount Street. The area of the two estates comprises about 600 acres, and the Duke has the prospect of a probable ultimate income of at least £1,500,000 per annum.

The Portman and Portland Estates extend between Oxford Street and Regent's Park, and are bounded by the Edgware Road on the west. A number of Lord Portman's leases fell in in March, 1888, and he netted £1,250,000 in fines and increased ground rents. The value of the land in this district may be measured by the fact that the ground rent of Selfridge's Stores alone is £10,000 per annum.

The Duke of Bedford's estate extends, with here and there a slight break, from the Strand to the district between Euston Station and the Hampstead Road. It includes Covent Garden Market, which yields a clear income of over £20,000 per annum—and Bedford, Woburn, Bloomsbury, and Russell Squares. It runs along Southampton Row, New Oxford Street, and a good way up the Tottenham Court Road. The late Duke once referred to himself as only being able to meet the agricultural depression by being "the fortunate possessor of a few lodging-houses in Bloomsbury."

The Duke of Norfolk owns a number of streets between the Strand and the Embankment, and was, of course, thus qualified to sign the manifesto before the L.C.C. election on behalf of the distressed ratepayers of London. The

Marquis of Salisbury possesses a good deal of property on the south side of the Strand and along the Shaftesbury Avenue. Other extensive estates are Earl Cadogan's in Chelsea, the Maryon Wilson estate at Hampstead, Lord Amherst's in Hackney, Lord Llangat-tock's along the Old Kent Road, Lord Camden's in Camden Town, and the

Marquis of Northampton's in Clerkenwell.

An exception among the great landlords of London was the Marquis of Northampton, who endorsed the proposals of the Budget which would apply to public purposes some part of the vast land values which now go to maintain a handful of Peers.

ALLOTMENTS AND SMALL HOLDINGS.

ALLOTMENTS.

The difference between an allotment and a small holding is entirely one of area. Under the Allotments Act of 1887 no more than one acre could be let to any one person. The Local Government Act of 1894, commonly known as the Parish Councils Act, extended the definition to five acres in the case of land that had been hired by the public authority instead of being purchased. A small holding may extend to 50 acres. The total quantity of land held by counties in England and Wales on December 31st, 1908, for the purpose of allotments was 17,529 acres, of which 3,478 acres had been purchased and 14,051 had been hired. There were 58,648 individual tenants and two associations. The average size of each allotment was 1 rood 6 perches. The number of applications received for allotments during 1908 was 21,540, and the total quantity applied for was 15,695 acres. 18,366 of these applicants asked for a total of 4,779 acres, while 3,169 applicants asked for 10,806 acres. A considerable number of the latter were referred to the county councils to be dealt with as applicants for small holdings. Allotment authorities are now empowered to erect dwelling places for occupation with an allotment of one acre or more, and 245 applications for houses were received during the year, but at present none have been actually erected by any of the authorities.

THE COST OF ACQUIRING LAND.

The Small Holdings Commissioners report that in many cases it has been impracticable to purchase land owing to its high value. The returns show that only 1,253 acres were acquired for allotments during the year 1908, of which 304 acres were purchased for £20,528, and 949 acres were leased at rents amounting to £2,182. The average price of the land purchased is £67 an acre, and the average rent for the land hired is £2. 6s. an acre. Parish Councils paid an average price of £41 an acre, Urban District Councils £149 an acre, and Town Councils £65 an acre. The number of applicants in England and Wales who were provided with allotments by local authorities during 1908 is 6,147.

Parish Councils may improve and adapt any land acquired by them for allotments by draining, fencing, &c., and may erect thereon cottages and buildings, or may make adaptations of existing buildings, but not more than

one cottage may be erected for occupation with any one allotment, and no cottage may be erected for occupation with any allotment of less than one acre.

SMALL HOLDINGS.

By the Small Holdings Act of 1907 a small holding is defined as an agricultural holding which exceeds 5 acres, and either does not exceed 50 acres, or, if it exceeds 50 acres, is of an annual value not exceeding £50.

The area of land necessary to make a small holding successful depends upon a number of circumstances, chief of which are the character of the small holder himself, the quality of the land and the proximity to markets. The value of the crop is the real test, and this will vary according to the soil and the locality. Although the actual number of holdings from one acre to 50 acres is larger than most people would imagine, they only cover an area of about 15 per cent. of the cultivated area. Many of them are not small holdings in the ordinary sense of the word, but are accommodation land in the occupation of tradesmen and others. Large farms exceeding 300 acres occupy 27 per cent. of the 32,500,000 acres of the cultivated surface, and, besides this, 2,700,000 acres are described as woodland, and 12,700,000 acres as mountain and heath land used for grazing. It is therefore seen to be true that only a very small proportion of the soil is occupied in small holdings.

THE WORKING OF THE ACT.

The attempt to enlarge this area has met in many cases with the most determined hostility. In other instances landlords have got rid of the small holdings that formerly existed, and had consolidated their land in large farms, and many of them now find themselves unable to re-create small holdings or to establish fresh ones, even where they may not be unwilling to meet the modern demand. It is difficult to determine how much of the difficulty experienced in obtaining land for small holdings is due to opposition to the movement, and how much must be referred to the practical difficulties of the situation. But in nearly every part of the country there are men who have been anxious to rent land in moderate quantities and have been unable to find any landlord both willing and able to allot it to them. And even where they have got on to the land they have been generally handicapped by having to

pay much heavier rents than are charged to the neighbouring large farmers for exactly the same class of land. This difference is only partially accounted for by the greater cost per acre of the building equipment of the holdings. The main difference is simply due to the fact that the supply in any district is rarely equal to the demand, so that the price is inevitably forced up by the increased competition.

Another factor in the situation is the antagonism of the large farmers. They are loud in their complaints that farming does not pay, but they are often as reluctant to surrender a field or a part of a field as if their life depended on it. They are too apt to declare that any piece of land desired for the establishment of new holdings is their best land, and they call the demand for it "picking the eyes out of the farm." The inference is that farming is not quite so unprofitable as they would have us believe. But the real reason in very many cases is their objection to anything that will make the labouring class more independent. They dread a scarcity of farm hands, and, with more reason, a general rise in wages. With regard to the supply of labour experience has abundantly shown that where there is sufficient opportunity for the acquisition of Small Holdings, the supply of agricultural labour tends to increase. It is unquestionable that the best way of keeping the young men in the country districts is by giving them a reasonable prospect of being able to procure employment not entirely dependent upon the large farmers.

The establishment of adequate small holdings does put a second string into a labourer's bow, an alternative to wage service, and is therefore a most important means of the raising of rural wages. Just as farmers are now compelled by force of circumstances to pay higher wages in the neighbourhood of collieries and large towns in order to retain their employes, so a similar tendency shows itself when small holdings exist in any number, and offer a means of escape from the low wages generally prevailing in purely agricultural districts.

THE HISTORY OF LEGISLATION.

Perhaps the oldest Small Holdings Act was that which was passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, enacting that no new labourer's cottage should be built without four acres of land being let with it. It is not surprising to find that that Act was unpopular with the landed interest, and that it became a dead letter. Early in the nineteenth century a gold medal was offered by the Board of Agriculture to the person who should "explain in the most satisfactory manner the best means of rendering the allotment system as general throughout the country as circumstances will admit," and William Wilberforce was a member of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, which urged the allotment

system as one of the chief means for raising the people." William Cobbett in his "Rural Rides" called attention to the same need. Allotment Acts were passed in 1819 and 1831, but they were permissive and consequently were comparative failures. The same question occupied the attention of the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834, who recommended, "as a temporary measure," a general plan for providing them. In 1843 a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported that allotments were a powerful means of bettering the condition of the country labourers, and two years later Mr. Cowper, afterwards Lord Mount-Temple, introduced a Bill which was subsequently abandoned. Nearly thirty years later Joseph Arch's movement again brought into prominence the question of agricultural reform. In 1832 the Allotments Extension Act was passed, but it only applied to charity lands. Even then little was done, as the local trustees were opposed to the measure and were supported in their opposition by the Charity Commissioners. Two years later the franchise was extended to the labourers, and no one had a chance of their support unless he was favourable to stronger legislative action than had hitherto been taken. "Three Acres and a Cow" was the expression of the countrymen's new hope, and in 1887 the bye-election which Mr. Halley Stewart won at Spalding hastened the introduction of the Small Holdings Act. When first introduced by Mr. Chaplin it provided that the limit of an allotment should be half an acre, which he said "was as much as a labouring man could work." Three years later Mr. Gladstone referred to that Act at the National Liberal Conference at Manchester, and he described it as "inefficient," but he commended it on the ground that it contained the good principle "that where land is required in the judgment of competent public authorities they have a perfect right to take it, on paying fair compensation, whether the owners desire it or not." Up to this stage Parliament had not considered the question of obtaining anything more than small pieces of ground which a man might cultivate during his spare time.

THE 1892 ACT.

In March, 1890, Lord Salisbury's Government appointed a committee "to enquire into the facilities which exist for the creation of small holdings in Great Britain," and three years later the Act was passed which has practically now been superseded by the Act of 1907, although it has not been repealed. The Conservative Act was doomed to failure from the very beginning. Mr. John Morley (now Lord Morley) declared that it was not worth the paper it was written on because it failed to confer any powers of compulsory land purchase. The measure of its failure is to be found in the fact that less than 900 acres have been

obtained under it in the entire country during 15 years. An average of 60 acres per annum can hardly be called a success. But it was hardly likely that Lord Salisbury's Government would have had anything to do with a Small Holdings Measure unless it had been permissive; so they gave no power to force the hand of the unwilling landlords. The result was a foregone conclusion to all who were not blinded by their tender regard for the land monopolists. The hope that a vigorous peasant proprietary, "their country's pride," would be formed to become, as Lord Salisbury predicted, "a great gain to the nation, and a great gain to the Conservative Party," was foredoomed to disappointment.

THE SMALL HOLDINGS ACT OF 1907.

The general election of 1906 brought hope to the people that some of the leeway would be made up on this question. The Liberal rural land policy, as outlined by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at the Albert Hall in December, 1905, had not a little to do with the return of many advanced land reformers for county constituencies, and the promise has been amply redeemed by the *Agricultural Holdings Act of 1906*, which gives the farmer a greater security of tenure, a stronger claim to compensation for his improvements, and more freedom of initiative than he has ever enjoyed, the *Small Scottish Landholders' Bill*, which the House of Lords threw out, and the *Small Holdings and Allotments Act for England and Wales*. The first of these Acts conferred substantial benefits on the farmers. The *Scottish Bill* would practically have extended the main provisions of the *Crofters' Acts* to the whole of Scotland, giving security of tenure to all existing small holders, and compelling (where necessary) the landlords to create fresh holdings where there was a demand for them, the expense of the transition falling upon public funds in the first instance. The *English Bill* proceeds upon the lines of purchase and leasing by the Local Authorities, and not only gives them power to purchase by compulsion, but provides that defaulting Councils may themselves be compelled to do their duty in this matter. This power has not yet been exercised by the Board of Agriculture, as it is rightly felt that ample time should first be allowed to the Councils so that no excuse should lie for a charge of undue centralisation of bureaucratic authority.

PUBLIC LANDOWNERSHIP.

An important feature of the Act is the provision that all land that is bought by compulsion is to be retained as public property. A dead set was made against this clause by Mr. Jesse Collings, and he was backed by the whole weight of the Opposition and their overwhelming majority in the House of Lords. But Mr. Lewis Harcourt proved adamant on this point.

This assertion of the importance of public landownership is not the least significant of the features of the measure.

THE FIRST YEAR'S WORKING.

In the course of the first twelve months 23,285 applications were received by County Councils for 373,601 acres; 13,202 applicants were approved provisionally as suitable, and the quantity they required was 185,093 acres. Of this amount 21,417 acres were acquired, of which 11,346 acres were purchased for £370,965, and 10,071 acres were leased for total rents amounting to £11,209. The land actually acquired provided for about 1,500 of the applicants, and 504 of them were in actual possession of their holdings on December 31st, 1908. An increased rate of progress has marked the operations of the Act in 1909. From January 1st, 1908, up to October 23rd, there have been submitted to the Board of Agriculture, 770 voluntary schemes and compulsory orders, which were either confirmed, provisionally approved, or were still under consideration, and the total area of land involved was 59,165 acres.

HOW TO GET A SMALL HOLDING.

1. Apply to the County Council for an application form.
2. Fill in the particulars and return the form.
3. The Council enquires as to the suitability of the applicant.
4. It then ought to procure the land.
5. If it fails to act the Board of Agriculture should be appealed to.
6. A Commissioner is sent down to enquire as to the failure, and the Board has power to obtain land and charge the Council with all the expenses.

SOME FOOD IMPORTS IN 1908.

The following figures relate to food-stuffs such as small holders are particularly qualified to produce:—

	£
Butter	24,080,912
Cheese	6,684,203
Eggs	7,183,122
Apples	2,679,703
Pears and Plums	1,003,277
Honey	31,735
Onions	993,669
Potatoes	1,967,216
Tomatoes	955,985

£44,979,823

SOME EXAMPLES OF SUCCESSFUL SMALL HOLDINGS.

South Lincolnshire, Spalding District.—In the seven years subsequent to the passing of the Allotments Act, and chiefly by the activity and practical knowledge of Mr. Richard Winfrey, M.P., about 1,600 acres were brought under one acre allotment cultivation in the 19 parishes around Spalding. Most of the allotments were successful and the men soon wanted more land. In 1894 the County Council purchased

three farms of 88, 48, and 46 acres and placed 70 tenants upon them. Only two of the tenants have failed, and that for moral causes. £9,150 was borrowed and a total payment of £383. 17s. per annum will extinguish the loan in 50 years. The Council has only lost £10 rent. From 1882 to 1892 the exodus from the 19 parishes above-named was about 2,500. In the next ten years there was actually a small increase of 45 in the population, and the improvement is mainly traceable to the small holdings. The Spalding Savings Bank has accumulated funds of £25,252, and there are nearly 1,000 separate accounts; 542 of these average over £40 each, and 90 per cent. of them are agricultural. The Spalding district specialises on potatoes and bulbs, for which the fen land is well adapted. In addition to the County Council land Lord Carrington lets 700 acres to the South Lincolnshire Small Holdings Association, who sublet it to 200 tenants. An evidence of success is that 99½ per cent. of the rent is punctually paid by the holders.

Norfolk.—At Nordeph Mr. Winfrey bought a farm of 50 acres for £2,000, and had over 130 applications for a total of over 500 acres. He got them to petition the Norfolk County Council, and that body bought another farm of 92 acres and cut it up. The land lets "like ripe cherries" at 50s. per acre, and many men are disappointed because they can't get land. Here, as in most other places, a great difficulty is the housing question. Cottage rents have been put up. The Norfolk Small Holdings Association has cut up three farms, at Whissonsett, Watton, and Swaffham. The steward (Mr. Diggle) reports that only £4 rent out of a total of £2,200 remains unpaid. New carts, new implements, more stock, and twenty applicants for each vacant holding, are good signs. One man says he is £200 better off than he was three years ago. Opportunities of employment have increased. 90 to 95 per cent. of the holders are successful.

The Isle of Axholme (Lincolnshire). Small holdings have long been in vogue in the Epworth district.

80	people	hold	less	than	2	acres	each.
115	"	"	"	from	2	to	10
40	"	"	"	"	10	to	20
31	"	"	"	"	20	to	50
14	"	"	"	"	50	to	100
12	"	"	"	"	100	to	200

They mostly grow potatoes and celery, and are doing well. Many of their predecessors "went under" by buying the land at fancy prices and borrowing on mortgage. Mr. Rider Haggard says that 23 of the present holders began as labourers.

Friskney, near Boston.—50 per cent. of the holders have risen from the ranks of agricultural labourers. The land is excellent for early potatoes, which fetch a good price, coming in after the Jersey potatoes. One man started there in a small way and now farms nearly 2,000 acres.

Evesham.—Many thousand acres

stretching in every direction from Evesham are devoted to the culture of fruit, flowers, and vegetables, and are mostly divided into small holdings varying from 2 to 20 acres. "The cultivation is of a high order," according to the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Fruit Industry, "and the whole is a remarkable example of what can be effected on small holdings with industry and skill."

Winterslow (Wiltshire).—Major Poore bought 195 acres and cut up 112 acres into holdings from ½ of an acre to 16 acres. Many of the holders are descendants of the original squatters on the common. Miss Jebb says that they display "the qualities of independence, thrift and enterprise, which were fostered by the absence of any large resident landlords, making the people dependent upon their own resources." They have put up 30 houses for themselves through a building society. The existence of a winter occupation such as the making of sheep cribs and hurdles from the hazel and ash underwood of the adjacent plantations is a considerable help to them and points to the great benefits that a more general scheme of afforestation would confer upon small cultivators in many places.

Catshill (near Bromsgrove).—In 1895 a number of the ratepayers petitioned the Worcester County Council to start small holdings. Many of them were nail makers and their industry was declining. The County Council bought a farm of 147 acres and divided it into 32 holdings under the 1892 Act. The men are buying the land. Some of them had held allotments for ten years, and saved enough out of the fruit crops to pay the deposit. The annual repayments amount to £322, and only the sum of 19s. is in arrear. The crop is chiefly strawberries grown for the Birmingham market. The rate of wages for odd men has risen from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. a day, and farm labourers' wages have also risen several shillings a week. The relieving officer says there is not a single able-bodied man now receiving out-door relief, and the superintendent of police reported to the Quarter Session that the decrease in drunkenness was attributable to the spread of allotments and small holdings. Thirty-one out of the 32 holders have been quite successful.

Warwickshire.—Along the hillside for a considerable distance along the road between Stratford-on-Avon and Bidford," says Sir James Tomkinson, M.P., "there were fields of the most terribly waste and derelict appearance (and there are some still, adjoining them, that are in a similar condition); but a few years ago Lord Hertford let these fields to small holders, and they are now a mass of smiling orchards producing an immense yield."

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

In all countries the practical farmer is very difficult to interest in scientific

instruction. By a liberal and discriminating system of grants agriculture has been fostered in Denmark; the farmer now readily co-operates with the Government and the economic results are known to all. In Prussia the State grants £100,000 a year for agricultural education, and some of the most important experimental stations owe their existence to the initiative of farmers' associations. America has followed the example of Germany, and the State assists 65 agricultural colleges.

British Action.—In England nothing was done by the Government before 1875, in which year "The Principles of Agriculture" became a subject on the syllabus of the Science and Art Department. The Royal Commission on Agriculture (1879-81) reported that adequate technical education was very necessary to agricultural success. In 1888 the State made a grant of £5,000. The Board of Agriculture grant for this purpose in 1903 was only £12,480, but County Education Committees apply to agriculture part of "the whiskey money" which was allocated to County Councils for technical education under the Local Taxation Act, 1890. Local Authorities spent £75,526 on this subject in 1907-8, the amount being £10,639 less than it was before the Education Act of 1902 increased the cost of education and diminished the surplus that they had hitherto allotted to technical teaching. The Board of Education in 1908 made grants totalling £2,404 to County Education Authorities in England and Wales for specialised agricultural technology in agricultural areas. Lancashire spent £7,600 on agricultural education and only earned a grant of £27; Shropshire spent £2,000 and earned £91; and Monmouth spent £1,600 and earned nothing.

Students attending institutions aided by the Board of Agriculture in 1905-6, 1,146; in 1906-7, 1,221; in 1907-8, 1,318.

These figures show some progress, but it is calculated that there are 10,000 young men in England and Wales for whom agricultural instruction is most desirable, only 17 per cent. of whom are receiving it.

METHODS.

Apart from grants by the Board of Agriculture to universities and other educational institutions the County work largely consists in the providing of lecturers at local centres on agricultural subjects, including farming, hygiene, poultry keeping, bee keeping, and horticulture, dairy and cheese-making, field trials and experiments, manual processes and horse-shoeing, and provision of garden plots, including rural school gardens.

Lord Reay's Committee significantly says, "The desire for knowledge in the agricultural districts is spreading, and already there are indications of new methods being tried where old methods have failed." They highly commend the system adopted by the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruc-

tion in Dublin for the Improvement of Irish Agriculture. The Irish Authorities, central and local, devoted no less than £140,000 to this object in 1908, and Ireland is beginning to reap the advantage of this wise policy.

LAND TRANSFER.

The case of the site of the **Denton Hill Head School**, near Walbottle (rental value 30s. per annum, price asked by the Duke of Northumberland £900, price awarded by the arbitrator £695), affords a recent example not only of the difficulty of getting land at a reasonable price, but also of the expensiveness of our present land transfer system. The bill of costs was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Arbitrator's fee	15	15	0
Arbitrator's solicitor's fee for preparing award	5	5	0
Vendor's solicitor's charges ..	19	14	4
Purchaser's solicitor's charges	19	5	0
Outlay, &c.	1	16	6

£61 15 10

Not long ago a case was mentioned at a meeting of the Surveyors' Institute of the title deeds in respect of 5 acres of land worth £6,000 being equal to a strip of parchment a yard wide reaching from the top of St. Paul's Cathedral to the ground. Business of this kind is very profitable to the legal profession, and it is not surprising that they strongly object to a simplified system of land transfer.

Lord Cairns's **Land Transfer Act of 1875** established a system of registration of titles, but it was permissive, and only 250 titles were registered in the first 17 years. The Act of 1897 provided for the gradual extension of **compulsory registration**. Under the registration system the cost of all dealings with land is reduced to a minimum, and the transactions become of the simplest character. The necessity for examining past deeds or former manipulations of the property is got rid of, and the actual title in the hands of the holder is reduced to a simple certificate of the entry in the register. The difficulty is the first cost of establishing the title, which must be done on the old system, and is expensive. After that everything is easy, and expert assistance can be dispensed with, or, if it is employed, the legal fees are cut down.

CONTINENTAL EXAMPLES.

In **Prussia** there is no conveyance of land except under registration. The registered owner's title is conclusive.

Fees—4d. for a £3. 15s. mortgage.	
9d. „ „ £3. 15s. conveyance.	
5s. 10d. „ £100 mortgage.	
9s. 9d. „ £100 conveyance.	

In **Austria** 74 per cent. of the sales and mortgages are for less than £50 apiece. There are local registries both in Germany and Austria, and few of the peasant proprietors are further than ten miles away from one of them.

Under the Torrens Acts the system of land registration was established in Australia, and has had 50 years' trial. It has revolutionised conveyancing, and turned an expensive and dilatory "mystery" into a cheap, rapid, and businesslike process.

MINERAL RENTS & ROYALTIES.

"We are working out as fast as we can the foundations of our prosperity as a manufacturing nation."—J. S. Jeans, Secretary to the Iron and Steel Institute.

"The owners of minerals in the less favoured mines are able, if they hold out for their strict legal rights, to see all the capital of the tenant made valueless before the loss begins to fall on themselves in respect of the royalty."—Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell.

According to a maxim of English law, "to whomsoever the soil belongs, to him belongs all that is above it and all that is beneath it." His property extends from the centre of the earth to the zenith of the sky, with the exception that gold and silver are reserved to the State. By virtue of this right the landlords make three charges:—

- (1) A fixed minimum rent, whatever the result of the working may turn out to be;
- (2) A tonnage rate on the minerals brought to the surface, called a royalty;
- (3) A tonnage rate on the minerals carried either on or beneath the surface, called a wayleave.

None but the landlords themselves know what they receive in the aggregate under these headings. Mr. Lloyd George calculates that they amount to between seven and eight million pounds sterling per annum. The royalty ranges from 4d. per ton to 3s. 6d. a ton on the best gas coal. In return for this income the landlord supplies no machinery and renders no service. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners draw £300,000 per annum from this source, mostly in Durham. The Duke of Hamilton used to draw £114,000 in mineral rents, royalties, and wayleaves every year. The Duke of Bedford levied a fine of £20,000 for the renewal of the lease of the Devon Great Consols mine. A Cornish mine paid £25,000 for the same thing.

HEADS I WIN, TAILS YOU LOSE.

The Barrow Hematite Steel Company had a share capital of £2,000,000. They paid £126,000 a year in various dues to the Dukes of Devonshire and Buccleuch and Lord Muncaster, but for years paid no dividend to the shareholders. As Mr. A. B. Markham, M.P., told the House of Commons (September 22nd, 1909), "the landlord embarks nothing. He is a sleeping partner, taking his profit without any risk." He gave the case of the Wigan Coal

and Iron Company, which spent £500,000 on one colliery, and in 14 years' working did not pay a farthing dividend. But they paid a minimum rent of £10,000 per annum to the Duke of Newcastle. The Mansfield Colliery raises 23,000 tons a week, and pays £25,000 a year to the Duke of Portland, the "poor but honest" critic of the Budget.

WAYLEAVES.

Mr. Markham, himself a large colliery owner (not landlord), also cited the case of the owner of a piece of land no larger than the floor of the House of Commons, who draws £800 per annum for permitting minerals to be taken across it. The Royal Commission were told of a landlord who charged £900 a year for a railway 650 yards long, and of another who charged £1,000 a year for wayleaves over land that was only worth £40 per year. The Haswell Colliery in Durham paid £9,700 in wayleaves for 1½ acres of land. Another colliery had lost £16,000 in twelve years, and they paid exactly that sum in wayleaves, besides royalties. The Chairman of the Northumberland Coal Owners' Association said: "In one case the proprietors have made a condition prohibiting us from carrying our coals, except to two docks or staiths on the River Tyne; they only permit the carriage of coals to Blyth or Sunderland on our paying the same wayleave rent as would have been paid if the coal had been carried to the Tyne, and this is charged, although in going to Blyth and Sunderland we do not use the wayleave." In another case the landlord charged 4d. a ton for a wayleave across a strip of land only 20 yards wide. "We were in a cleft stick and could not help ourselves."

CONTINENTAL CONTRASTS.

In Germany and some other countries the minerals are State property. The royalties are much lower than here, and they are spent on public purposes. The royalties on the coal, iron ore, and lime that are used in the production of a ton of pig iron are as follows:—

	Gt. Brit.	Germ'y.	France.
A ton of Pig Iron...	3/- to 6/3	6d.	8d.
„ Ship Plates	5/9	1/-	1/-
„ Steel Rails	3/8 to 7/8	8d. to 11d	8d. to 1/-

In such ways is British industry now taxed and handicapped. And the landlords pay no part of their mineral income towards the local rates.

Three reforms seem to be needed as the lesson of the cases above cited:

1. Taxation of royalties, &c., as the Budget proposes;
2. A Parliamentary declaration that all minerals as yet undiscovered shall be State property; and ultimately
3. State ownership of all minerals as in Germany.

LAND NATIONALISATION.

By JOSEPH HYDER, Secretary of the Land Nationalisation Society.

For nearly 29 years the Land Nationalisation Society has been at work to undermine the land monopoly by creating a public opinion in favour of a system of national land ownership. The measure of its success is to be found in the fact that 112 members of the present House of Commons are avowed land nationalists and Vice-Presidents of the Society. In addition to these, there are many others who are members of the Public Landownership Parliamentary Council, which was established by the Society to further the gradual extension of public property in land by means of taxation and purchase on the lines of the "Tax and Buy" Bill, which the Society has promoted.

The claim of the landlords to treat the land as practically their absolute property, and "to do as they like with their own," was scarcely challenged a generation ago. But ominous encroachments have been made upon it by Parliamentary enactments, and it is likely to go the same way as these so-called divine right of kings. In Ireland and in parts of Scotland the landlords' power of arbitrarily fixing rents has been taken away, and in the former country they are being gradually expropriated by the use of State credit. It is to be hoped that when the time comes for their expropriation in Great Britain we shall not repeat the Irish mistake of creating small ownerships instead of State tenancies. The essential feature of land nationalisation is compulsory land purchase, and this principle is embodied in the Allotments and Small Holdings Act, the Housing and Town Planning Bill, and the Development Bill.

EVILS OF LANDLORDISM.

Herbert Spencer truly said that the land monopolists got the land originally by force or fraud, and that their titles were written with the sword for pen and blood for ink. But the case for land nationalisation entirely depends, not upon the way in which the system was founded in the past, but upon its effects at the present.

1. It establishes and endows a class of men who neither toil nor spin, but who live by simply levying a toll upon the actual workers in return for permission to use the natural resources of the country.
2. It has conferred upon the landlord class an utterly disproportionate share in the Government of the country, and, as a consequence, class legislation of the worst kind has been carried.
3. It has been the chief cause of rural depopulation and urban overcrowding by denying a reasonable access to the land not only to labouring people, but to small tradesmen and others.
4. It has intensified the seriousness of town problems by withholding land, assisted by unfair exemption from adequate taxation.
5. It has increased the burden of rates by appropriating land values that are the natural revenue of a community.
6. It has checked enterprise by hampering restrictions, by the confiscation of improvements, and by charging extortionate prices for land required for public purposes.
7. It has reduced large numbers of people in the rural districts to the condition, as the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said, "of hardly being able to call their souls their own."

SMALL FREEHOLDS AS AN ALTERNATIVE.

The landlords have always opposed any attempt to deal with the land system in a radical way, but when change becomes inevitable they seek to buttress their position by advocating small freeholds as an alternative to public ownership. Certainly, if land is to be private property at all, it is better for it to be in the hands of many than in the hands of a few. The objections to small freeholds as against State tenancies are:—

1. Fewer people can afford to buy land than to rent it.
 2. Money sunk in obtaining the land would be better employed in improving it.
 3. The ever-present tendency towards the growth of a crippling dead-weight of mortgages.
 4. The conservative and reactionary influence of small proprietorships.
- There is indeed a "magic of ownership," but it should be applied to a man's improvements not to the land itself, and a State tenant would have every practical advantage in regard to that, and security of tenure, and "a free hand," that freeholders now enjoy. It is a remarkable and significant thing that 98 per cent. of the applicants under the Small Holdings Act are satisfied with tenancy under a public authority, and only 2 per cent. desire to obtain the freehold.

COMPENSATION TO LANDLORDS.

The crux of land nationalisation is the question of compensation to dispossessed landlords. It would be robbery to take the land for nothing, and responsible and practical land nationalists are opposed to it. At the

same time it would be folly to pay more than the proper price for it. Public bodies nearly always pay too much now; Netheravon and Rosyth are cases in point. Land has now two values—a low one for taxation and a high one for purchase. It is imperative that the same value should be taken in both cases. When all land is valued, as the Government intends, we shall have, for the first time, the proper financial basis for land nationalisation.

METHOD OF COMPENSATION.

The usual method of paying for land is by borrowing the money for the purpose. The lenders of the money become the creditors of the community. But there is no need at all for this. The security that is good enough for the investors in public loans should be good enough for the landlords themselves. Let them be paid direct in Redeemable Land Bonds, or Terminable Annuities. When the London Docks were transferred to the Port of London Authority the shareholders were paid, not in cash, but in Port of London Stock. It was simply a question of book-keeping. The land holder would become a land bond holder, or a terminable annuitant, and a tenant of the State. He would merely lose his special privilege of selecting tenants and appropriating the rent. The future increase in the value of the land could be applied to the redemption of the Bonds, and it is estimated that if the land only doubles in value in the course of seventy years the unearned increment would redeem all the bonds, and supply in addition an aggregate of over 2,000 million pounds for public services. Under such a scheme there would be all the advantages of public ownership from the very beginning, and a progressively increasing new source of revenue, which would culminate in the whole of the rental value of the land being available for the common good, and the corresponding reduction or abolition of taxes upon industry.

JOSEPH HYDER.

STATE AFFORESTATION.

The old-standing problem of afforestation as a means of national revenue and of unemployed relief seems, after numerous public and private enquiries, to have been at last reduced to its final shape by the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion and Afforestation, which reported early in 1909. The neglect of forestry in this country has long been considered as a scandal by public men. While Germany has nearly 26 per cent., France 17 per cent., Belgium 17·3 per cent., Hungary 27·5 per cent., and Austria 32·6 per cent. of their respective lands under forest, in England forests only occupy 5·3 per cent., in Scotland 4·6 per cent., in Wales 3·9 per cent., and in Ireland 1·5 per cent. of the total respective areas. Yet year by year we import timber, woodpulp, and kindred material to the amount of £30,000,000 and over, of which the greater part—certainly not less than two-thirds—could be produced at home. It may, perhaps, be said that the soil of this country is not suitable for silviculture or that silviculture would be a highly-unremunerative business. But, according to the finding of the above-mentioned Royal Commission, we possess in this country over 16,000,000 acres of waste lands, of which 9,000,000 acres (2,500,000 in England, 6,000,000 in Scotland, and 500,000 in Ireland), would be eminently suitable for the growth of just that kind of timber which we import, and the failure of our existing timber forests to hold their own against foreign competition is due not to the unsuitable nature of our soil or climate but to our lack of scientific methods of forest-growing. In the words of the Departmental Committee on British Forestry of 1902, "Our neglect of silvicultural principles is the sole reason why preference is so generally given in

this country to foreign over home-grown timber."

As for the financial aspect of the question, the examples of India, of the United States, and, above all, of Germany, show how profitable scientific forestry could become in the hands of a nation which knows how to manage it. In Saxony the forests yield to the State a net revenue of 22s. per acre, or in the aggregate over £19,000,000 a year. In eight of the German states the return per acre is over 15s. per acre, in six between 10s. and 15s. per acre, and only in four of them is the return less than 10s. an acre.

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE IN ENGLAND.

The Royal Commission has calculated that by taking in hand the afforestation of the entire available area of 9,000,000 acres, and extending the operation over a period of 80 years, the State will have to spend yearly £2,000,000, but will, at the end of the period, possess an asset worth £562,000,000, yielding an annual income of £17,500,000. There would at first be a yearly deficit rising from £90,000 in the first year to over £3,000,000 in the fortieth, but after that the forests would become more than self-supporting. By thus creating a new national property the State would acquire a new source of non-taxable revenue of considerable dimensions, while at the same time emancipating the market from its dependence on foreign sources, which, moreover, are gradually becoming exhausted.

AFFORESTATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

So much from the State and industrial point of view. There is, however, yet another aspect of the afforestation question which has long been in the mind of social reformers—its relation to the unemployed problem. The Royal Commission shows

that a scheme of afforestation such as they propose would offer considerable relief to the unemployed and stop to some extent the ever-growing migration from the country into the urban districts. They point out that it is perfectly possible to pick out from among the masses of unemployed in our towns a sufficient number of men who could be put to the work of afforestation with due regard to economy, and at the same time so to adapt the operations as to afford special relief to the labour market in times of acute distress. They estimate that on the average every 100 acres would provide employment during the planting season extending over the period from October to March—the period of the acutest annual unemployment—to twelve men which, if 150,000 acres be taken in hand every year, would mean the creation of additional employment for 18,000. This figure may not appear at first sight very large, but it must be remembered that the maintenance of the forests would also require additional labour, estimated at ten times the number of men which the same amount of acres supports at present, and that new occupations would spring into existence which at present are non-existent owing to the timber, &c., being imported from abroad.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

As some doubts have been expressed as to the productive capacity of unemployed labour, the Royal Commission, after careful enquiry, has come to the conclusion that "bearing in mind the numbers of able-bodied and respectable men, accustomed to outdoor work, who are periodically unemployed, with reasonably careful selection, and with the period of training, should such be necessary, charged to a separate account, it does not appear that afforestation through the agency of the unemployed should entail a material increase of cost."

On the much-debated question whether the whole business of afforestation should not be left rather to private enterprise, the Royal Commissioners say: "Silviculture in the United Kingdom is an enterprise which rarely appeals to the private landowner or capitalist. The prolonged time for which capital must be locked up before any return can be expected, the loss of rent and burden of rates over the whole period, and the absence of security for continuous care and management, act as deterrents. None of these objections applies to the State, whose corporate life and resources lend themselves in an especial degree to an undertaking of this character. If the State plants, it will certainly reap, which the individual owner can rarely hope to do."

The Royal Commission recommends that the planting operations and the

management of the forests should be entrusted to a Board of Commissioners, and that in default of purchase by agreement, land should be acquired under compulsory powers.

THE DEVELOPMENT BILL.

The idea of a National Development Fund originated with Mr. Lloyd George, who, in the Budget of 1909, made provision for £200,000, together with certain contingent sums, for this purpose. The objects of the fund is best explained in the Chancellor's own words:

"The grant will be utilised in the promotion of schemes which have for their purpose the development of the resources of the country, and will include such objects as the institution of schools of forestry, the purchase and preparation of land for afforestation, the setting up of a number of experimental forests on a large scale, expenditure upon scientific research in the interests of agriculture, experimental farms, the improvement of stock—in respect of which I have had a good many representations from the agricultural community—the equipment of agencies for disseminating agricultural instruction, the encouragement and promotion of co-operation, the improvement of rural transport so as to make markets more accessible, the facilitation of all well-considered schemes and measures for attracting labour back to the land by small holdings or reclamation of wastes."

As the **Development and Road Improvement Bill**, the measure was introduced into the House of Commons on August 26th. It is divided into two parts—one dealing with schemes for national development, and the other with road improvement. Money for the latter purpose is to come from the proceeds of the new motor taxes, and for the former from a grant of £2,500,000 from the National Exchequer, payable in five annual instalments of £500,000 each, and such other sums as Parliament may see fit to vote.

The Bill passed its Second Reading on September 6th, only 17 members voting against it. Its principles were generally approved, but a fear was expressed that it might lead to political corruption, and to some scrambling by the different parts of the kingdom, all eager to get a share of the money. However, to avoid any danger of the kind it was agreed that advances for purposes of development can only be made by the Treasury at the instance of a permanent body of commissioners, five in number. It was also decided in Committee that the new roads constructed under the terms of the Bill should be "public highways," and not merely "motor roads" where there is no speed limit. The Lords' amendments were agreed to in the House of Commons in November.

THE BUDGET AND LAND VALUES.

By FREDERICK VERINDER

(Secretary of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values).

The hearty welcome and the enthusiastic support given by the organised advocates of the Taxation of Land Values to the Land Clauses of Mr. Lloyd George's Budget may be explained and justified in one word—valuation. The taxation proposals in the Budget are not our proposals. They may be defended on the ground that they necessitate and help the valuation; that their presence makes the valuation a necessary and inseparable part of the Finance Bill; that they were intended to enable the Chancellor to overcome the political difficulty arising from the failure of Valuation Bills to pass the Lords. But they are not the "taxation of land values" as understood by those whose advocacy during many years has brought the question to the front. What we have been asking for is a universal valuation, and a universal tax founded upon that valuation. The exemption of agricultural land from the new taxation at a time when public money is proposed to be freely spent in the "development" of agricultural land value; the attempt to place "undeveloped" land in a category by itself; the arbitrary distinction drawn between the land value as it stood on April 30th, 1909 and the subsequent "increments" upon that value; the sudden transition, in the case of mineral lands, from taxation on capital value to taxation on annual income; the exemption of small holdings of land from taxation; these, and similar departures from principle, can only be justified by reasons of political expediency. The taxes imposed in Part I. of the Finance Bill do not fall every year upon all land values: they fall upon some land values, here and there, and now and then. But the valuation is universal. No concession, no exemption made in the House of Commons has been allowed to impair the completeness or accuracy of the valuation. The Bill, as amended in the Commons, provides, even more carefully than as originally introduced, for the redemption of Mr. Lloyd George's great promise, "to provide machinery for the complete valuation on a capital basis of the whole of the land in the United Kingdom." The Budget does not enact the taxation of land values either for national or local purposes. Except to a very small extent, indirectly through a grant of one moiety of the new land duties to the municipalities and directly by some new relief under Income-tax Schedule A, it gives no relief from the present heavy burdens of taxation and rating on improvements. But in it the foundation for the taxation of land values is well and truly laid. It distinguishes, almost with excessive care, between the value of land and the value of the improvements which labour has made in or on the land.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE.

Thus, in passing the Budget by a large majority, the House of Commons has sealed with its approval the fundamental principle upon which the demand for the taxation of land values is based, viz., that land, limited in quantity, the natural dwelling-place, store-house, and workshop of labour, the source of all wealth, owing its value to the presence, needs, activities, and expenditure of the community that lives upon it, stands in an economic category by itself, and has a value of its own—a value which can be, and ought to be, distinguished from other kinds of value—a value which is a peculiarly fit subject for, and a uniquely just basis of, taxation.

THE READJUSTMENT OF TAXATION.

What should be the next step, when the valuation is completed and available for use? Undoubtedly, as Mr. Ure's Select Committee suggested in 1906, the adoption of the value of land, apart from improvements, as the basis or standard of rating. By general consent, a drastic reform of the incidence of local taxation is long overdue. The delay will be no longer regrettable if it results in reform on a land value basis, now for the first time about to be made possible. Such a reform of rating would:—

(1) Ensure justice in rating between one ratepayer and another. A, B, C, and D hold plots of land of equal value and in the same rating area. A's plot is entirely unused. B's is poorly tilled. C's is covered with glass-houses, yields abundance of food, and employs much labour. D's is covered with cottages. Under our present system, A escapes the rates altogether, while the others pay rates, on a steeply-ascending scale, according to the annual value of the good uses to which they put the land and the improvements their labour has put upon it. The weeds from A's land are a detriment even to B's poor

husbandry; D's cottages are probably overcrowded because A's land is kept out of use. Yet the withholder of land is favoured at the expense of the industrious user of land, who is penalised precisely in the ratio of his industry. If land values were made the basis of local rating, all four would make equal contributions to the rates in respect of equal land values, equally due to the surrounding community.

(2) Enable an equitable readjustment of taxation to be made as between one district and another. Land values are at their highest in the centres of great towns; highest of all in the middle of London, where the presence of a huge and industrious population, densely crowded round the centre of Government and of commerce, brings every economic and social advantage within easy reach, and where the wealth-producing toil of the empire comes, as it were, to a focus. In the "City," "rateable value" consists mainly of land value; in the suburbs mainly of building values. If even the county rate could be levied on a land value basis a sensible relief would be afforded to the suburbs of London, which at present get no adequate share in the land values of central London, which they so largely help to create and maintain. The claim of the rural districts to relief from the burden of the "national and onerous" services, which now fall upon them with unfair heaviness, can ultimately be satisfied only by a readjustment of taxation, local and national, upon a land value basis. Where the advantages of Government are small, land values are low, and taxation (if based on land values) would be low also.

(3) Open the way to urgently-needed social reforms.—The taxation of land on its true capital value, by making it unprofitable to hold land idle or partially idle, would ensure that land should come into use for building, or for any other industrial purpose for which it is best suited, when, and as it is wanted, and this would multiply openings for the employment of labour. The freeing of buildings and other improvements from taxation would remove the burdens which now discourage the exercise of industry upon the land, even where access to it has been had. To this double reform, at once facilitating and cheapening access to land, and removing the penalties which now attach to the employment of labour upon it, we look for the solution of such social problems as those of unemployment and housing. And it will be no small gain that an officially-made and officially-recorded valuation will, in the future, render impossible the glaring disparity between the value which the landlord returns for his land when it is a question of paying rates to the community, and the value he puts upon it when he is asked to sell it to the community for some useful purpose.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Agricultural Returns for Great Britain, 1908. (4 Parts.) (Wyman.) 2s. net.
- Cadbury, Geo. (Jun.), and Bryan, T. The Land and the Landless. (Headley.) (1908.) 1s. net.
- Cobden on the Land Question: A Plea for Small Holdings. (Cassell.) 3d.
- Collings, Jesse. Land Reform: Occupying Ownership, Peasant Proprietary, and Rural Education. (Longmans.) (1908.) 12s. 6d. net.
- Co-operative Labour on the Land. (Ed. by J. A. Hobson.) (Sonnenschein.) 2s. 6d.
- Dawson, W. H. Unearned Increment. (Sonnenschein.) (1890.) 2s. 6d.
- George, Henry. Progress and Poverty. (Reeves.) (1883.) 1s.
- George, Henry. The Land Question. (Reeves.) 1s.
- Green, J. L. The Rural Industries of England. (1895.) (Mariborough.) 2s. 6d.
- Green, J. L. Allotments and Small Holdings. (Sonnenschein.) 2s. 6d.
- Haggard, H. Rider. Rural England. (2 Vols.) (Longmans.) 12s. net.
- Heath, R. The English Peasant: His Past and Present. (Fisher Unwin.) 3s. 6d.
- Jebb, L. The Small Holdings of England: A Survey of Various Existing Systems. (Murray.) 10s. 6d. net.
- Jebb, L. The Small Holdings of England. (Co-operative Small Holdings Society.) 6d. net.
- Kropotkin, P. Fields, Factories, and Workshops. (Sonnenschein.) (1899.) 1s.
- Marks, Mary A. M. Landholding in England considered in Relation to Property. (Fifield.) 1s. net.
- Land and Real Tariff Reform. (Joseph Edwards.) (1909.) 1s. net.
- Ogilvy, A. J. Phases of the Land and Labour Question. (Land Nationalisation Society.) 6d.
- Pollock, Sir F. The Land Laws. (Macmillan.) (1896.) 2s. 6d.
- Pratt, E. A. The Organisation of Agriculture. (Murray.) 1s. net.
- Rogers, A. G. L. The Agricultural Industry. (Methuen.) 2s. 6d. net.
- Shaw Lefevre, Right Hon. G. (Lord Eversley.) Agrarian Tenures.
- Slater, G. The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields. (Introduction by Earl Carrington.) (Constable.) 10s. 6d. net.
- Wallace, Dr. A. R. Land Nationalisation. (Sonnenschein.) (1892.) 2s. 6d.
- Wicksteed, Chas. The Land for the People. (Land Nationalisation Society.) 6d.
- The Budget, the Land, and the People. (Methuen.) (1909.) 6d.
- To Colonise England: A Plea for a Policy. (Ed. by C. F. G. Masterman.) (Fisher Unwin.) (1907.) 2s. 6d. net.
- The Small Holder's Guide. (Ed. by T. W. Sanders. ("Farm and Garden" Office.) 1s. net.
- Report of Committee on Small Holdings, 1890. (H. C. 223.) (Wyman.) 5d. net.
- Wages, Earnings, and Conditions of Employment of Agricultural Labourers in the United Kingdom. (1904.) (Wyman.) 2s. 9d. net.

HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING.

HENRY R. ALDRIDGE, Secretary, National Housing and Town Planning Council.

The conditions under which our people are housed affect so vitally the well-being of the nation that it would have been impossible for the Government which came into office in 1906, full of enthusiasm for social reform, to neglect the "Housing Problem," and the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 is the first result of the earnest desire that this subject should be dealt with.

It cannot be too strongly urged that the value in use of the new Housing and Town Planning Act will depend on the desire shown by the electors for the adequate administration of the new powers. Theoretically, at least, we have now a complete system of administrative machinery for destroying slums. The first control of this system is in the hands of Local Authorities, who are elected by the citizens of the towns and districts which they govern, and all those who during the past few years have urged the demand for a new Housing Act should clearly recognise their responsibility for electing the right type of councillor—fearless of vested interest, clean-handed, clear-headed, and warm-hearted.

The stimulus to action in the clearance of slums and insanitary houses can under the new Act come either from within the Council or from without the Council.

Under Clause 17 of the Act, it is provided that:—

(a) Every local authority shall inspect its district from time to time for the purpose of discovering those houses which are unfit for human habitation.

(b) If by the Medical Officer or any other officer of the Council, or on information given, it is discovered that any dwelling-house appears to the local authority to be in a condition unfit for human habitation, then

(c) the local authority shall issue an order for the closing of the dwelling, and

(d) after the lapse of three months the demolition of the dwelling must be considered if in the meantime the defects have not been dealt with to the satisfaction of the Council.

So far only one great Municipal Council—that of Liverpool—has systematically surveyed the insanitary houses in its area, with the result that the Council is responsible for the clearance of 500 houses every year, and for the re-housing of thousands of the dispossessed slum tenants. In September, 1902, a street-to-street examination of the whole of the city of Liverpool revealed the fact that the number of structurally insanitary houses then remaining to be dealt with was 9,943, notwithstanding the fact that up to that period the Corporation had under a Local Act previously dealt with something like 8,000 houses.

It will not be too much to say that less than 10 per cent. of the Local Authorities know the real truth as to the extent of bad housing conditions in their area, and no better service could be rendered by a councillor than to propose and secure support for a resolution committing the Council to a complete sanitary survey of the working-class houses within their area.

In (b) the words "or information given" should be specially noticed. The individual responsibility for drawing attention to a vile condition of housing has never yet been thoroughly realised. If clergymen and ministers, with the aid of the leading members of their congregations, would collect and check evidence as to the character of housing accommodation, and would send the facts privately to the Health Committee of the local Council, with the intimation that unless the evils complained of were remedied the attention of the Local Government Board would be drawn to the matter (see below), more would be done in a year to remedy housing evils than in 50 years of attack from the pulpit.

The procedure for the closing of a dwelling is, thanks to the powers of the new Act, now quite simple and straightforward. The Local Authority can itself issue the closing order, and any appeal against it must be made within 14 days to the Local Government Board.

Under the new Act the demolition of the slum house follows the closing order automatically in those cases in which the dwelling has not been made fit or cannot be made fit for human habitation. Much freedom of action is left to Local Authorities as to the choice of methods of dealing with congested slum areas, and Part I. of the earlier Act of 1890 may still be used with full effect. Under this part of the Act an area can be scheduled, the property acquired and the area cleared. The one drawback to this municipal action under Part I. is that of cost. In some cases, however, the only effective method of reform is that of making a "clean sweep" of a diseased area, and although this method is a costly one yet it has its economical side, for it reduces the calls on private charity and public relief. The following table, prepared by Dr. H. Bagster Wilson a few years ago, gives an estimate of the cost of a typical slum area, including 7,000 souls, in poor law relief, hospital administration, and private charity.

COST OF A SLUM AREA.

General Hospital.....	625 cases
Children's Hospital.....	(61 being in-patients).
Workhouse Infirmary.....	150
Orders for Workhouse (half-year).....	312
Orders for Medical Relief (half-year).....	327
Orders for Poor Relief (half-year).....	37
Cases treated by Medical Mission.....	48
Cases treated at City Asylum.....	280
Children clothed by P.A. Association.....	9
Children fed at School.....	162
Convictions of all kinds.....	230 per day (winter)
Complaints investigated by Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.....	383 cases
Charity in money or goods, at least.....	21
	£500 a year

More than 2,500 of the inhabitants were the recipients of public or private charity. Probably the cost of the district to the public is not less than £10,000 a year.

FIT FOR HUMAN HABITATION.

One of the most valuable Clauses in the Act is the Clause which provides that there shall be implied in the contract (written or unwritten), for the letting of a house for habitation, the condition that the house shall be at the commencement of the tenancy, and be kept during the tenancy, in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation.

The operation of this Clause is limited to houses, or parts of houses, let at rents as follows: In London not more than £40 per year; in county boroughs or urban districts with a population of 50,000 or upwards, £26 a year; and elsewhere (urban and rural districts alike), £16 per year. If it appears to the Local Authority for the district that this implied condition is not fulfilled the Local Authority shall send a written notice requiring the owner to execute such works as the authority shall specify as necessary. If the notice is not complied with, the Local Authority may do the work themselves and recover the cost as a civil debt.

Given a determination on the part of the Local Authority to use this new Clause to the fullest extent then an enormous betterment will result in those houses which are just above—but only just above—the slum line. There are, for example, many mining villages in which the conditions of dilapidation call for thorough remedy, but in regard to which the Local Authorities have been hitherto powerless.

Against the placing of the whole responsibility on the owner, it may be urged that dirty tenants are in many cases responsible for the dirt and dilapidation of the dwelling. The experience of housing reformers in the past has, however, been that responsibility divided between owner and tenant has resulted in evasion of the law. The owner is not without safeguards; he is a free agent; he can refuse the tenancy to dirty tenants, and can evict them if in possession.

THE BUILDING OF NEW HOUSES.

The persistence of the slum is not always due to lack of housing accommodation; other houses are in existence at slightly higher rents, which are waiting for tenants. There are, however, cases in which a veritable house famine exists, with the result that it is well-nigh impossible for destructive action to be taken without inflicting direct hardship on the dispossessed tenants.

In the first of these two cases a perplexing problem confronts housing reformers in the choice between (a) forcing people into the tenancy of houses let at rents which are higher than they have been accustomed to pay, and (b) building cheap dwellings or tenements to house the dispossessed slum dwellers.

Under a strenuous sanitary administration much inconvenience would be felt during the first five years; but by the end of this period improvements would have justified themselves, and it is probable that the higher cost of house rent might be more than met by the saving due to lessened expenditure on drink. It will, however be necessary in those cases in which rents of other available dwellings are much higher than those of the slums destroyed, to build cheap tenements or dwellings to help the poorest through the intermediate stage of progress from the slum dwelling to the model home.

This will necessarily involve the expenditure of public money. The rehousing of the poorest poor never has been done successfully without some burden of cost falling on the community, and the price must be regarded as the penalty of former neglect.

Under the two Acts (1890 and 1909) it is now possible for Local Authorities to acquire land (if necessary, under compulsion); borrow money (for a maximum period of 50 years for building and 80 years for land); build houses; and let these houses at reasonable rents to tenants of the municipality.

The Act of 1909 removes the necessity for the passing of a Resolution adopting the Act. All that is now needed is that a scheme should be prepared by the Local Authority, the sanction of the

Local Government Board sought and obtained, the money borrowed either from the Public Works Loans Commissioners—who under the new Act must grant loans on the best terms granted by them—and the houses erected.

Two familiar objections may here be mentioned. The first of these is that when Local Authorities build cottages private enterprise is discouraged, and the second is that Local Authorities cannot possibly build cottages as economically as private enterprise. These two arguments are to a large extent mutually destructive, but in answer to it may be stated: (1) that in many cases the proposed use of Part III. Housing powers has stimulated private enterprise; and (2) that Housing schemes of Local Authorities, like schemes of private enterprise, need to be carefully thought out and well planned. Given care in the choice of designs, rigid economy in construction, and a determination to secure the success of a scheme, there is no valid reason why municipal housing should not pay. There is no inherent virtue or vice in municipal enterprise. Its success depends, as in any business, on common sense and business capacity.

The application of the powers of Part III. should stimulate the supply of a better type of cottage. Mr. Burns has described the workman's dwelling as the "brick box with slate lid." This type of dwelling, with its narrow frontage and its projections at the rear, is faulty from the point of view of design, and Local Authorities should set a better standard.

INACTIVE OR UNWILLING LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Four inhabitant householders of the urban area or the rural council area may complain to the Local Government Board of the failure of Local Authorities to take action under the Act.

In practice this will mean that when housing reformers have applied in vain for remedial action to be taken by the Local Authority a formal complaint can be sent by any four householders in the town or rural area (not necessarily the parish) to the Local Government Board. After holding an enquiry the Local Government Board can then call upon the Local Authority for the district to take action, and as a last resort may compel them by mandamus to take action.

No security as to costs for the enquiry are needed, so complaints can be made without fear in this respect, but the Local Government Board can exercise judgment in regard to the need for the enquiry.

TOWN PLANNING.

With the Town Planning Clauses of the Act an absolutely new departure in British legislation is made. Hitherto the only control over the planning of new areas exercised by Local Authorities has been that of local Bye-Laws,

usually framed on a "model" code prescribed by the Local Government Board. Under these Bye-Laws, at present operative in practically every city and urban district in the Kingdom, carriage roads of from 36ft. to 40ft. in width (including footpaths) are required and a minimum of 150 sq. ft. of clear open space is required at the rear of a dwelling, the open space thus required varying with the height of the building. Any improvements on this standard have been due to the desire of those building houses to have more ample road, garden, or park space, or the determination of the owner of the land to have a properly planned estate.

The effective demand of well-to-do people for garden space has saved what are called residential suburbs from the "jerry-planner," but the housing areas in which workmen live on the borders of industrial towns bear silent witness to the complete inadequacy of the present Bye-Law system. Only the minimum space has been given. Roads are exactly 36ft. or 40ft., and the space at the rear of the dwelling is just what the Bye-Laws prescribe and no more. As a result it has been possible to crowd from 40 to 45 houses on an acre of land. Open spaces and parks have been conspicuous by their absence, and our working-class districts are in many cases to-day areas of monotonous houses standing like rows of brick grenadiers line beyond line in "mean streets."

TOWN PLANNING PROCEDURE.

The procedure to be followed in the preparation of a town plan was thus outlined by the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. John Burns, when the Bill was under discussion in the Standing Committee.

(a) The placing by a Local Authority of a *prima facie* case for the preparation of a town plan before the Local Government Board.

(b) The holding of a preliminary enquiry concerning the need for action.

(c) The authorisation of the Local Authority to prepare a detailed plan; the issue of provisions relating to co-operation on the part of the Local Authority with the owners and other persons interested in the land; and the formation, if necessary, of a joint body of Local Authorities, where the land to be planned is in the area of more than one Local Authority.

(d) The holding of a local and public enquiry to fully consider the plan when prepared; and

(e) The placing of the plan as approved by the Local Government Board on the table of both Houses of Parliament for 30 days.

(f) The formal authorisation and publication of the plan, which will then be in operation until superseded by another plan.

The following is a brief summary of the Town Planning powers of the Act.

(1) Town Plans may be made by a Local Authority as respects any land which appears likely to be used for building pur-

poses either within the area of the Local Authority or in the neighbourhood of the area.

(2) The Local Government Board may, on the adoption of the plan, suspend the operation of the ordinary Bye-laws, and to replace these with regulations providing for the limitation of the number of houses per acre, the height of houses, the provision of open spaces, wider roads, gardens, &c.

The relaxation of stringent conditions in regard to the cost of road-making is also provided for.

(3) By a Clause added to the Bill in Committee the giving of compensation to owners of land for the limitation of the number of houses per acre is expressly guarded against. Compensation is, however, to be given where owners can show that their property is injuriously affected by a town-planning scheme, and betterment can be obtained by Local Authorities in those cases in which it can be shown that the property of private owners has greatly increased in value from the adoption of a town-planning scheme.

(4) Local Authorities may make town plans for a whole area, and may themselves undertake the development of estates by purchasing the land, making roads, and leasing the sites, or even building cottages themselves.

There is therefore no reason why Local Authorities should not build Bournvilles or Port Sunlights if they so desire.

(5) The Local Government Board has power to compel inactive or unwilling Local Authorities to take action in regard to town-planning schemes.

Taken together these powers may be regarded as providing means of arresting the evils of "jerry-planning." Many good results must flow from the conscious endeavour to shape the growth of a town, and not the least of these good results will be the civic determination that speculation both in regard to estate development and house building shall be made subservient to definite ideals having as their end and aim the building of the "City Beautiful."

The example of Germany will, without doubt, be eagerly studied, and it will be necessary for members of Local Authorities in this country to recognise that the preference for the cottage house as opposed to the barrack dwelling, the difference of climatic conditions, &c., will render necessary the development of an English system of town planning which shall copy the virtues and avoid the faults of the German method.

The official report of the Tour made in April last under the auspices of the National Housing Reform Council to study Town Planning in Germany thus deals with this point:—

"The first and last word in municipal administration in Germany would seem to be 'thorough.' In the preparation of a town plan no detail seems to be forgotten. If the prevailing winds are from the west, then the factories are placed on the eastern

side of the town. Special care is given to the modern equivalents of the old city gates, the Central Railway Stations. These are, without exception, imposing structures, and not, as in so many cases in England, unlovely aggregations of grimy buildings approached through a series of squalid streets. Money is spent lavishly on open spaces and public parks. Architecture is deliberately encouraged, and the consequent rivalry amongst architects has already produced many styles of architecture which, though possibly belonging only to a transition period, bear witness to the keen determination to produce new developments.

"It is possible that in the desire to give special attention to what may be called town planning of the monumental kind, German town planners have gone to extremes. A new school of town planning experts is, however, being gradually developed, and many of the faults of the earlier methods are being corrected.

"Our town-planning developments will without doubt differ in vital matter from the town-planning developments of Germany. The unit of our planning will be the cottage with its home garden, and not the block with its central playground. It may well be that we shall in this way combine the best that England can show, and thus render our German neighbours a service in return. Meanwhile, we owe them a debt of municipal gratitude for many striking examples of civic earnestness and enthusiasm."

RURAL HOUSING.

The disappointing feature of the Housing and Town Planning Act is that it does so little for Rural Housing. It is true that the difficulties are very great. The two principal difficulties are to be found in the low wages paid to agricultural labourers and the stubborn resistance to housing reform on the part of the Rural District Councils responsible for the administration of the Public Health and Housing Acts. Under the new Act there will be, as stated above, an appeal to the Local Government Board by four householders in a rural area against the inaction of the Local Authority in regard to any parish in that area. In addition, the County Council are given for the first time what are in effect concurrent powers for condemning cottages, for insisting on their repair, and for building new cottages. Each County Council must have a Medical Officer of Health and a Health Committee. Powers to compel inactive Local Authorities to deal with the housing needs of a district are also given to the Local Government Board.

In the opinion of many who have at heart this rural problem no striking change for the better in the conditions of rural housing can be secured except by adopting one or both of two methods:—

(1) Granting Housing Loans on specially good terms for Rural Housing;

(2) Using State Credit on a large scale, not for creating peasant proprietors as in Ireland, but for providing Small Holdings and building cottages on these small holdings.

In regard to (1) the remarkable figures relating to the housing of Irish agricultural labourers, whose wages are lower than those of English labourers, may be quoted:—

Loans under the Irish Labourers' Act:—

	£
Up to 1893	1,958,620
1893 to 1900	1,456,600
a total of nearly	£3,500,000 sterling.

The secret of this success is to be found in the exceptionally good terms granted by the Treasury for this purpose. Whilst English Local Authorities have been up to the last year paying 4½ per cent. for housing loans (with a maximum period of 50 years) and sinking fund charges in addition, loans

for housing Irish labourers have been granted for 63½ years at 3½ per cent., including repayment. In addition, an annual subsidy of £37,000 a year is given. This action may be condemned as wanting in economic soundness, but it has at least had the result of providing upwards of 20,000 new cottages in Ireland, as compared with 50 cottages built by English Rural Local Authorities. If the policy is really unsound it should not have been adopted in Ireland. If, on the other hand, it has proved of real service to Ireland, then in justice to the poor English agricultural labourer its benefits should be extended to England. In regard to (2) there can be no doubt as to its great value. It strikes directly at the fundamental difficulty of housing in rural districts, viz., the lack of ability to pay the rent for a decent cottage. The rent which is impossible for the house alone at once becomes possible when two to ten acres of land at agricultural rents are supplied with it.

HENRY R. ALDRIDGE.

BUILDING SOCIETIES.—THE SEVEN LARGEST SOCIETIES.
(In Thousands of Pounds.)

Society.	Receipts.		Mortgage Advances During Year.		Liabilities.		Excess of Assets.	
	1903	1907	1903	1907	1903	1907	1903	1907
Temperance Permanent....	721	834	500	446	1,550	2,046	100	130
Leeds Permanent	653	567	247	201	1,894	1,825	84	68
Bradford 3rd Equitable	557	572	187	153	2,014	2,308	33	45
Halifax Permanent	532	821	347	565	1,356	1,769	55	103
National Freehold Land ..	544	672	227	189	1,295	1,414	50	61
Woolwich Equitable.....	453	474	192	246	814	1,037	79	106
Burnley	304	477	102	216	873	1,116	18	98

DEER FORESTS.

A Return was published in 1899 showing the steady growth of deer forests in the six Highlandcrofting counties, viz., Argyllshire, Invernessshire, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney and Shetland. Their total area was found to be 2,287,297 acres, and they were assessed at £100,833. In a few cases there had been a reduction of the acreage thus devoted to sport, but many had been enlarged, and a number of new ones had been formed. The net increase as compared with 1883 was 575,405 acres, or an average increase of nearly 35,000 acres per annum. Some of the land is far above the sea level and unsuited for agriculture, but a very considerable part of it lies low, and is perfectly adapted for growing food for man rather than to serve as desert sporting grounds for rich people.

USEFUL BOOKS.

Alden, Percy, and Hayward, E. E. Housing. (Headley.) (1907.) 1s. net.
Annual Reports of the London County Council on the Housing of the Working Classes. (King.) 6d.

Booth, C. Life and Labour of the People in London. (Vol. 3 of First Series, and final volume.) (Macmillan.) (1889-1897.) Per vol., 5s. net.
Brabrook, Sir E. Building Societies. (King.) 1s. net.
Improvement of the Dwellings and Surroundings of the People: The Example of Germany. Compiled by T. C. Horsfall. (Manchester University Press.) 1s.
Kaufman, Rev. M. Housing of the Working Classes. (Jack.) (1907.) 1s. net.
Nettlefold, J. S. Practical Housing. (Garden City Press.) (1908.) 1s.
Nettlefold, J. S. Town Planning in Theory and Practice. (Garden City Association.) 1s. net.
Report of the Royal Commission on Housing, 1899. (Cd. 4452.) (Wynman.) o.p.
Thompson, W. The Housing Handbook. (King.) (1903.) 2s. 6d. net.
Thompson, W. Housing Up to Date. Companion volume to "The Housing Handbook." (King.) 3s. 6d. net.
Triggs, H. J. Town Planning: Past, Present, and Future. (Methuen.) (1909.) 15s. net.
The Housing Question in London, 1855-1900 (L.C.C. Report). (King.) 9s.

SECTION IX.—SOCIAL REFORM.

THE IMPENDING REVOLUTION IN OUR POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION.

BY MRS. SIDNEY WEBB, D. LITT.

The voluminous Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress from Unemployment have startled the public. Appointed by Mr. Balfour's Administration in 1905, that Royal Commission was composed, in overwhelming majority, of persons who, to say the least, were not constitutionally predisposed to revolutionary views or drastic proposals. It included four great officials of the very Department to be investigated (Local Government Board); half-a-dozen Poor Law Guardians or ex-Guardians; and half-a-dozen members of the Charity Organisation Society. There were only two representatives of the manual working class. Yet that Commission has unanimously condemned the existing Poor-Law administration, lock, stock, and barrel; it has unanimously recommended the total abolition of the Boards of Guardians; without a dissentient voice it has declared the general mixed Workhouse, the very keystone of the arch of the existing Poor Law, to be a demoralising and pernicious institution, which must be abolished; and it has even expressly repudiated the "principles of 1834," which are declared to be no longer applicable, and has declared for an altogether new policy, in which the very name of Poor Law or poor relief will disappear. Surely, there has never before been so unanimous and so authoritative a condemnation of a whole department of English government.

WASTE OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES.

The fact is that, owing to our inveterate habit of dealing with each emergency as it arises, without taking the trouble to think out any deliberate plan, we have got our Local Government into a terrible muddle.

In 1834, when, under the old Poor Law, the maintenance, medical treatment, and schooling of our poorer brethren was costing us in the United Kingdom about seven millions a year, its cost and evil influences were thought to be bringing the nation to the brink of ruin. To-day, a sum of nearly seventy millions sterling is being annually spent out of the rates and taxes of the United Kingdom in providing maintenance, education, and medical treatment for the various sections of the poorer classes, ten times as much as in 1834, though the population has not quite doubled. And we are not getting value for our money. This huge amount is being expended by all sorts of local governing bodies, competing with each other, overlapping each other's operations, and duplicating each other's services. Their work is more or less supervised by half-a-dozen different departments of the national Government, acting on the most diverse principles, without consultation with each other, and often diametrically at variance with each other. The Poor Law authorities of the kingdom are spending nearly twenty millions a year out of the total of seventy millions, and are usually quite without knowledge of what the other local authorities are doing in the same field.

OVERLAPPING.

In London, for instance, the Boards of Guardians are maintaining at this moment about 25,000 children of school age, three-fifths in-door and two-fifths out-door. Meanwhile, the London County Council—not because it wanted to do so, but because it could not help it—was feeding last winter over 55,000 children of school age, or twice as many as were being maintained under the Poor Law. In over a hundred cities this school feeding is similarly going on. What is worse, in several thousand cases the two authorities are simultaneously providing, out of the rates, for the same children, without the one knowing of the other's proceedings. The Poor Law Authorities throughout the kingdom have about a hundred boarding-schools for poor children. It is not generally known that the local education authorities are themselves maintaining already fifty other boarding-schools for equally poor children. Moreover, the Home Office is simultaneously maintaining out of the taxes, through philanthropic committees, a hundred and fifty more of these boarding-schools for other poor boys and girls. All these residential schools deal with much the same class, and it is often a mere chance whether a child is under one authority or the other; indeed, quite frequently brothers and sisters from the same household are in different institutions, under different authorities, and subject to entirely different conditions, without one of the authorities knowing of the other's action. In some cases the same institution is inspected by the officers of the Board of Education, the Home Office, and the Local Government Board, without the

inspectors from the several departments knowing anything of each other's visits, or criticisms, or requirements, and without their subsequently conferring together as to their reports. Some institutions get payments simultaneously in respect of the same children from different public authorities.

With regard to the sick the local health authorities throughout the kingdom are now maintaining out of the rates more than seven hundred municipal hospitals, originally established for smallpox and fever, but now often taking in patients with other diseases, many surgical cases and accidents—actually in two cases excluding all infectious diseases—and apparently now about to include in their sphere the vast range of tuberculosis. Meanwhile, the Poor-Law authorities have, in every district, their own institutions for the sick, frequently only a ward in the general mixed workhouse, but in London and a score of other great towns a highly organised and elaborately equipped infirmary, serving as a public hospital. Competing with both these rate-supported hospitals is the crowd of endowed and voluntary hospitals—existing, however, only in fewer than a hundred towns—which are gratuitously receiving, in many cases, patients of exactly the same class as the rate-supported hospitals of the Poor Law or the Public Health Authorities. It often depends on which doctor gets hold of the case first whether the sick person becomes a pauper, a municipal patient, or the recipient of private charity. In many a district there are now half-a-dozen different doctors receiving money from the rates and taxes, getting their instructions from half-a-dozen different public offices or departments, several of them doing exactly the same work, for the same class of persons, and not in the least consulting with each other. Notwithstanding this huge expenditure, this ignorant multiplication of official inspections, this unintelligent duplication of services, and this wasteful overlapping of work, a large part of the provision now made by the community for the infants, the children, the sick, the mentally defective, the infirm, and the aged—and for these sections under any system of society some collective provision has to be made—is scandalously deficient and inhumane.

An army of between 50,000 and 80,000 vagrants is drifting aimlessly up and down the country, costing the community, in one way or another, at least two millions sterling annually. The Poor-Law Commission's Report makes the terrible and quite unexpected revelation that there are, at the same time, more than 10,000 healthy, able-bodied men rotting in the general mixed workhouses of London and Liverpool, Dublin and Glasgow, and some other towns; whilst literally hundreds of thousands more rise up in the morning not knowing from what work or on what casual jobs they will that day be able to earn their own and their children's meals.

HOW THE MUDDLE AROSE.

It is easy to see how the muddle has arisen. In 1834, when the present Boards of Guardians were established, there was no other public authority providing for the poor. Whatever was done for them, however diverse in character it might be, whether maintenance, schooling, medical treatment, provision of temporary employment, pensions in old age and nurture in infancy, was all called Poor Relief; whatever their needs, they were considered and dealt with as paupers. Since then new public authorities have been established to deal with special services, without the powers of the Boards of Guardians being in any way restricted. Thus in 1848 we had the beginning of the Local Health Authority, at first providing only drains, but now grown into a ubiquitous and highly qualified medical service, which is not only preventing disease, but is also treating the cases when they occur, searching out, by its staff of Health Visitors, neglected infancy, here and there actually supplying nurses in the patients' own homes, providing milk from the municipal "milk clinic," and even, in tens of thousands of cases, maintaining the patients in the municipal hospitals free of charge. Here is overlap the first. In 1870 we had the beginning of the Local Education Authority, now grown into an all-embracing service for ensuring that no child of school age should fall below the national minimum of child nurture. At first, this authority tackled only one kind of neglect, that of illiteracy; but, during the last few years, it has been required by Parliament to look after the children's bodies as well as their minds; it must medically inspect them all, it must see that not one child goes underfed, it is authorised to arrange for the medical treatment of all needing it. In more than a hundred thousand cases the children whom the Local Education Authority thus looks after are Poor-Law children, whom the Boards of Guardians are already looking after. Here is overlap the second.

Four years ago Parliament set up, in more than half of England, a new authority to provide for the able-bodied man who was unemployed; and now the Distress Committees, imperfect as are their powers, are dealing annually with several hundred thousand men, women, and children, many of whom have been, or will presently be, getting Poor-Law relief from the Boards of Guardians—some families, even, are getting help of one kind or another

from two, three, or four public authorities simultaneously, often without the one knowing what the other is doing. Here is overlap the third.

To cut a long story short, I will add only one more case of duplication, though others might be cited. Last year Parliament set up everywhere a Local Pension Authority, and this is now giving pensions to three times as many old people, many of them quite destitute, as are being maintained by all the Poor-Law Authorities put together. Many of these are simultaneously drawing their pensions from the one authority, and getting medical attendance, and sometimes even (as is quite legal) temporary maintenance in the workhouse or infirmary from the other. One case, at least, has already been discovered where the aged husband was drawing his pension, and the wife was getting out-door relief without the facts being known to either authority. It is quite legal, and there are already many such cases, for husband or wife to be getting a pension, and the other partner to be awarded out-door relief for himself or herself only. Here is overlap the fourth.

Altogether, there are, in the aggregate, many more people being wholly or partially maintained out of the rates and taxes by the Local Health Authorities, the Local Education Authorities, the Local Lunacy Authorities, the Local Pension Authorities, and the Local Unemployment Authorities, than there are by all the Poor-Law Authorities put together. This is how it is that we are this year spending in the United Kingdom nearly seventy millions sterling on them; and of this the Poor-Law Authorities are responsible for less than twenty millions. Such, from the standpoint of administrative efficiency and financial economy, was the problem set before the Royal Commission. This, too, is the position which the Cabinet and Parliament have now to face.

THE ALTERNATIVE POLICIES.

Now, quite apart from considerations of policy—quite apart from the idea of wisely relieving destitution on the one hand, or preventing its very occurrence on the other—upon which the majority of the Commission diverged from the minority, it seems clear that from the standpoint of administration and finance we can end this overlap only in one of two ways. We can abolish all the newer authorities, or strip them of their newer powers; and relegate to the Poor-Law Authority all those for whom they have been increasingly providing. This would involve reversing practically all the social legislation of the last two or three decades. It would mean depriving the Local Health Authority of its isolation hospitals, its infants' milk depôts, its phthisis sanatoria, its staff of Health Visitors, and reducing the Medical Officer of Health to something between an engineer and a sanitary inspector. It would mean repealing the recent statutes entrusting the Local Education Authority with duties with regard to the physical condition of the children; and it would involve relegating the children found hungry at school to the tender mercies of the Poor Law. It would mean repealing the Unemployed Workmen Act, and thrusting the unemployed workmen back into the Poor Law. It would mean either repealing the Old Age Pensions Act, or else making all the pensioners draw their pensions, as paupers, from the Poor-Law Authority. I may be wrong, but this way of ending the overlap does not seem to be practicable.

The only other line of policy, as it seems to me, by which we can put a stop to the present duplication of services and overlapping of work is—seeing that we cannot abolish the new authorities—to abolish the old one which they have already so far superseded. This is the policy of "Ereaking up" the Poor Law, and transferring the remnant of each class, which is all that is now left to it, to the public authority already dealing with that class as a whole, and—what is of supreme importance—dealing with it from the standpoint of preventing the very occurrence of destitution or neglect. The children would thus go to the Local Education Authority, the sick and infirm (including the infants and the aged needing institutional care) to the Local Health Authority, the mentally defective of all kinds and grades to the Local Lunacy Authority, and the aged who are able to live decently on their pensions to the Local Pension Authority.

THE LOCAL AUTHORITY.

In the County Boroughs and (subject to some not impossible adjustments) also in Counties these four authorities are already concentrated in the directly elected Town or County Council. The able-bodied unemployed would similarly be transferred to the Unemployment Authority, only in that case it has become plain that no local authority can possibly deal with the problem; and the Authority for Unemployment will have to be a national authority, such as we already see the foundation of in the National Labour Exchange. It is now for the country to decide, and for Parliament and the Cabinet to act, on one or other plan of stopping the overlap.

BEATRICE WEBB.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE POOR LAWS.

Dissatisfaction with methods of administration under the Poor Law was sharpened and focussed last year by the publication of the Reports of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the working of that Law and the means adopted for meeting distress arising from unemployment. The Report of the Commission falls into two parts, one embodying the views of the Majority, and the other those of the Minority of four members. The Majority consisted of Lord George Hamilton (Chairman), Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross, appointed to succeed the O'Connor Don, who died while the Commission was still sitting; Sir H. A. Robinson, of the Irish Local Government Board; Sir Samuel Provis, of the English Local Government Board; Mr. F. H. Benthall, formerly chairman of the Bradford Board of Guardians; Dr. A. H. Downes, Senior Medical Inspector of Poor Law Institutions under the Local Government Board; the Rev. T. Gage Gardiner; Mr. C. S. Loch, Secretary of the C.O.S.; Mr. J. Patten Macdougall, late Vice-President of the Scottish Local Government Board; Mr. Thomas Hancock Nunn; the Rev. L. R. Phelps; Professor William Smart; Mrs. Bosanquet, and Miss Octavia Hill, with dissents or special memoranda by Mr. T. Hancock Nunn, Mr. C. S. Loch, Mrs. Bosanquet, Dr. Downes, and Miss Hill. The Minority consisted of the Rev. Prebendary H. Russell Wakefield (now Dean of Norwich), Mr. Francis Chandler, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mrs. Sidney Webb. Mr. Charles Booth was compelled by illness to resign his work on the Commission before the Reports were issued. While these differ very widely in regard to principles adopted and methods of reform recommended there are important points of agreement which it will be useful to indicate here.

In their destructive criticism of the existing Poor-Law system Majority and Minority are in almost complete agreement. All the Commissioners report that the present Poor Law and its administration is so entirely unsatisfactory that it must be completely swept away; all agree that the Boards of Guardians and the Union areas must be abolished; all agree that the General Mixed Workhouse is pernicious and demoralising, and must be entirely done away with; all sign, without dissent, an emphatic repudiation of the so-called "principles of 1834"; all recommend that the various departments of the National Government should, by means of more efficient inspection, a more scientific system of Grants in Aid, and more competent direction, give to the Local Authorities greater guidance and control.

When they come to constructive proposals, the Commissioners cease to be unanimous. Both Majority (with two dissents) and Minority agree that the unit of area must be that of the County

and County Borough, and that the County and County Borough Council must raise the rates and pay the bill. It is true also that all the Commissioners agree that Outdoor Relief ought not to be, and cannot be, abolished, even for able-bodied men; all agree that the healthy aged should have adequate pensions, and that where widowed mothers are of good character and competent, their children should, so to speak, be "boarded out" with them on allowances adequate for their complete maintenance; all agree that no children should ever be admitted into any workhouse or "mixed" institution; all recommend that vagrants should be more adequately dealt with than at present.

But apart from these generalities the Majority and Minority differ fundamentally both as to the principles to be adopted and as to the authorities to undertake the work. The Majority want to retain the main conception of the Poor Law; to relieve no one who is not destitute (as at present), and no one except when he is destitute; they wish to set up a new and non-elective authority to administer this Poor Law, which is, like the Board of Guardians, to deal with all sections (the infants, the children, the sick, the aged, the able-bodied unemployed). The Minority want to abolish the Poor Law altogether, and to transfer all public provision for the separate sections to the directly-elected local authorities already dealing with those sections of the population, the children of school age to the Local Education Authority, the infants, the sick, and the infirm aged to the Local Health Authority, the mentally defective to the Local Lunacy Authority, the healthy aged to the Local Pension Authority, and the able-bodied unemployed either to the Local Unemployment Authority, or preferably to a new National Authority for unemployment. The Majority aim at preventing pauperism by waiting until persons apply for relief, and then dealing wisely with those who apply when they have become destitute. The Minority aim at preventing destitution by "searching out" the cases, and then arresting, at the incipient stage, before destitution has set in, the particular cause which will, if not arrested at the outset, reduce the whole family to destitution. The Majority set up, alongside their proposed new Poor Law Authority, a Voluntary Aid Committee, to which certain classes of applicants are to be required to apply, and which is to help such cases as it may think deserving. The Minority propose that voluntary workers and voluntary institutions should be extensively made use of, but that they should be available for all cases, and that they should always be connected with, and should always act in conjunction with, one or other of

the Local Authorities concerned, the responsibility of which for all cases must not be impaired. The Majority rely, for the prevention of overlapping, on the action of the Voluntary Aid Council. The Minority insist on a Common Register of all forms of assistance being kept by the County or County Borough Council, under a special officer, the Registrar of Public Assistance. The Majority propose, for the unemployed:—An entirely voluntary resort to Labour Exchanges; a hope that some plan of subsidised Trade Union Insurance may be discovered;

"Detention Colonies" and the undertaking, by Local Authorities, of special "works of public utility" in seasons of distress. The Minority put forward a complete plan for preventing all but sporadic cases of unemployment, by regularising the aggregate national demand, "dovetailing" seasonal trades, and "decasualising" casual labour by a definite policy of organising the labour market through a compulsory Labour Exchange, with maintenance under training for the sporadic cases, the whole administered by a National Authority.

THE NEW AUTHORITIES,

The Majority recommend that a new Poor Law Authority should be set up.

The new local authority shall be known as the Public Assistance Authority, its area being that of the County or County Borough. It shall be a Statutory Committee of the County or County Borough Council, and thus constituted:—

- (I.) One half the members appointed by the Council, from within or without their body.
- (II.) The other half, also appointed by the Council, but from without their number, to consist of persons experienced in such work.
- (III.) Women to be eligible under both heads.

DUTIES AND POWERS.

- (I.) To set up and supervise Public Assistance Committees for smaller areas, to correspond eventually with the urban and rural districts within the County and with existing divisions of the County Borough;
- (II.) To organise, provide, and maintain the Public Assistance Institutions;
- (III.) To demand the necessary funds from the County or County Borough Council;
- (IV.) To appoint officers to the Public Assistance Committees.

The Minority recommend that there should be no Poor Law Authority.

The Minority recommend that there should be no Poor Law Authority, (1) but that the property and liabilities, powers and duties of the Boards of Guardians should be transferred to the County or County Borough Councils "strengthened in numbers as may be deemed necessary for their enlarged duties."

2. That all provision for the Non-Able-Bodied should be wholly separated from that of the Able-Bodied.

3. That the services at present administered by the Poor Law Authorities other than those connected with vagrants or the Able-Bodied should be administered under the direction of the County or County Borough Councils, as follows:—

- (I.) Children of school age to the *Education Committee*;
- (II.) Sick and permanently incapacitated infants under school age, and aged needing institutional care, to the *Health Committee*;
- (III.) All mentally defective to the *Asylums Committee*.
- (IV.) Aged to whom pensions are awarded to the *Pensions Committee*.

LONDON.

In London the Public Assistance Authority would be a Statutory Committee of the London County Council of about 60 members appointed as follows:—

- (I.) One half nominated by the Council from their own number or outside.
- (II.) One quarter appointed by the Council from persons outside—persons of skill and experience.
- (III.) One quarter nominated by the Local Government Board.

THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE COMMITTEES.

CONSTITUTION:—

The Public Assistance Committees are to be appointed by the Public Assistance Authority, and must include a certain proportion of:—

- (1) Persons nominated by Urban or Rural District Councils, and
- (2) Persons nominated by the Voluntary Aid Committee.

One-third of the members thus nominated to be women.

DUTIES:—

- (1) To enquire into applications for assistance and to decide on the nature of the treatment, institutional or domiciliary;
- (2) To submit half-yearly estimates of expenditure to the Public Assistance Authority;

The authority would be the London County Council itself, acting through its several committees—the whole public provision for children of school age falling to its Education Committee, that for all grades of the mentally defective to its Asylums Committee, and that for all pensionable aged to its Pensions Committee. With regard to the infants, the sick, and the infirm aged, it is recommended that the domiciliary treatment should be undertaken by the Borough Councils, the management of all the institutions being undertaken by the London County Council, acting through its Health Committee.

The redistribution of duties suggested above would involve the disappearance of the Poor Law Division of the Local Government Board, the various branches being under the supervision of the respective departments of the National Government concerned with their subjects (children under the Board of Education, mentally defective under the Lunacy Commissioners, the sick, &c., under a new Public Health Department—or the Local Government Board).

(3) To revise periodically cases under assistance;

(4) To recover the cost of assistance from those able to pay;

(5) To co-operate with the Voluntary Aid Committees which should be formed in various areas.

The Majority recommend that the division of the Local Government Board which has dealt with the "Relief of the Poor" in future be known as the "Public Assistance Division"; that the Central Authority should assume a more direct position of guidance and initiative in regard to the Local Authorities, and that the status of the Department should be raised.

OUTDOOR RELIEF.

HOME ASSISTANCE.

The Majority find that the present administration of outdoor relief exhibits a total want of principle and of uniformity. They do not recommend its abolition, but they hope the need of it will diminish, and they hope to see developed in its stead for deserving cases a great system of voluntary assistance (see "Voluntary Aid" below). To this end they recommend systematic co-operation between the Public Assistance Authorities and recognised Voluntary Aid Committees, and the utilisation of voluntary agencies for the personal care of individual cases. Further recommendations are as follows:—

- (I.) There should be one uniform order governing out-relief, or, as they prefer to call it, Home Assistance;
- (II.) That such assistance should be adequate to meet the need of the recipient, and that widows should have special and individual attention;
- (III.) That persons assisted should be subject to supervision, and that it should be a condition that the recipients are living respectable lives in decent homes;
- (IV.) The case-paper system should be adopted.

HOME ALIMENT.

In the opinion of the Minority the abolition of outdoor relief is wholly impracticable. There will always be a large number of persons to whom public assistance must be given, and who, as for instance in the case of widows and children, with most advantage to the community, live at home. Voluntary charity cannot be relied upon to deal with such cases. In many cases it either does not exist at all or not at all in a measure equal to the need, and when it does it is apt to have all the disastrous characteristics of a laxly-administered Poor Law. But the Minority are even more emphatic than the Majority in condemning the present methods of outdoor relief. No attempt, they say, is made to ascertain how the household is being maintained upon outdoor relief. The result is that a large part of the £4,000,000 spent upon it annually is a subsidy to insanity, to disorderly, and even to vicious, habits of life.

Out relief, or as the Minority suggest it should be called, Home Aliment, would, under the scheme put forward by them, be in the hands of the respective Committees of the County or County Borough Council, as indicated above. The needs of the child or sick or mentally defective members of a family would, as at present in non-pauper families, be dealt with by the different authorities specially concerned with those needs.

But it is very important that (unlike the present system) overlapping should be prevented, and the circumstances of the family as a whole should be considered. They therefore recommend that grants of home aliment proposed by the various Committees should be all sent to be entered in a Common Register by the Registrar of Public Assistance, an officer to be appointed by the Council. Should the Registrar find the case contravening any of the Statutory Rules or the Standing Orders of the Council, the Committee concerned might still grant institutional treatment, and would have the right to bring the case specially up for consideration.

CHILDREN.

The Majority recommend that destitute children should continue to be paupers, but

(1) Children should on no account be maintained in the workhouse;

(2) Boarding-out should be extended as far as possible;

(3) The supervision of children boarded out within the Union should be put in the hands of competent women officers of the P. A. Committees;

(4) The Public Assistance Authorities should make a more general exercise of their powers of adopting the children of vicious parents, such children to be supervised up to the age of 21;

The Minority think that all children should cease to be paupers. They recommend:—

(1) The whole of the public provision for destitute children of school age not sick or mentally defective should be taken over by the Local Education Authority;

(2) The best way to provide for a destitute child is to "board it out with its own mother," whenever she is found fit to have charge of it. Any allowance made should be adequate for its full maintenance;

(3) For children without parents or of unworthy parents the Education Authority has ready to hand, in its Attendance Officers,

(5) Children of widows on leaving school should be given a fair start;

(6) Mothers in receipt of relief who have children below the school age should not be allowed to go out to work. Special provision to be made for the children of widowers;

(7) Children of unworthy parents may be emigrated, adequate inspection to be assured;

(8) Destitute children should be educated by the Public Assistance Authorities. Teachers in Poor Law schools should be the same status as those in public elementary schools and be able to pass from one class of schools to the other.

THE AGED.

Both the Majority and the Minority condemn the association of respectable and disreputable in institutions without classification. Respectable old people, say the Majority, feel that the authority, in forcing upon them the company of the depraved, "has stained and tarnished their most valued treasure." The Majority desire that the aged should still be relieved by the Poor Law, but (1) That the aged, so far as they are provided for in institutions at all, should have special Poor Law institutions set aside for them; (2) that deserving old people who are

School Nurses, Care Committees, and in its residential schools, machinery which places it at an advantage as compared with the Poor Law Authority even under the best condition;

(4) The Education Authority should take over all institutions for children now maintained by the Guardians.

not helpless and friendless should have adequate outdoor relief provided for them in their own homes; (3) that the Poor Law authority should have power compulsorily to remove helpless old people to its institutions. The Minority object to the aged being in the Poor Law at all, and recommends that they should be dealt with, not as paupers at all, but either as recipients of pensions from the Local Pensions Authority, or as infirm persons needing institutional care by the Local Health Authority.

The Majority propose that:—

(1) The Public Assistance Authority should have at its disposal all the Poor Law institutions within a county. This would enable them to classify the necessitous poor in order to put an end to the present degrading promiscuity;

(2) They recommend the system of small homes for respectable aged persons established by some Boards of Guardians;

(3) The officers of the Public Assistance Committee should periodically visit aged persons in receipt of Home Assistance. They recommend that greater care should be taken to ensure the adequacy of such assistance.

THE SICK.

The Majority retain the sick in the Poor Law.

(1) The Public Assistance Authority should appoint from among their number a committee, to be called the County or County Borough Medical Assistance Committee, to which should be added representatives of the Health Committee of the County or County Borough Council and of the local branches of the British Medical Association. The committee should have power to co-opt representatives of local hospitals, &c.

(2) When necessary Local Medical Assistance Committees should be appointed.

(3) A general system of provident dispensaries should be established, with voluntary outdoor medical organisations as an integral part. Working people below a certain wage limit should be induced to become members. The subscription should be low, and members should be entitled:—

(a) To choose their own doctor from the dispensary list;

(b) To receive treatment in an institution on the recommendation of the dispensary doctor.

(4) No disfranchisement should attach to any form of medical aid.

(5) The work of the Local Health Authority should continue on its own lines, but with reciprocal communication as to cases.

The Minority propose that:—

(1) A system of Local Pensions be created. These should be granted out of the rates to persons "of decent life" not less than 60 years of age, and not eligible for National Pensions under the Old Age Pension Act of 1903. They should be administered not by any Poor Law Authority but by the Pensions Committee;

(2) Responsibility for the helpless aged, including persons unable or unwilling to live decently on their pensions, should be entrusted to the Public Health Authority, who should make suitable provision, either domiciliary or institutional.

The Minority think that the sick should be dealt with apart from any Poor Law.

(1) There should be established one united Medical Service in which the medical services of the Poor Law and the Public Health Authorities would be merged.

(2) In such a unified service existing Medical Officers of Health, Hospital Superintendents, School and Workhouse Doctors, and other such officers would all find appropriate spheres.

(3) That the practice of the service must be based upon the Public Health rather than upon the Poor Law principle. Cases must be "searched out" in order that treatment may be applied at the incipient stage, before destitution has set in. The work should be preventive as well as curative. The needs of the patient should be the first consideration, but payment could be recovered from those able to afford it.

(4) Home treatment should be withheld (a) where proper treatment there is impracticable, (b) when the patient malingers or refuses to conform to the prescribed regimen, (c) when the patient is a source of danger to others. There should be, in extreme cases, powers of compulsory removal to an institution (as at present).

(5) Provident medical insurance and voluntary charity offer no possible alternative to the provision for the sick made by the local Health

Authority. Increasing use should be made by the Public Authority of the hospitals and similar institutions supported by voluntary contributions, but these can never provide for more than a fraction of the need.

VOLUNTARY AID.

The Majority would establish by statute an organisation, which would include existing voluntary and charitable agencies, to be set up alongside every Public Assistance Authority as a co-ordinate body. They would provide:—

(1) That in every County or County Borough there should be formed a Voluntary Aid Council, consisting of (a) trustees of endowed charities, (b) members of registered voluntary charities, (c) members of the Public Assistance Authority, and (d) members of Friendly Societies, Trade Unions, Clergy and Ministers, &c.;

(2) The duties of such Councils would be supervisory rather than executive; they would, however, be responsible for the collection of funds and promote such institutions and associations needed by the County;

(3) Voluntary Aid Committees appointed by such Councils would (1) Consider certain classes of cases which would be required to apply to them instead of to the Public Assistance Authority; (2) deal at their discretion with all such persons in their own areas whose cases might be deemed suitable for treatment by the Voluntary Aid Committee, and cases specially referred to them by the Public Assistance Committee;

(4) That the functions of the Charity Commission should be extended, and that as the "Charities Commission" it should be attached to the Local Government Board.

The Minority urge that (1) the utmost use should be made under proper conditions of voluntary agencies and of the personal service of men and women of good will.

(2) Visitation in the homes of the poor, however, must be organised in association with a special branch of the public administration, such as Health Visiting, Children's Care Committees, &c.

(3) No encouragement should be given to distribution of money, food, or clothing in the homes of the poor by private persons or charitable societies.

(4) Voluntary effort should find its scope (1) in the foundation and the management of institutions to which special types of cases should be entrusted by the County or County Borough Authorities; (2) in the domiciliary work referred to above, for which thousands of persons will be required, and are, indeed, already being enlisted (7,000 volunteers at work under the Education Committee of the London County Council; more Health Visitors already in Great Britain than there are Relieving Officers).

INVALIDITY.

The Majority recommend a system of "Invalidity Insurance," as follows:—

(1) The fund might be supported partly by contributions from employers and employees, and partly by a subsidy from the State;

(2) A man aged 21 in good health and employed in a healthy occupation could ensure the receipt of 10s. 6d. a week during the first 26 weeks of illness, and 7s. 6d. a week during the remainder of illness up to the age of 65 by payment of a premium of a fraction less than fourpence a week.

The Minority object to any scheme of State Insurance against sickness and invalidity. They regard it as a function of the Local Health Authority, and they say:—

"We cannot recommend that the State should enter into competition with the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions by any scheme of compulsory insurance."

THE ABLE-BODIED AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

Both sections of the Commission agree that for the assistance of unemployment (1) a scheme of Labour Exchanges should be established throughout the country by a Government Department; (2) for the training of one class of men Farm Colonies should be established by the National

Government; (3) men convicted of misconduct should be committed to Detention Colonies, to be maintained by the Government. They also recommend that the school age should be raised, and that more technical education should be provided.

(1) The Majority look on Labour Exchanges merely as a means of getting men into situations. Labour Exchanges should be linked up, and the use of them by employers and employed officially encouraged, but there should be no compulsion. Local Authorities and Government Departments should make systematic use of them.

(2) There should be at every public elementary school an Intelligence bureau which would advise parents, and would be in touch with the Labour Exchange.

(3) The remedy or casual labour lies in a measure in the awakening of the public conscience. Decasualisation will be likely to result in a certain number of persons at present under-employed being thrown out altogether. The Board of

(1) The Minority desire the Labour Exchanges to be deliberately used to create a better organisation of the Labour Market.

(2) The duty of organising the National Labour Market should be placed upon a Minister of Labour, whose department should include:—

- (a) The National Labour Exchange;
- (b) The Trade Insurance Division;
- (c) The Maintenance and Training Division;
- (d) The Industrial Regulation Division;
- (e) The Emigration Division;
- (f) The Statistical Division.

(3) The National Labour Exchange to organise the distribution of Labour on a definite policy, and to dovetail casual and seasonal employment

Trade should send to the large ports and industrial centres officers to confer with masters and workmen on the subject.

(4) **INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.**—This can best be promoted by utilising the agency of existing trade organisations, and it is to be hoped that some plan may be found.

(5) **EDUCATION.**—

(a) Boys should be kept at school till 15.

(b) Boys leaving school to learn a trade may be exempted.

(c) School supervision till 16. Boys not properly employed to go back to school.

(d) There should be increased facilities for technical training after school age. Physical drill should be prolonged. Some of the Commissioners recommend a universal short period of military training.

(6) **RELIEF WORKS.**—As a temporary expedient special financial facilities might be granted to local authorities for the prosecution of public works of utility, to be carried out under ordinary economic conditions.

so as to secure practical continuity of work for all persons employed at all.

(4) Decasualisation would have the effect of revealing the surplus of unskilled labourers at the ports. Steps must therefore be taken to ensure their absorption or to provide for their maintenance.

(5) For this purpose the following reforms are recommended, as they would add to the number of men in employment a large proportion of the surplus thus revealed:—

(a) No employer should be allowed to employ children below the age of 15 at all, and no young persons under 18 for more than 30 hours per week, such young persons receiving physical and technical training for the rest of their time;

(b) The hours of all railway and tramway men should be reduced to 60, if not to 48, weekly;

(c) Mothers with young children in receipt of public assistance should invariably be given enough for the full maintenance of the family, and then on condition that she should not seek industrial employment but devote herself to the care of her children thus "boarded out" with her.

(6) In order to regularise the national aggregate demand year by year the Government should arrange about 3 per cent. of its present normal works and orders on a ten years' programme, to the extent of £4,000,000 a year, to be carried out not as at present, year by year in even amounts, but exclusively in the lean years of the trade cycle. No attempt to be made to employ the unemployed, but the work to be done, by contract or otherwise, in the ordinary course at standard rates.

(7) The Government should grant to Trade Unions an annual sum not exceeding half the amount paid during the preceding year in out-of-work benefit. This would enable those Unions who are at present unable to undertake such benefit to do so, and thus place it within the reach of a larger proportion of men.

(8) The sporadic cases of unemployment which will at all times occur, even when unemployment and under-employment as a social disease is abolished, should be maintained without disfranchisement on condition that they submit themselves to such physical and moral training as they may prove to require with a view to their return to ordinary employment in a fit state, as soon as situations can be found for them by the National Labour Exchange. Their families in the meantime would be provided with adequate Home Allowance.

(9) Detention Colonies should be established for men convicted of refusal to work, vagrancy or begging, neglect to maintain their family or to apply for public assistance when needed.

USEFUL BOOKS.

Dodd, J. T. *Administrative Reform of the Local Government Board.* (King.) 1s. 6d. net.

Leonard, E. M. *The Early History of English Poor Relief.* (Cambridge University Press.) (1900.) 7s. 6d. net.

Monthly Statement of Number of Paupers in Receipt of Relief, 1909. (Wyman.) Each, 1½d.

Nicholls, Sir George. *A History of the English Poor Law.* (3 vols.) (King.) (1898-1899.) Vols. I. and II., 10s. 6d. net; Vol. III., 7s. 6d. net.

Poor-Law Commission Report. ("Daily News.") 1d.

Public Health and Social Conditions. (Cd. 4671.) (Wyman.) 5s. net.

Reports of Poor-Law Conferences. Single Reports (King) 1s. net; Complete Annual Bound Volume, 12s. net.

Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress. (Cd. 4499.) 5s. 6d. net.

Return showing, for each Poor-Law Union in England and Wales, the Total Number of Persons relieved by Guardians in the Year ending Sept., 1907. (Wyman) 10d.

Sellers, E. *Foreign Solutions of Poor-Law Problems.* (H. Marshall.) (1908.) 2s. 6d. net.

Sellers, E. *The Danish Poor Relief System.* (King.) (1904.) 2s. net.

Sutter, J. *Cities and Citizens: or Britain's Next Campaign.* (Gives an Account of the Elberfeld System.) (Johnson.) (1901.) 1s.

STATISTICS OF PAUPERISM.

Roughly speaking, one in every fifty of the population of the United Kingdom is permanently chargeable on the Poor Law Authorities, and about one in every twenty has recourse to the Guardians during the year in one way or another. In Scotland the rate is only about 1 in 32. Of the persons

relieved in one year in the United Kingdom, 30·4 per cent. were men, 36·5 per cent. were women, and 33·1 per cent. children. The total two millions odd of the distressed persons who are in receipt of relief in the United Kingdom is made up as follows:—

Classes.	Paupers relieved in the course of a year.				Per cent. of Total Pauperism.
	England and Wales (1906-7).	Scotland (1906-7).	Ireland (1907-8).	United Kingdom.	
(1) Permanent paupers, i.e., persons chargeable for periods amounting in the year to six months or over.	743,131	87,249	87,630	918,010	44·2
(2) Occasional or temporary paupers, i.e., persons chargeable for any period amounting to less than six months.	966,305	60,411	131,590	1,158,306	55·8
Comprising:—					
(a) Persons chargeable on one occasion only.	760,935	51,147	110,246	922,328	44·4
(b) Persons chargeable twice or oftener in a year.	205,370	9,264	21,344	235,978	11·4

The "ins and out," therefore, who present the most difficult of the Poor Law problems, only form 11·4 per cent. of the total pauperism, although they number nearly a quarter of a million. The average number of persons in receipt of poor relief on particular days of the year amounts to over a million in the United Kingdom.

	Average Daily Number of Persons in receipt of Poor Relief in Statistical Year, 1907-8.	Rate per 1,000 of Estimated Population (1907).
England & Wales	898,474	25·7
Scotland	108,554	22·7
Ireland	101,181	23·1
United Kingdom	1,108,209	25·1

Of the 1,709,436 persons who receive relief in one year in England and Wales, London supplied 339,256, and the extra Metropolitan Unions 1,370,180. In considering the total, it must be remembered that the number would be greatly reduced if the family were taken as the unit. Nearly three-fifths of the total consisted of families averaging between three and four persons. If the heads of families only were counted, and the persons who received help singly, the total would be from nearly 1½ millions to a little over a million.

The decrease of pauperism in the last sixty years has been very great, but in considering the figures it is necessary to remember how many people are receiving assistance from the rates otherwise than through the

Guardians. While 63·3 per thousand of the population were registered as paupers in 1849, the figure had in 1908 decreased to 26·6. In the interval the actual numbers of persons received in institutions in England and Wales under the Poor Law had more than doubled, while the number of those receiving outdoor relief had been reduced by nearly one-third.

THE COST OF POOR RELIEF IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1906-7.

	Total Expenditure	Per head of population.	Per £ of Rateable Value.
	£	s. d.	s. d.
England & Wales	13,957,214	8 1	1 4½
Scotland	1,422,375	5 11½	1 1½
Ireland (exclusive of insane)	1,048,465	4 9½	1 4½
	£16,428,064	7 6½	1 3½

ANNUAL COST OF AN INDOOR AND OUTDOOR PAUPER.

	1906-7.	
	Cost (approx.)	Cost per head.
Cost of relief:—	£	£ s.
(i.) To paupers in poor law institutions	7,731,000	29 5
(ii.) To paupers in receipt of outdoor relief	3,828,000	7 1
Total	£11,559,000	£14 7

The cost of poor relief has shown a steady tendency to increase from every point of view within the last fifty years. The cost of each inmate of a Poor Law institution averaged £16. 12s. in 1856-7; in 1906-7, the expenditure had risen to £29. 5s. per head. The average cost per head of outdoor relief, which stood at £4. 13s. in 1856-7, rose in 1906-7 to £7. 1s. The cost rose relatively to

the population at the same time, notwithstanding the fact that other public authorities, notably the Health and Education Authorities, were spending large sums on the same section of the population in medical assistance, and, latterly, the provision of food for children and infants. Rateable value has, however, kept pace with the increased expenditure.

	1850-59.	1870-79.	1880-89.	1890-99.	1900-07.
Average cost of poor relief:—	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
(i.) Per head of population	5 11	6 5½	6 0½	6 3½	7 9
(ii.) Per £ of rateable value	1 6½	1 3½	1 1½	1 2	1 4

By far the greatest proportion of destitution follows on casual labour. The casual or general labourer averages little more than half the normal life of his fellows, and the goal of his labour is too frequently the Workhouse. The proportion of destitution furnished by different trades was examined by the Poor Law Commission, with the following results:—

PAUPERISM PER 1,000 IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS.

General Labourers.....	84.9
Fishing	40.3
Agriculture	39.7
Boot and Shoe Trade, &c.....	24.0
Building	22.0
Transport.....	20.3

In view of the scheme for the breaking-up of the Poor Law, it is useful to note the component parts of this mass of pauperism. It will be seen that the residuum to be dealt with after the feeble-minded, the aged and infirm, and the children have been drafted into separate institutions, is 14.7 per cent. of the total of pauperism, and represents 4 per thousand of the whole population. This reduces the problem of the Workhouse to more reasonable proportions.

ANALYSIS OF PAUPERISM, JANUARY 1ST, 1908.

	Per 1,000 population.	Per cent. of paupers.
(a) Insane and idiot poor	3.2	12.1
(b) Sane poor:—		
(i.) Aged and infirm adults	12.7	47.9
(ii.) Adults ordinarily able-bodied	3.5	12.9
(iii.) Children	6.7	25.3
(iv.) Casual or vagrant poor	0.5	1.8
Total (all classes)....	26.6	100.0

A further classification of the persons who are relieved by the public authority shows a steady advance in numbers from the age of 35 onwards. Between 55 and 45 years of age 13 out of every 1,000 persons have recourse to public assistance in one shape or another; between 55 and 65, 43 in every thousand apply for relief. In the next decade of

life the number is quadrupled, and of those who live to be 85 rather more than one in three became dependent on the Guardians until the Old Age Pensions Act provided the aged with small independent resources.

PAUPERISM IN 1909.

The total number of people relieved by the Guardians in England and Wales on the 1st of January, 1909, was 959,843. This figure, in cases where the head of the family received relief, includes the other members of the household, except in the case of insane persons and casuals. These figures show an increase of 3.4 per cent. on the figures of 1908. Not far short of a million persons were therefore in a state of destitution on January 1st, 1909. Of these 114,869 were insane, and 15,852 were casuals. The families relieved included over a quarter of a million children.

Of the 300,617 persons, mostly under sixteen years old, receiving indoor relief, 11,936 were being cared for in institutions not provided by the Poor Law authorities. These were accommodated chiefly in homes for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the epileptic; in hospitals and convalescent homes; in training ships and other industrial homes and schools.

THE EFFECT OF OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

Although the mass of pauperism showed an increase in 1908, there was a decrease of aged and infirm persons in receipt of relief amounting to 6,952. It is probable that this represents a corresponding number of poor old people who had held out against poor relief to avoid pauper disqualification under the Old-Age Pensions Act.

INCREASE OF ABLE-BODIED PAUPERISM.

Unfortunately the number of able-bodied persons receiving outdoor relief on account of want of work or other causes amounted to 6,374 persons, an increase of 133 per cent.; that is, there were considerably more than twice as many unemployed-outdoor pensioners of the Guardians in the New Year of 1909 as in the New Year 1908. The number of insane persons and lunatics had also increased by nearly 2 per cent. Casuals decreased by 7 per cent.

THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR.

BY THE RT. HON. SIR JOHN E. GORST.

The fundamental idea of our modern society is that children have no separate and independent rights; they are mere appendages of their parents, partaking in all respects of their social position. Any recognition of a child as having individual and independent rights, entitling it to have its interests considered and provided for apart from its family, is denounced by superior persons as an undermining of parental responsibility and as leading directly to that condition of society which is stigmatised as "Socialism."

Into this primitive theory, to which a great number of social reformers still consciously or unconsciously cling, inroads have been, and continue to be, made from various sides. Associations and authorities, local and national, are now meddling in the public care and bringing up of children. They are in many places overlapping; they are often thwarting one another; and they have already produced a state of chaos, which demands the immediate attention of the organiser and reformer.

So far as regards the Local Government Board and the local poor law authorities, who are primarily responsible for the physical condition of the children of the nation, the greater part of those who come under their care are dealt with on the primitive principle of parental responsibility solely through their parents. These receive in respect of the destitute children dependent on them doles of money and loaves of bread as out-door relief; but no conditions are attached to the gift by those who dispense it; no trouble is taken to investigate the condition of the children either before or after the relief is granted; it is enough that their parents are at the moment destitute. There is no machinery for securing that the relief ever reaches the children at all, or in any way improves their physical condition; it is in many cases squandered in drink or debauchery, and only serves as one of several sources of supply by means of which the family is enabled to continue a life of degradation and misery. The children, whose rights are thus ignored by their parents and by society, cannot grow up sound and healthy in either body or mind. They are handicapped from birth. Half-starved and wholly neglected, they year by year deteriorate more and more in character and physique, and when grown up are unfit for their duties as citizens, and serve only to recruit the army of degenerates, unemployables, and criminals.

The infants of the poor, for whose bringing into the world the poor-law authorities provide, have their separate rights ignored from the moment of their birth. Everything that is done is for the relief of the destitute mother; no thought is taken for the welfare of the helpless child. All the deterrents of the Poor Law are made use of to prevent the mother applying for the help of doctor or midwife; deaths and lifelong injuries to babies in parturition are the inevitable consequence. As soon as the mother is out of danger the public assistance is withdrawn; the infant may perish in its first month without exciting any public concern. In the case of those destitute babies, chiefly illegitimate, who are born in public institutions, it is the mother, not the child, who is thought of. The efforts of the benevolent are directed to ridding the mother of her child, so as to enable her to get a place, and become "respectable." The child takes its chance of life, which is generally a poor one. In Leipzig and other German cities all illegitimate children when born become wards of the municipality. Their mothers are under medical control, and have to produce them monthly for public inspection. In Leipzig, the mortality of illegitimate infants is half the general infant death-rate; in Great Britain it is generally double.

The infants of the poor, until they arrive at school age, are hidden away in unwholesome dwellings, escape public attention, and are trusted to parental responsibility. The records of the Registrar-General show an excessive and preventible mortality amongst this class. They are the seed ground in which the infectious diseases germinate which sometimes invade the families of the rich, and cause the death of many a dear and promising boy or girl. In this favourable ground the germs of tuberculosis are engendered and flourish, and this disease can never be exterminated in Great Britain by medical science until the infant children of the poor are made the object of more effective care than that of their own parents.

CHILDREN AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH AUTHORITY.

The effective national care of infant children, and the recognition of their title to public protection, is at the present time being rapidly brought about in many of our great cities by the growth of a new authority—the Public Health Authority. This is not only overlapping, but is rapidly superseding the operations of the Poor Law. It proceeds upon diametrically opposite principles. Its object is the saving of life and the bringing up of a vigorous race of citizens. By means of voluntary health visitors, acting under public

authority and the supervision of the medical officer of health, it watches the homes of the poor before they become destitute. It cares for the mother, in the interest of the child as well as in her own, before child-birth and after its troubles and perils are past. It keeps the infants of the poor under observation, mitigates by public intervention their unhealthy surroundings, prevents infectious disease at its beginning, and prevents the growth of ailments such as rickets, that if neglected become incurable and destroy the efficiency of the future citizen. So far from undermining parental responsibility, experience has proved that watching the infant children in the public interest has had the effect of greatly increasing it. Mothers, and even fathers also, finding the condition of their children to be a matter of public concern, are stimulated into greater efforts for their welfare; the health visitors are regarded by all the best parents, not as intruders, but as friends. The example set by the public health authorities of great cities will of itself, if let alone, spread over the country, and will as effectually abolish the functions of the Boards of Guardians in relation to the infant children of the outdoor poor as if the Poor Law was broken up by law and its functions transferred to the local public health authorities.

THE OFFICIAL GUARDIANS OF THE CHILDREN.

The infant children of the poor are under two local authorities only, both under one central authority, the Local Government Board. The children of school age are looked after physically by four local authorities—the Guardians, the Health Authority, the Education Committee, and the Police—acting under three central authorities—the Local Government Board, the Board of Education, and the Home Office; intellectually, by still more. The Guardians recognise no responsibility for children of school age not inmates of their institutions; for such, parents alone must provide. Those who are thrown upon the hands of the public as orphans or deserted, or as the children of parents in prison or in the workhouse, are treated in several different ways. Of these, a great number are inmates of the workhouse, very imperfectly segregated from the ordinary paupers; for more than half a century successive Commissions and Committees have with unbroken unanimity recommended their complete exclusion from the Workhouse, but have recommended it in vain. Some are in large barrack schools, necessarily brought up on a uniform pattern, in which individual love of those in charge of them is an impossibility, and individual character is thereby lost. Some are in village communities, in which, at considerable enhanced cost, some of the evils of barrack schools are eliminated, and

some approach to a home life is obtained. Some are in small homes scattered amongst the ordinary population, looked after by a matron, and going to school and play with the children of the workers around them. Some are boarded out in workers' families; this is said to be the cheapest and best way of bringing up a destitute child. It is said to be difficult in our country to find suitable houses and foster parents. No public authority takes effective steps to find them. The home of the average worker is perhaps too poor and too insanitary for children of the State to be entrusted to them. In Hungary, villages in which children may be boarded at are licensed on salutary conditions after sanitary inspection by the government; it is an honour to a village to get itself so licensed. The local authority of such a village licenses the foster-parents who may, under specified conditions, receive boarded-out children; it is an honour to a village family to be so licensed. Some such organisation would not be impracticable in the United Kingdom, but it is not made.

THE CARE OF THE CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOL.

The Health Authority has hitherto had little to do with children of school age, except when they were sick of infectious disease. But their functions are rapidly extending. Under the lately-established medical inspection of school children, the school doctor and the medical officer of health are in towns generally one and the same. The school children pass every year more and more effectively under his supervision, and he thus becomes officially cognisant of their ailments and condition of life. The health visitors, who act under his direction, are visiting the homes of the children, and reporting to him causes of disease and obstacles to healthy growth and vigour. The functions of the health officer and his visitors supplement those of the teacher and the attendance officer. Amongst them, all about the physical condition of every school child is officially ascertained. At present the powers of the Health Authority for remedy of what is defective are much greater than those of the School Authority. It is only in country places and small towns, where the Health and Education Authority are not identical, that there is serious obstacle to progress. What the local authority cannot do as Education it can do as Health Authority.

It is only recently that the Education Authority had to do with the physical care of school children. It was formerly a fixed principle of the Education Department that they were responsible for the minds only, and not for the bodies, of school children. Their duty was to receive the children such as their parents sent them, and put them through the scholastic mill regardless

of the effect produced upon them. When confronted with the cruelty of pressing "education," as it was called, upon children unfit, from starvation, illness, or overwork, to receive it, they fell back upon the responsibility of parents, and threw the blame for the condition of the children upon the Local Government Board and the Home Office. Progress of thought, embodied in recent legislation, has changed the position of the Education Authority. It is now responsible for ascertaining and recording, through medical inspection, the physical condition of every school child; none can henceforth suffer from starvation or incapacity without the fact being known and officially recorded at the school. It possesses also some limited and restricted powers of amelioration. It has schools under its control in which children are boarded and lodged as well as taught; and it will without doubt have its powers so extended as to enable it to make every provision necessary for the well-being of the children at the expense of parents when capable, and if incapable at the expense of the State. The development of the powers and activities of the Health and Education Authorities will leave little for the Poor-Law Authority to do.

THE DESTITUTE CHILD AND THE POLICE.

There is yet another public authority which interests itself in the children of the poor—the police. Their intervention is based upon an idea at the back of the public mind—that a destitute child detached from a parent is a sort of criminal, actual or potential,

and must be dealt with as such. The existence of such a child is a proof of some dereliction of duty on the part of public authority; but society punishes not the authority in default, but its victim, the derelict child. Not many years ago its fate was to be haled by the police before a criminal court, charged with being "found destitute," or "found wandering," or some like crime, and committed to a school which was in many cases practically a prison with hard labour and strict discipline, until it attained the age of 16. This was to the child often a hard and thorny path to salvation; but it was discreditable to the public authority. The fact that the industrial school child was brought up at the expense, not of the rates, but of the consolidated fund, encouraged Boards of Guardians to shift on to the police the burden of their destitute children.

The proposal of the Minority Report of the Poor-Law Commission is to make one authority, the Education Committee, responsible for all State action on children of school age. The Poor-Law schools supervised by the Local Government Board and the industrial schools supervised and financed by the Home Office would come under the Board of Education as part of the national provision for the education of the people. The pauper taint of the former and the prison taint of the latter would be got rid of, and every child would be brought up as an independent citizen free from degradation.

JOHN E. GORST.

CHILDREN UNDER THE DIRECT CARE OF THE GUARDIANS, JANUARY 1ST, 1908 (ENGLAND AND WALES).

(1) <i>In establishments provided by Poor Law Authorities:—</i>	
(i.) Workhouses, infirmaries, and sick asylums	22,483
(ii.) <i>Separate establishments for children:—</i>	
(a) District Schools	3,712
(b) Separate Schools	7,890
(c) Grouped Cottage Homes	9,094
(d) Scattered Homes	5,294
(e) Receiving Homes and other Homes not classed under the preceding headings	2,702
(iii.) Institutions belonging to the Managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District (other than fever or smallpox hospitals and institutions for imbeciles) ..	1,864
(iv.) Other establishments under the control of Guardians	18
Total	53,057
(2) <i>In establishments not provided by Poor Law Authorities, e.g., Institutions for blind, deaf and dumb; training ships, industrial training homes, &c.</i>	9,369
(3) Children boarded out	8,565
Total	70,991

USEFUL BOOKS.

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| <p>Booth, C. <i>Life and Labour in London</i>. (Vols. I. and II. of First Series.) (Macmillan.) (1899-97.) Per vol., 5s. net.</p> <p>Chance, Sir W. <i>Vagrancy</i>. (King.) 6d. net.</p> <p>Chiozza-Money, L. G. <i>Riches and Poverty</i>. (Methuen.) (1908.) 1s. net.</p> <p>Hobson, J. A. <i>Problems of Poverty</i>. (Methuen.) (1891.) 2s. 6d.</p> <p>Hunter, Robert. <i>Poverty</i>. (In the United States.) (Macmillan.) (1904.) 6s. 6d. net.</p> <p>Loch, C. S. <i>Charity Organisation</i>. (Sonnenschein.) (1890.) 2s. 6d.</p> | <p>Masterman, C. F. G. <i>In Peril of Change</i>. (Fisher Unwin.) (1905.) 6s.</p> <p>Rowntree, B. Seebohm. <i>Poverty. A Study of English Town Life</i>. (Macmillan.) (1902.) 1s. net.</p> <p><i>The Heart of the Empire: Studies in Problems of Modern City Life in England</i>. Edited by C. F. G. Masterman. (Fisher Unwin.) (1907.) 8s. 6d. net.</p> <p>Wilkins, W. G. <i>The Rise and Progress of Poverty in England</i>. (Headley.) (1907.) 3d.</p> |
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OLD AGE.

At the last Census, in 1901, there were in England and Wales 2,408,429 persons of 60 years of age and upwards. In 1906, when the census of paupers was taken, there were 379,902 persons, of both sexes, aged 60 and over in receipt of Poor-Law relief, or 157.7 per 1,000 of the population of the same ages. The dimensions of the problem of old age from the point of view of the State are indicated in these figures. It would be well to guard at once against the idea that physical incapacity begins for so large a proportion of our population at the age indicated. In the rural districts in particular many men earn their own living or support a wife until they are between seventy and eighty years of age. The fact remains, nevertheless, that of the two-and-a-half millions of men and women who pass the age of 60 in our midst one in every six or seven has to accept public aid either in a Poor-Law institution or in the shape of out-door relief.

From time to time, in the reports of Royal Commissions and elsewhere, one finds recommendations that special treatment should be given to aged people in the Workhouse. As long ago as 1832 a plea was made for them that they should be allowed "to enjoy their indulgences without torment from the boisterous," and the Continuance Report of 1840 expressly exempts the aged from the restrictions which it places on out-relief. It is only within recent years, however, that the feeling has become general in favour of differential treatment, and it is but very slowly being translated into practice.

It is still the fate of many deserving aged persons to be forced to consort in institutions such as that characterised by the authors of the Majority Report as a "human warehouse" with those whose lives have been dissolute and whose presence is the worst of insults to them. The Circulars issued by Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. Chaplin respectively, upon the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, provided that aged and infirm couples might be provided with separate rooms, go out for walks, and receive visits. Four years later Guardians were enjoined not to urge deserving persons to enter the House at all, unless from infirmity and lack of a suitable home, but to grant adequate out-door relief. These humane recommendations have been acted upon only by about 20 Boards of Guardians. Some of these allow to a selected class of deserving destitute aged a sum of 5s. a week to each person as out-relief. If the case necessitates in-door relief the aged person is maintained away from the General Mixed Workhouse, in cottages or other special buildings. They often have a room each where they receive their own visitors, make their own tea, and even cook their own meals. They go to bed when they like, rise when they like, and dress how they like.

In recent years the treatment of the aged by the Poor-Law Authority has been affected for the better in a marked degree by the agitation in favour of old age pensions, which ended in the passing into law of the Old Age Pensions Bill, 1908.

This Act secures to every person of British nationality and twenty years' residence in the United Kingdom a pension payable by the Exchequer on the following scale:—

Where the yearly means of the pensioner as calculated under this Act—	s. d.
Do not exceed £21	5 0 per week.
Exceed £21, but do not exceed £23 12s. 6d.	4 0 "
Exceed £23 12s. 6d., but do not exceed £26 5s.	3 0 "
Exceed £26 5s., but do not exceed £28 17s. 6d.	2 0 "
Exceed £28 17s. 6d., but do not exceed £31 10s.	1 0 "
Exceed £31 10s.	No pension.

The following categories are excepted:—

- Those who have habitually failed to work for those dependent on them.
- Those under detention as lunatics.
- Those undergoing imprisonment; and
- Until December 31st, 1910, those who are, or who have been at any time since January 1st, 1908, in receipt of Poor-Law Relief other than medical relief.

On September 30th, 1909, the numbers of persons receiving such pensions in the United Kingdom, and the sums paid, were as follows:—

	Population.	Pensioners.	Sums Paid.
England and Wales	35,756,615	421,432	£3,672,747
Scotland	4,877,018	75,134	£687,007
Ireland	4,374,158	186,202	£1,723,904

In the administrative County of London up to the 30th June last, the various sub-committees of the London County Council had granted 43,658 pensions, of which 37,611 were for the full sum of 5s. a week, at an annual cost of £536,793.

Admirable as must be the effects of the Act upon the condition of the aged poor who are eligible, it has the inevitable defect that it does not meet the numerous cases of men and women who, though below 70, are already incapa-

cited. Large numbers of such cases would be included were the pension age reduced to 65, as there seems little doubt it will be, but it remains a question whether, in the case of men at least, invalidity rather than age should not be the test of eligibility. For the rest, it does not seem unlikely that the practice of the Unions already mentioned of allowing Out-door Relief at a uniform rate per week to suitable persons, may be developed. By the adoption of the scheme of Local Pensions recommended by the Minority of the Royal Commission, the one great advantage would be secured of removing the reproach attaching to Poor-Law relief by transferring responsibility to the Local Pensions Committees. The scheme of Invalidity Insurance promised by the present Government may also be looked to to meet the need of this class, which is likely to grow larger as the stress of industrial competition increases.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Booth, C. Old Age Pensions and the Aged Poor: a Proposal. (Macmillan.) (1907.) 2s. net.
 Casson, W. A. Old Age Pensions Act, 1908: Text of Act, Notes, and Historical Introduction. (Knight.) (1908.) 1s. net.
 Old Age Pensions Act, 1908. (Notes by

- D. Owen Evans; Introduction by Mr. Lloyd George.) (Sweet & Maxwell.) (1908.) 6s.
 Old Age Pensions, A Collection of Short Papers. (Macmillan.) (1903.) 2s. 6d. net.
 Rogers, F., and Miller, F. Old Age Pensions. (Pitman.) (1908.) 2s. 6d. net.
 Spender, J. A. The State and Pensions in Old Age. (Sonnenschein.) (1902.) 2s. 6d.

MEDICAL AID.

By G. F. McCLEARY, M.D.

In England and Wales medical aid is provided by a large number of voluntary hospitals and other medical charities, and also by two public medical services—the Public Health medical service, including the medical staff of the education authorities, and the Poor Law medical service. It is sometimes said that the distinction between these two services is that the former is concerned with prevention and the latter with cure, and, broadly, this is true; but the Public Health service is largely and to an increasing extent engaged in the treatment as well as the prevention of disease, and, in fact, the two services show a tendency to merge into one. Both services are supervised by the same central department, the Local Government Board, but the public health work of the education authorities is, like their other work, supervised by the Board of Education.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH AUTHORITIES.

For the supervision of the Public Health authorities the Local Government Board have a medical staff, consisting of a medical officer, Dr. Newsholme, two assistant medical officers, and 18 medical inspectors. Five of the inspectors are specially concerned with food inspection. They see that the local authorities exercise their powers to prevent the importation and sale of unwholesome food, to prevent adulteration, &c. The staff of the Board includes also a number of expert bacteriologists, who are engaged in the preparation of calf lymph for the use of the public vaccinators.

The local Public Health authorities (including the County Councils, which have important public health duties) employ about 1,800 medical officers of health, of which some 250 devote their whole time to their public health work, the remainder being part-time officers who are also engaged in private practice. In the smaller districts the

medical officer of health has charge of the isolation hospitals, but in the larger towns, such as Manchester and Birmingham, these hospitals have a separate medical staff.

The work of the Public Health authorities is most varied, and includes the prevention of nuisances; the supervision of water supply and food supply; the prevention of infectious diseases, including the provision of isolation hospitals and disinfection; the prevention of consumption and of infantile mortality. The Public Health authorities maintain over 700 hospitals having, in the aggregate, nearly 25,000 beds. These hospitals are chiefly for the reception of patients suffering from infectious disease, but not wholly so. Barry and Widnes have each a municipal hospital for accidents and urgent surgical cases. Many Public Health authorities have provided sanatorium treatment for consumptives, either by establishing a municipal sanatorium, as at Birmingham, or by paying for beds at a sanatorium established by another body, as at Woolwich, or, again, by setting aside special blocks for this purpose at the isolation hospital, as at Brighton and Leicester. This work has been much developed during the past few years.

In London the isolation hospitals are provided by the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which, although formed by representatives of the Boards of Guardians, with a large number of Local Government Board nominees, is practically a Public Health authority. The Metropolitan Asylums Board has 12 fever hospitals, 3 small pox hospitals, 2 ophthalmia schools, 1 ringworm school, 1 children's hospital, 3 seaside homes for children, 6 homes for feeble-minded children, and 5 imbecile asylums. The London County Council has 8 lunatic asylums, and one lunatic asylum is provided by the City Corporation. In the provinces there are 69 lunatic asylums maintained by the

county councils or the county borough councils.

The Public Health authorities carry out important work for the **prevention of infant mortality**. They disseminate advisory leaflets, pamphlets, &c., explaining the principles of infant hygiene, and they employ about 300 health visitors, who visit the homes of the poor, and give practical advice on the feeding and care of infants. Some 12 authorities have established depôts for the supply of specially-prepared milk for infants whose mothers are unable to nurse them.

The county and county borough councils are entrusted with the administration of the Midwives Act, which is a very important public health measure. No less than 50 per cent. of the births that occur in England and Wales are attended by midwives, who number 27,234 in all. The executive officers supervising the work of the midwives are the medical officers of health of the counties and county boroughs, who have a number of specially-appointed assistants, many of whom are lady doctors.

THE EDUCATION AUTHORITY.

The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, has led to a **great development of public health work by the education authorities**, especially in connection with the medical inspection of school children, which is made compulsory by the Act. The Board of Education have appointed a medical staff consisting of a chief medical officer, Dr. Newman, and three medical inspectors, one of whom is a woman. Every local education authority is required to appoint a school medical officer, and at present over 300 authorities have made such an appointment. In addition, some 2,000 assistant school doctors have been appointed, who are chiefly engaged in the medical inspection of school children.

The Board of Education regard medical inspection and school hygiene generally as a part of public health administration, and they recommend that generally speaking such work "should be supervised by the medical officer of health of the authority which appoints the Education Committee." Of the 300 school medical officers that have already been appointed over 200 are also medical officers of health. Education authorities are to an increasing extent undertaking the medical treatment of school children. **School clinics**, for the treatment of children found defective upon medical inspection, have been established in Bradford, Brighton, Cambridge, Croydon, and several other towns.

THE POOR LAW AUTHORITY.

The **Poor Law medical service** is under the supervision of the Local Government Board, whose medical staff for this purpose consists of only two

medical inspectors, both of whom are engaged in the inspection of indoor medical relief; outdoor medical relief is not inspected by the central authority. A large number of sick paupers are still treated in workhouses, but in London and in the larger unions separate infirmaries for the sick have been provided under management distinct from that of the workhouses.

There are 29 separate Poor Law infirmaries in London, and 22 in the provinces. The number of beds in the London Poor Law infirmaries amounts to no less than 16,300; which greatly exceeds the total number of beds, 10,224, in the voluntary hospitals in London. The efficiency of the Poor Law infirmaries has considerably increased in recent years, and they are being increasingly used by persons who are well above the pauper class. In London the fever hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board will not admit cases of certain important infectious diseases, for example, puerperal fever, erysipelas, and measles, and patients suffering from these diseases have recourse in increasing numbers to the Poor Law infirmaries. The proportion of the total deaths in London that occur in Poor Law institutions has risen from 12.3 per cent. in 1890 to 23.5 per cent. in 1907. Nearly 6,000 nurses are employed in the workhouses and Poor Law infirmaries.

For the **outdoor medical relief** of the sick poor the Poor Law authorities employ 3,713 district medical officers. With but two or three exceptions these officers are engaged in private practice and give only a part of their time to their duties as district medical officers, and in many cases they hold office, also under the guardians, as public vaccinators. The Poor Law authorities have power to appoint nurses for the outdoor sick, but only in a very few instances has this power been exercised. In a small number of unions the guardians pay a subscription to the local nursing association for the services of the district nurse.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES.

In addition to these State medical services a very large amount of medical aid is provided by voluntary hospitals and other charities. In London there are 110 voluntary hospitals, the largest of which is the London Hospital with 929 beds. Some of these hospitals have large out-patient departments. In 1906 the voluntary hospitals in London provided treatment for 114,261 in-patients and 1,607,945 out-patients. In the provinces there are 604 voluntary hospitals, which in 1906 treated 131,292 in-patients and 884,478 out-patients. These figures do not include special institutions for incurable and chronic cases—homes for the dying, cancer hospitals, &c. These institutions number 22 in London and about 30 in the provinces. And there still remains for mention the dispensaries, of which

there are 91 in London and 157 in the provinces. Among the dispensaries there are considerable differences in the methods of management, and in the conditions of membership. Some dispensaries provide free medical aid, while others are organised on a provident basis, and require a subscription from their members.

We have seen that medical aid in this

country is provided by an enormous number of agencies, public and voluntary. The work of these various agencies suffers greatly from lack of co-ordination and co-operation, and it is to be hoped that the Reports of the Poor Law Commission will result in the proper organisation and direction of the agencies providing medical aid.

G. F. MCCLARY.

THE CO-OPERATION OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES.

By EDITH MOGGIDGE.

One of the most encouraging signs of the present time is the change which is taking place in the theory and practice of charity. The very word "charity" is tending to die out, and to be replaced by the phrase "voluntary aid." This is more than a merely verbal change. The primary object of Charity is the saving of the charitable person's soul; while Voluntary Aid implies a consciousness of the existence of the community, and of a duty to it, and to its less fortunate members, on the part of those whom it has endowed with wealth and leisure.

The evil results of indiscriminate charity, and of charities administered without regard to the action of other agencies with which they may overlap, are strikingly set forth in the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. There are, for instance, numbers of endowed charities, mostly small, the funds of which either go to maintain almspeople and pensioners, or are periodically distributed in the form of doles. These charities are naturally apt to be more abundant in old and decaying towns than in newer and more populous districts, where the need may be far greater. But a more important matter is the general lack of co-ordination between the different charities of a district, and the variety of authorities entrusted with their administration. Thus, in the diocese of Ely the income of the endowed charities, which, on the showing of the Diocesan Report, exceeds £22,000, is administered by 935 separate trusts. Canterbury is described by one of its clergy as "a sink of small charities."

There is very rarely any attempt to co-ordinate charity with the Poor Law. In some places Charity Organisation Societies and Councils of Social Welfare have attempted to cope with the evil of overlapping. The difficulty of any scheme for co-ordinating charitable effort is that it would scarcely be practicable to impose on charities the legal obligation to communicate the particulars of their activities to some central body; yet without such communication nothing effectual could be done. The Minority Report proposes that all charitable institutions should be urged to send in full particulars of all cases they deal with to the Registrar of Public Assistance, and it may be hoped that as the evils of indiscriminate doles become

more generally recognised this will be more and more completely done until in course of time the Register of Public Assistance will be a complete record of all the aid given by the agencies, public and private, in any district.

But it now seems possible, beyond this necessary co-ordination of existing voluntary agencies, to define, more clearly than has hitherto been attempted, the relative positions and possibilities of Voluntary Aid and Public Assistance. Attempts to do this are contained in both the Majority and Minority Reports. Both Reports recognise the value of voluntary work; they differ, however, as to the nature of the functions which can best be undertaken by the volunteer.

The Majority, while retaining destitution as the test of eligibility for public assistance, suggest that voluntary organisations might be effective in preventing the approach of distress, and in giving help to those who have not yet sunk so low as to be eligible for assistance under the Poor Law. They therefore propose that "the large charitable endowments and resources in the country should be organised and form, with the social workers and organisations now in existence, a first line of defence against impending pauperism or incipient indigence" (Part IV., par. 303). This "first line of defence" would, it is suggested, be especially effective in giving home assistance to deserving cases.

To this end it is proposed to organise a network of "Voluntary Aid Committees," for dispensing assistance, on Charity Organisation Society lines, to the deserving poor, while the less worthy cases are to be dealt with by the Poor Law, or Public Assistance Authority. The hope is expressed that "the great majority of cases will pass, as it were, through the sieve of voluntary aid before they reach public assistance" (Part IX., par. 107). This idea of a sieve seems admirably calculated to reduce the number of applications for relief to a minimum; whether it would be equally effective in the reduction of distress is perhaps more open to question. In view of the very important duties assigned to these bodies, and of the fact that they would be eligible to receive grants out of the County Rate, their complete freedom from any shadow of popular control is surely a

serious matter. If it is possible to do anything for the prevention of destitution, can we afford to leave so important a task in the hands of irresponsible amateurs?

The Minority Report assigns a different, though not less important, place to voluntary work.

In any scheme for turning to the best account the work of voluntary agencies, it is necessary to ensure that they should not overlap with public bodies. The chief merits of volunteer, as opposed to official, work are its greater elasticity, and its capacity for dealing with cases according to their individual requirements, rather than in watertight classes. The volunteer is able to devote more time to any particular family that may interest him than an official could do without neglecting some other part of his work; he can regard people more as human beings, and less as cases. On the other hand, the dangers of voluntary work are irresponsibility and lack of continuity.

In view of these facts, the Minority Report suggests two spheres as being suitable for voluntary activity. In the first place, there is the visiting of the homes of those in need or in receipt of assistance. This is a service which can perhaps be most effectively performed by voluntary workers; but, if it is to be helpful and not demoralising, two conditions must be enforced:—the distribution of relief by the visitor, whether from public or private funds, must be absolutely precluded; and the work must be "definitely organised, under skilled direction, in association with a special branch of public administration." In this connection the Minority Report proposes to adopt and extend the system of friendly visiting which has recently been so largely developed in connection with Children's Care Committees and Public Health work. This system presents a most effective combination of the services of the volunteer and the official. The voluntary visitor, keeping in constant touch with the families to which assistance is being given, is able to see that such assistance is being properly applied and is having its due effect, to give advice in a friendly way, and to observe, and bring to the notice of the

authorities, any cases in which further assistance may be required. At the same time, the visits form part of an official scheme, so that there is no such lack of continuity as must often occur in merely private and personal work if the worker should die or leave the district.

Under the Minority scheme of "searching out destitution," the duties of these volunteer visitors would be even more important than at present. One may look forward, in time, to a network of these visitors extending all over the country, alert to note the first signs of approaching distress—the neglected child, the incipient phthisis case, and so on, and to bring them before the authorities competent to deal with them.

The only question, in fact, seems to be whether there will be enough people of sufficient leisure, skill, and goodwill to fill the places required. But there seems no reason to apprehend any serious deficiency of workers, in view of the present rapid development of Health Visiting and Care Committees. With regard to the latter, it is an encouraging symptom that the London County Council's recent application for 5,000 persons willing to serve on Children's Care Committees under the new scheme has produced more than that number of volunteers. This side of voluntary work involves personal service, but excludes gifts of money. The other, however, gives scope for both.

There are some kinds of institutional treatment which are not likely to be taken up by public authorities. Here, in pioneer institutions of all kinds, in the practical testing of new methods, open-air or vacation schools, improved almshouses, &c., is a most necessary work, and one eminently suited to voluntary enterprise. Again, such morally regenerative work as is achieved by the Salvation Army is obviously a matter for private enterprise, while at the same time it is perhaps the only effective way of dealing with certain cases. Along these two lines, then, the future of volunteer work may be expected to lie. Between them they afford ample scope for the spare wealth and energy of the community.

EDITH MOGGRIDGE.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

BY EVELYN FOX.

The searching enquiries made by the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, showed the gravity and complexity of the problem to be dealt with, and the dangers to which the present lack of system exposes us.

The Feeble-Minded, as defined by the Report, issued in 1908, are: "Those persons who may be capable of earning a living under favourable circumstances but are incapable from mental defect existing from birth or from an

early age (1) of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows, or (2) of managing themselves or their affairs with ordinary prudence."

The statistics as to the numbers of this class vary considerably. The mentally-defective, including idiots, imbeciles, and the feeble-minded, and excluding certified lunatics, are estimated by Dr. A. F. Tredgold at 138,529, or 4.03 in every 1,000 of the population of England and Wales. In every 10,000 there are 2 idiots, 7 imbe-

ciles, 29 feeble-minded, and 36 insane. The relative proportions of males to females being as 6 to 5. The figures of the Royal Commission are even higher, being 149,628, and of this number 66,509 are reported as "needing provision."

A brief statement of the various authorities dealing with the feeble-minded will show how inadequate our present methods are.

FEEBLE-MINDED CHILDREN.

Under the Elementary Education, Defective and Epileptic Children's Act, of 1899, local education authorities were empowered, but not compelled, to provide for these children up to the age of 16, in day or residential schools. It is to be regretted that the authorities have not as a whole availed themselves of the Act. In England and Wales there are but 8 residential schools certified by the Board and receiving 571 children. The general policy, particularly in towns, has been to establish day schools, and taking into account the peculiar difficulties in training these children, and the fact that many come from the most deplorable homes, this is the least satisfactory way of dealing with them. There are at present 158 day-schools accommodating 16,445 children; of these 84 with 5,893 children, are under the London County Council. Children too defective for a day school, come under no authority; it is no ones business to care for and educate them. Residential schools are most urgently needed.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED POOR.

With the exception of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the local authorities make no special provision for the feeble-minded. They are received in the general workhouses and infirmaries, where, however, little or no classification takes place, and where many of the most degraded types mingle with the other inmates. They have power to discharge themselves, so that individuals known to be a danger to the community cannot be retained under control, but wander at will, filling our prisons and casual wards, our inebriate and rescue homes. Those on the other hand who could work under supervision (and many of this class can do highly-skilled work when supervised) are untaught, because opportunity and organisation are lacking. The statistics of the Royal Commission show that in four urban areas 12.7 of the population of the Poor Law institutions were feeble-minded; in four rural areas the percentage was 18.75.

The Metropolitan Asylums Board has the following homes for those within the London area: Two working colonies for elder boys and girls, five homes for children attending special schools, with a total accommodation for 259 boys and girls; a colony—Darenth—for about 2,000 improvable cases, children and adults, and temporary accommodation

for unimprovable cases, and several institutions for certified imbeciles. Besides this, all Boards of Guardians have power to pay for mentally-defective persons in voluntary homes and institutions.

It will be clear from the above that the Poor Law has not been able to cope with the problem. The following figures speak for themselves. Some 60 to 70 per cent. of the inebriates dealt with under the Acts are feeble-minded; and enquiries made by the National Association for the Feeble-Minded at 100 Magdalen Homes showed that of the 14,725 inmates passing through them, 2,521 were defective. For none of these does there exist any authority with powers of control. The recent reports on the Poor Law (both Majority and Minority) urge that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Feeble-Minded should be adopted.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED AND CRIME.

Six of the residential schools mentioned are certified by the Home Office, and receive children from industrial schools. There is also a special branch of Parkhurst prison, a sort of labour colony for feeble-minded convicts, but this is absolutely inadequate. Ten per cent. of the inmates of prisons are defective, and enquiries on another line have shown that 10 per cent. of feeble-minded persons have pronounced criminal propensities. For those prisoners who leave Parkhurst, or for the number of feeble-minded convicted perhaps as many as 130 times for petty offences, there is no provision made. They are not only an expense, but a very serious danger to the community.

OTHER PROVISION FOR IMBECILES.

The Commissioners in Lunacy have under their charge not only the county asylums where many of the feeble-minded drift through lack of proper control, but also the five great idiot asylums. These, though they only take cases certified under the Idiots Act, also call themselves training homes for the feeble-minded.

VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES AND HOMES.

The National Association for the Welfare of the Feeble-Minded, founded in 1895, acts generally as a centre of information for all questions dealing with this class, and forms a connecting link between local authorities, educational and poor-law, and the homes and institutions to which they wish to send cases. The Association has, moreover, an industrial farm colony where it is proposed to receive adults of both sexes, and also to build a school for children; it has already homes for 40 girls, and eighteen affiliated homes, containing in all some 423 inmates. There are nine branches, and the work of after care or supervision of children leaving special schools throughout the country has been organised by the Association.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the permanent care of the Feeble-Minded has a colony, Sandlebridge, near Manchester, which includes a school (one of those mentioned as being certified by the Board of Education), and homes for older boys and girls; 36 are over the age of 16. In addition there are three Roman Catholic homes with some 100 inmates; three independent homes for about 40 girls. A new institution with a proposed accommodation for some 150 has lately been opened.

Thus the existing residential homes and institutions can only provide for 1,479 people out of the 66,509 needing provision, and moreover none of these homes have powers of permanent detention.

The Recommendations of the Royal Commission may be briefly summed up as:—

(1) The establishment of a central authority to be called the Board of Control, which should deal with every class

of mentally-defective persons, including lunatics.

(2) A system of notification by which adequate control or supervision of mentally-defective persons could be arrived at, whether by visits in their own homes or by placing them in institutions.

(3) The foundation of homes alike by private enterprise and by local authorities.

(4) Powers of detention for inmates in such homes.

Early legislation on these points is pressed for by all whose work brings them into contact with the feeble-minded.

With regard to epileptics, the Recommendations of the Royal Commission are briefly as follows:—All feeble-minded epileptics to be dealt with as the feeble-minded; the Board of Control to visit all homes and institutions for epileptics.

E. FOX.

PRESENT POSITION OF TEMPERANCE REFORM.

By CHARLES ROBERTS, M.P.

More than 40 years ago John Bright, speaking on Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill, laid great stress on the progress of sobriety during his lifetime, and on the hope that, apart from legislation, education and the slow improvement of society might solve the problem of intemperance. Unfortunately for shallow and comfortable optimism, Mr. Balfour declares half a century afterwards that in England we are still face to face with "the great and ever-present tragedy of drink"; and, to single out but two recent witnesses to the existence of the tragedy, Lord Alverstone, as Lord Chief Justice, said on July 21st, 1909:—

"After 40 years' experience at the Bar and 10 years as a judge, I know as a fact that 90 per cent. of the crime of this country depends on intemperance."

Lord Gorell, formerly President of the Divorce Court, said in the Lords on July 14th, 1909:—

"The chief cause of the misery revealed in the Divorce Court is drink. I believe that if the effects of drink could be abolished altogether, the Divorce Court might almost close its doors."

So much for the slow progress of society. The malady is deep-seated and inveterate, yet it is beyond question that it responds to legislative treatment, whenever the nation chooses, or is permitted by the liquor trade, to apply the known remedies. Our own history shows that whenever the State has restricted facilities for drinking, temperance has made progress, while increase of intemperance has always accompanied periods of lax control or of an expanding drink trade. Drinking and drunkenness depend largely, though not exclusively, on facilities for drinking. The rise and fall of the

drink bill is determined mainly by the state of trade and by the restrictions of the law, i.e., by the power of the consumer to purchase and the opportunities allowed to the trader to sell. Two recent illustrations of this can be seen, first in the decline in drinking and drunkenness of the last few years, and secondly in the immediate effect of the Budget of 1909.

VALUE OF A POLICY OF RESTRICTION

(1) The recent reduction in the number of on-licenses began, of course, before Mr. Balfour's Act of 1904. It started with a tardy reform movement on the part of the licensing benches, which was soon restricted within narrow limits by the crippling of the justices' discretion through the grant of an anomalous kind of vested interest under the Act of 1904.

The work effected in England and Wales up to January 1st, 1909 (the latest date for which completely accurate figures are available) is shown in the following table, which is divided by the date on which the Act of 1904 came into operation (see "Licensing Statistics," 1908, cd. 4, 612 of 1909).

1900-1905.	
On-licenses existing on Jan. 1, 1900..	102,189
Add new licenses granted 1900-5....	843
	103,032
Deduct on-licenses got rid of 1900-5..	3,554
On-licenses existing Jan. 1, 1905....	99,478
1905-1908.	
On-licenses existing on Jan. 1, 1905..	99,478
Add new licenses granted 1905-5....	224
	99,702
Deduct on-licenses got rid of 1905-8..	4,185
On-licenses existing Jan. 1, 1908....	95,517

Out of the 4,185 on-licenses got rid of during 1905-8, there were 2,821 which received compensation, while 1,364 were refused without compensation or lapsed from other causes.

It is impossible not to connect this reduction of licenses with the fact that the drink bill, which rose from £158,932,000 in 1894 to £184,880,000, in 1900 fell to £161,069,090 in 1908. The

figures for drunkenness are partly masked in the first two years by the fact that the Licensing Act of 1902 created new offences with a consequent apparent rise, but from 1903 a marked fall in proceedings and convictions for drunkenness has coincided with the reduction of licenses and the drop in the drink bill. The figures since that date are as follows:—

SIMPLE AND AGGRAVATED DRUNKENNESS ONLY.

England and Wales.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.*
No. of persons proceeded against	230,180	227,403	219,276	211,493	210,024
" " committed	209,385	207,730	200,550	192,481	191,005

* From the last volume of Judicial Statistics, published in 1909.

SOBER by RESOLUTION of the COMMONS

(2) The second illustration shows that people can be made sober, not merely by Act of Parliament, but also by a resolution of the House of Commons. The imposition of the new tax on spirits of 3s. 9d. a gallon led to the whisky trade raising retail prices, either in most cases by an extra 1d. on the 3d. glass of whisky (instead of the extra 1d. anticipated by Mr. Lloyd George), or by a corresponding reduction in the volume or strength of the spirits sold. Spirits taken out of bond between May 1st and the end of October, 1909, were

only 9,012,000 proof gallons instead of 17,484,000 proof gallons in the similar months of 1908. This drop of 8,000,000 gallons does not mean an equivalent decline in consumption. Forestalling in anticipation of the Budget and the depletion of stocks have to be allowed for; but perhaps the consumption of spirits fell off 20 or 25 per cent.

The decline both in the apprehensions and citations for drunkenness under all heads, and in the total committals to prison that resulted in Scotland, is shown in the following table (see Parliamentary Answer to Mr. Murray Macdonald, M.P., August 9th, 1909).

	Apprehensions and Citations for Drunkenness.		Total Committals to Prison.	
	May.	June.	May.	June.
1907	4,744	4,770	1,664	1,604
1908	4,361	4,401	1,578	1,742
1909	2,965	2,872	1,138	1,134
Reduction in 1909 as compared with 1908	1,396	1,632	440	608
Percentage of Reduction	32%	37%	28.1%	34.9%

"ONE OF THE FIRST FRUITS OF VICTORY."

In the light of these facts it is all the more deplorable that the overwhelming majority in the present House of Commons for Temperance Reform should have been prevented from applying the effective remedies which the Government proposed in the Licensing Bill of 1908, and that nothing should be actually attained as the result of years of effort, except some small points, as, e.g., exclusion of children from public-house bars and Mr. Runciman's syllabus of temperance teaching for use in schools. No one, however, has any right to blame the Government or Temperance Reformers for this barrenness. The Government have striven their hardest to secure remedies, and Mr. Asquith dismissed as "absolutely shadowless and baseless" the charge that Temperance Reformers "are impracticable faddists, not capable of accommodating themselves to the conditions of fresh legislation." "That charge," he said, "can never be made again after the experience of this year."

It can only be said that all these efforts have not been wholly wasted. In place of uncertainty and dissension in Temperance circles, once prevalent, as to the next immediate steps to be taken, the proposals remain formulated and agreed. For England the Licensing Bill of 1908 may not have been all that Temperance Reformers desired, and some of its most desirable reforms were too long postponed. But, as a whole, the measure was heartily accepted by Temperance, Liberal, and Labour opinion, and the Prime Minister's pledge stands on record, that when the struggle with the Lords is over and won, "one of the first fruits of victory will be that that measure will take its place on the Statute Book." (March 10th, 1909.)

PROGRESS BEYOND THE SEAS.

The achievement of Temperance Reform will place this country in touch with the advance recorded in the English-speaking world. A new wave of the Temperance movement has been sweeping over the United States; Maine, North Dakota, Georgia, North

Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Alabama are now prohibition States, and South Carolina, now almost entirely prohibitionist, has driven its dispensary system into the last corner of the State. In Canada the policy of No-license continues to make advance

in successive local-option campaigns. The striking successes in New Zealand can be best illustrated by the official figures, showing the votes recorded for (1) the continuance and (2) the reduction of licenses, and (3) for No-license at its triennial polls.

Year.	Votes recorded for Continuance.	Votes recorded for Reduction.	Votes recorded for No-License.	Percentage of voters recording valid votes for No-License.
1896	139,580	94,555	98,312	37.82
1899	142,443	107,751	118,575	42.23
1902	148,449	132,240	151,524	48.88
1905	182,884	151,057	198,768	51.27
1908	188,140	162,562	221,475	53.45

The number of New Zealand electorates, where No-license is in force, is now 12 out of a total of 76 electorates in the Dominion. The policy of No-license is the really effective remedy for the evils of the licensing system all over the English-speaking world.

THE PEERS AS THE BLOCK TO REFORM.

But in our country we still stand paralysed by a two-fold obstacle to progress; we have to reckon first with the deplorable extent, originally revealed in the "Daily News," to which the Peers and the class they belong to have become in recent years financially interested in liquor selling, and secondly with the political hold which millionaire brewers and the drink interest have secured over Unionist party organisation.

"Humanity," says Professor Brouardel, the great French authority on tuberculosis, "everywhere utters a cry of despair at the ravages of alcoholism." The House of Lords is deaf to that cry, but it pays ready enough heed to the demands embodied in the petition of the gin-distillers of London. The one great remaining obstacle to Temperance Reform is concentrated at Lansdowne House, where, on the demand of Lord Rothschild and the liquor trade, the greatest effort of Temperance Reform ever undertaken by a British Government was cynically destroyed by a secret party caucus of Tory peers.

CHARLES ROBERTS.

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- Alcoholic Beverages, 1905. (H. C. 401.) (1906.) 9d. net.
 Booth, C. Life and Labour in London. (Final volume.) (Macmillan.) (1889-1897.) 5s. net.
 Burns, John. Labour and Drink. (United Kingdom Alliance.) 1d.

Departmental Committee on the Law relating to Inebriates. Report. 1908. (Cd. 4438.) (Wyman.) 4½d. net.

Gulland, J. W. Scotland Sober and Free. (Scottish Temperance League.) 1d.

Licensing Statistics, 1907. (Cd. 3951.) (1908.) 2s. 2d. net.

Pease, E. R. The Case for Municipal Drink Trade. (King.) 1s. net.

Peel, Hon. S. Practical Licensing Reform. (Methuen.) 1s. 6d.

Pratt, E. A. The Licensed Trade. An Independent Survey. (Murray.) (1907.) 1s. net.

Pratt, E. A. Licensing and Temperance in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. (Murray.) 2s. 6d. net.

Reid, G. A. Alcoholism: A Study in Heredity. (Unwin.) (1901.) 6s. net.

Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws, 1899. (C. 9379.) (Wyman.) 3s. 3d. net.

Roberts, C. H. Time Limit and Local Option. (King.) 1s. net.

Rowntree, J., and Sherwell, A. The Taxation of the Liquor Trade. Vol. 1. Revised and enlarged edition, 1908 (Macmillan), 10s. 6d. net; abridged edition, 1909 (Macmillan), 6d.

Rowntree, J., and Sherwell, A. British "Gothenburg" Experiments and Public House Trusts. (Hodder & Stoughton.) (1901.) 2s. 6d.

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Rowntree, J., and Sherwell, A. Public Interests or Trade Aggrandisement? (King.) (1904.) 1s. net.

Shadwell, A. Drink, Temperance, and Legislation. (Longmans.) (1902.) 5s. net.

Snowden, P. Socialism and the Drink Trade. (I.L.P. Publication Department.) 1s. net.

Webb, S. and B. History of Liquor Licensing in England, 1700-1830. (Longmans.) (1903.) 2s. 6d. net.

SECTION X.

EDUCATION.

"We, like other nations, must organise and adjust, calmly, comprehensively, logically, from the bottom to the top, retaining and encouraging every factor that has proved its value, firmly but mercifully eliminating all elements of selfish obstruction, considering not what is best for one particular class, rich or poor, or for one particular sect, Church or anti-Church, or for one particular form of national activity, commercial, industrial, or professional; but what is best for a society which embraces all alike, and has for its highest aim to humanise and harmonise them all. . . . The State alone can hope to settle what is essentially, as much as the Army and Navy, the State's affair."—From *The Higher Education of Boys in England*, by C. Norwood, M.A., and A. H. Hope, M.A.

In 1870 the only provision for the working-class children of England and Wales was 8,231 voluntary schools, with accommodation for 1,673,584 children. To-day the total number of public elementary schools, provided and voluntary, is 20,821, with places for 7,087,934 children; in 38 Higher Elementary Schools there is accommodation for 12,131 children; and in 281 special schools for children blind, deaf, or otherwise defective, there is room for 2,378. Not only is there provision for more than three times as many children, but the efficiency of the work has been indefinitely increased.

The care of the education authorities has been extended to the bodies as well as the minds of the children. During the present century there has been an increasing recognition of the fact that a healthy physical condition is at the root of all good education. Special legislation has done something to provide meals for hungry children, medical aid for the sick and instruction in personal cleanliness for the neglected; and the joint efforts of teachers and social workers have done much by Play Centres and Happy Evenings to bring joy and brightness into the lives of those children in whose homes these elements of happy childhood are lacking.

The failure of Mr. Runciman's attempt to secure a settlement of the religious question at the end of 1908 has caused a kind of truce in the religious question. That it is only an armed truce has been shown by the feeling aroused by the Swansea School Case and by Mr. Runciman's circular, speedily withdrawn, on the question of instruction in the methods of Bible teaching for students in training colleges.

Still, in spite of the heat engendered by religious strife steady progress has been made by the Board of Education in the direction of a more complete and adequate system of National Education. There has been a notable development in the co-ordination of effort for the

physical, moral, and intellectual well-being of the children, and an equally notable advance in the co-ordination of elementary, secondary, and higher education. It is now reasonably possible for any intelligent child, however poor, to pass from the elementary school to the secondary school, and thence to the special training needed for any profession.

The principal change introduced by the Code of Regulations for 1909-10 was the putting into force of the Circular issued in March, insisting on the more efficient staffing of public elementary schools and the limitation of classes to not more than 60 children. Mr. Runciman, in introducing the Education Estimates of 1909-10, stated that in one northern city there were still 330 classes with over 60 on the roll. These new arrangements permit of a more elastic method of promotion and class organisation. In order to make the transition gradual, and to give the local authority time to adjust the extra expense incurred in some under-staffed schools, the earliest date when the new regulation becomes binding is in most cases September 30th, 1910, and may be postponed to June 30th, 1911.

The additional cost falls most heavily on the county boroughs and urban districts, the heaviest extra expenditure being in the county of East Suffolk, where it works out at a penny rate.

THE PHYSICAL WELL-BEING OF THE CHILDREN.

The section of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, dealing with the medical inspection of children in elementary public schools, has now been in force for two years, and the Board reports that local authorities are making substantial progress in the organisation of the work throughout the country. A sub-committee of the L.O.C. which was appointed to enquire into the question of medical inspection of school children reported in December, 1908. An examination of the children in the Michael Faraday School at Walworth revealed that 80 per cent. of the children were in urgent need of dental treatment. Some 90,000 children in the L.O.C. schools suffer from defective eyesight, while the children who suffer from disease and debility owing to the insanitary conditions of their home life were found to be very numerous. The sub-committee stated that the hospitals and provident dispensaries of London could not provide the necessary treatment, and the majority recommended the establishment of school clinics at suitable centres in London for children suffering from teeth defects, eye defects, and skin diseases (chiefly parasitic), ear defects, and simple diseases.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, permits local authorities to take such steps as are necessary for the provision of meals for children in attendance at any public elementary school. Up to the end of July, 1908, 51 local authorities had been authorised to spend money out of the rates in providing food for school children. In London the feeding of necessitous school children was left to voluntary agencies whose operations were facilitated by the L.C.C. in so far as this was possible without making contributions from the rates. But from the end of 1908 the matter was taken in hand by the Council, which voted £10,000 for the purpose on December 22nd, 1908, and £2,500 on March 23rd, 1909. For the year 1909-10 the Council has voted £37,180.

The open-air school comes from Germany, the home of educational experiment. The Charlottenburg open-air school has been established for five years. Built in a pine forest on the outskirts of the city, the buildings consist of big wooden sheds open on all sides, and some smaller ones for the accommodation of smaller numbers of children; of classrooms for use in bad weather; of bathrooms, consulting rooms, &c. The children stay at school all day from 7-45 a.m. to 7 p.m., and are provided with good and plentiful food, for which the parents pay 6d. a day if they can afford it. Destitute children are fed at the expense of the municipality. The children gained on the average 7lbs. or 8lbs. in a three-months' cure at the school, and 25 per cent. of the anæmic, consumptive, or scrofulous children who were sent to the school were permanently cured, while an additional 40 per cent. showed real improvement in the three months. As the period of stay at the school was increased, there was a proportionate increase in the good results secured.

The first English open-air schools were opened at Bostall Wood, Plumstead, Woolwich, on the recreation ground of the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society. The school was opened under the Defective and Epileptic Children Act, in 1907. Two hundred and fifty-two children were admitted from the 51 schools of the neighbouring districts. The success of this experiment led to the formation in 1908 of three regular schools of this kind in London at Lordship Lane, at Kentish Town, and at Woolwich. The excellent results to the physical and mental strength of the children were in danger of being lost for want of money to provide the necessary boots and proper food for children whose circumstances were not sufficiently "necessitous" to entitle them to be fed out of the rates. A committee to raise the necessary funds was formed by Messrs. Cyril Jackson and Cyril S. Cobb, chairman and vice-chairman of the Education Committee in July, 1909.

Open-air schools are also being carried on successfully by the Local

Authorities of Bradford, Halifax, and Norwich.

The Interests of Blind, Deaf, and Defective Children were materially assisted by the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, as since that date the Board of Education has borne a heavier share of the cost of these special schools, and the course of education to defective children is being gradually extended.

The After-Care Committees of voluntary workers which have been established all over the country do especially good work in connection with these special schools, since unless defective children are provided with suitable careers, they are apt speedily to fall after leaving school into the state from which they have been rescued at heavy cost to the rates.

MORAL INSTRUCTION.

Some 100 authorities in England and Wales provide opportunity for systematic "moral instruction," and some of these use a more or less detailed syllabus. Many competent observers consider that ethical teaching in schools is most effective when not given on any formal basis; ethical instruction should, these think, be present, though not obtrusively, in every lesson dealing with the humanities, and be conveyed by the discipline and organisation of school life. One subject which does evidently lend itself to special lessons is training in the civic spirit and in the knowledge of civic duties. A great impetus to the movement was given in 1908 by the First International Moral Education Congress, and by the publication by a committee, of which Prof. M. E. Sadler was secretary, of a report on Moral Instruction and Training in Schools. (Longmans; 10s.)

An official effort in the direction of moral instruction was the syllabus of temperance teaching compiled by Dr. Newman and Miss Campbell, medical officers of the Board, which laid down the lines on which teachers in the subject should proceed.

THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER.

Children of 11 or 12 years in London elementary schools are eligible for junior county scholarships, which provide clever children with education at a secondary school for three years, a period which may be extended for two years. The scholarships often include maintenance grants. For those who are to enter professional life further intermediate scholarships, available for two years, are open, and there are also Senior County Scholarships, each worth about £200, to enable London County Council scholars to proceed to the University or to technical colleges. The figures under the recently adopted scholarship scheme are appended—

NEW SCHEME.

1,800 juniors at £85.....	£153,000
150 supplementary juniors at £68 (£10,200), 150 supplementary juniors at £31 (£4,650)	14,850
800 intermediates at £72.....	21,600
Commercial intermediate travelling expenses	150
150 senior at £200	30,000
610 trade at £41	25,010
800 junior Domestic Economy at £30..	9,000
Art and Science.....	9,470

£263,030

In London a number of new trade scholarships have been established during the year—60 for boys and 46 for girls; and every year the Council awards 12 scholarships for blind children, eight for crippled children, and six for deaf children. The total number of trade scholarships awarded annually is now 128 to boys and 126 to girls.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

By a new regulation of the Board of Education in the Code for Secondary Schools which came into force in August, 1909, every recognised secondary school which accepts the condition of offering not less than 25 per cent. of free places to pupils from public elementary schools, and which also agrees to train each year a minimum number and a minimum proportion of bursars and pupil teachers, is entitled to an additional grant of £1 per head for every pupil in attendance.

There were in 1902 only 272 secondary schools in receipt of grants from the Board of Education; in 1905-6 there were still only 600; there are now 800, and the numbers are continually increasing. The children of the working classes who now make use of these secondary schools are nearly 42,000.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Within the last 20 years education is responsible for an additional 26½ million pounds sterling of local loans. Meanwhile the rates raised for elementary education also present a startling increase:—

RATES RAISED FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

	Amount.	Per £ of valuation.	Per head of population.
	£	s. d.	s. d.
1884-5	2,208,000	0 3½	1 8
1905-6	9,830,000	1 0½	5 9

COST OF EDUCATION.

ESTIMATES OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

	1908-9.	1909-10.
England and Wales	£13,594,150	£13,648,792
Scotland	£2,048,557	£2,147,541
Ireland	£1,544,818	£1,621,921

The average aid grant per scholar of 9s. 3½d. is only a small portion of the amount paid to Local Authorities on account of education.

The whole system of Education grants is in urgent need of revision. The present cumbersome system was

gradually evolved under the old method of payment by results. Payment by results has been done away with, but the Exchequer grant is still doled out in the annual grant per child, the fee grant, the aid grant, the small population grant, the temporary special grant to highly-rated areas, and additional grants for cookery, handicraft, laundry, &c. Moreover, the sum of these is inadequate to the ever-increasing demand on the local education authorities. Every educationist desires to see smaller classes, the efficient administration of medical aid, and the raising of the school age, but the demand on the local rates is yearly growing heavier. What is needed is (1) a simplification of the present system of grants, which should be possible now that the Board has to deal with 328 local authorities, and not with some 16,000 separate school organisations; and (2) an increase in the sum allotted by the Exchequer to the local authorities. The hope of any immediate and drastic reform was lost when the Education Bill of 1908 was jettisoned.

The total amount to be granted in 1909-10 in the three countries is:—

England and Wales	£11,162,405
Scotland	£1,925,894
Ireland	£1,483,052

The remaining part of the education estimates is spent upon administration, training colleges, and sundry expenses.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

In 1908 the administration of the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington was transferred to a Director and Secretary of the Art Museum, who is directly responsible to the Board of Education. With the increased space at the disposal of the authorities a new arrangement has been made possible by which the treasures of the Museum are for the first time rendered perfectly accessible to the student of the Arts and Crafts.

The Royal School of Mines and the Royal College of Science, which had been up to 1908 administered by the Board, passed under the government of the Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FIGURES FOR 1908.

	Students.	Staff.
Oxford	3,813	125
Cambridge	3,589	117
London	8,063	1,165
Durham	978	107
Manchester	1,446	242
Leeds.....	900	133
Liverpool	914	317
Sheffield	734	137
Birmingham	910	113
University of Wales ..	1,584	161
St. Andrews	87	562
Aberdeen	905	79
Glasgow	2,650	145
Edinburgh	3,828	153
Dublin	1,241	93

BOY LABOUR AND THE RAISING OF THE SCHOOL AGE.

During the year 1909 an onslaught was made from various quarters on the careless system by which children of 14 are turned out of school to earn their living as they best may, and are permitted to waste the years when they should be learning a trade in occupations which bring in an immediate return to the parents but provide no training for after life. It is from office boys, van boys, messengers, and the like that the ranks of the unemployed are recruited. Only one-third of the boys who leave the L.C.C. schools go to skilled trades; about 5 per cent. pursue their education in secondary schools, but 61 per cent. go to unskilled labour. For four or five years they earn good wages. Then comes the day when they are dismissed because they are boys no longer. The crisis finds them not only ignorant of any skilled occupation and probably too old to enter a trade as a learner but unfitted by the desultory habits they have acquired of settling down seriously to any trade.

The Poor Law Commission devoted a separate volume to an enquiry into Boy Labour. Mr. Cyril Jackson, on their behalf, examined the biographies of a number of London young men who had left school at 14 to go out as errand or shop boys. At the age of 21 13·6 per cent. of these only had gone to skilled trades, 1·7 to clerkships, 32·2 to low-skilled labour, 3·4 to be carmen, 29 to general or casual labour, 10·2 per cent. were still errand or shop boys (presumably assistants), 3·4 were in the army, 1·7 at sea, and 5·1 had emigrated. The L.C.C. has for years endeavoured by special trade schools to fulfil the functions of the fast-dying custom of apprenticeship by supplying an adequate technical training. A sub-committee appointed to consider the question recommended early in 1909 that the school age should be raised to fifteen, that for children who were not passing on to trade schools or secondary schools there should be a compulsory three years of half-time course at a continuation school where they might gain that all-round knowledge of a trade so difficult to secure under the specialised system of a modern workshop.

These conclusions were indirectly reinforced later in 1909 by an Inter-departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance, which is now possible under certain conditions at the age of 12 and in agricultural districts at 11. The cotton mills of Lancashire, the worsted mills of Yorkshire, and the Belfast flax mills account for the majority of half-timers, which, though on a different footing from the army of office boys and messengers, still suffer from a system which breaks off their education at a point when its best possibilities are beginning. The committee recommended that all partial exemption should be

abolished, from a date not earlier than the 1st of January, 1911, and that no child should be permitted to leave school at 13 unless he was passing to a suitable trade training.

The Consultative Committee to the Board of Education on Continuation Schools also reported in 1909 to the effect that all exemption from day school attendance under the age of 14 should be discontinued, the change to be made more slowly in agricultural districts. The committee recommend that Junior Employment Registries shall be established in connection with the schools to give skilled advice to parents of children up to the age of seventeen in putting them to a trade, and in suggesting what educational courses will best help individual children in the careers chosen. These registries are to be in close association with the Labour Exchanges. Continuation schools in future are to be better equipped and more closely adapted to practical purposes, and local authorities should have discretion to make attendance at them compulsory up to the age of seventeen by by-laws adapted to the conditions of local industry, and laying responsibility on all employers of juvenile labour in the district.

In Germany evening schools are being gradually superseded by day classes, attendance at which is secured by co-operation with the employers, who are compelled by law to afford facilities for this purpose to all their employes under the age of 18.

If the recommendations outlined in the official reports already named are carried out, children leaving the elementary school should, in future, be equipped for a definite place in the labour market. One London schoolmaster said that the future out-of-work was often to be found loafing about the school gates within 6 months of his leaving school. Under present circumstances the large sums spent on education are largely wasted by the neglect of the child between 14 and 16. After Care Committees have already done something; the adoption of a thorough and practical system of continuation schools should do much more to reduce hooliganism, to relieve the casual labour market, and to increase the sum of intelligence in industrial occupations.

The changes involved in raising the school age to 15 would raise the cost of elementary education, but this difficulty might be partly met by the re-organisation of infant schools and the raising of the permissive and compulsory ages for school attendance from three and five to four and six respectively.

APPRENTICESHIP.

Efforts are being made by the new Lord Mayor, Sir John Knill, to restore the apprenticeship system.

Mr. Penty's proposal—that the trade unions should undertake the whole business of apprenticeship, and that

lads entering a trade should be indentured directly to the union of that trade, which should let them out to individual employers and be responsible for them during the term of their indentures—still holds the field as the only practical suggestion yet made.

An opportunity for discussing the question will probably arise at the conference convened by the Industrial Education Committee of the L.C.C. for December 3rd. Out of the 361 delegates, 166 would be from trade unions, 50 from local charities, 56 from Metropolitan Borough Councils and 17 from Central and local apprenticeship committees, but it will be none the less necessary to convene a second conference, to obtain the opinion of the trades throughout the country.

TRADE SCHOOLS.

In Paris, for the last twenty years, a three years' training, planned to take the place of apprenticeship, and in close connection with employers has been in vogue; but things have moved more slowly, and perhaps on less practical lines, in this country. There are, however, trade schools which are devoted mainly to actual work. In the Stanley Trade School at Norwood, half the scholar's time is spent in actual labour, and the rest of the curriculum is devoted chiefly to mathematics and machine drawing. The L.C.C. Cabinet-making and Woodworking Trade School at the Shoreditch Technical Institute may be taken as a fair example of the excellent work which the L.C.C. accomplishes for boys. There ordinary subjects occupy 22½ hours weekly in the first year. The hours given to purely technical instruction in the workshop and the drawing office amount to 7½ hours weekly in the first year, 15 hours in the second, and 19½ hours in the third.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Trades for London Boys, and How to Enter Them. (Longmans.) (1908.) 9d. net.
- Ditto, for London Girls. (1909.) 9d. net.
- Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Partial Exemption from School Attendance. Vol. 1. (Cd. 4791.) (Wyman.) 6d. net.
- Report of Consultative Committee of Board of Education on Continuation Schools, 1909. Vol. 1.—Report and Appendices (4757). Vol. 2.—Evidence (4758). Per vol., 1s. 6d. net.
- Report by Mr. Cyril Jackson on Boy Labour, forming Appendix Vol. 20 (Cd. 4632) of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909. (Wyman.) 3s. 9d. net.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY AND LABOUR.

In 1909 the new scheme for the mutual education of Oxford and Labour came into operation. The scheme arose out of the desire of working-men, as represented by the Workers' Educational Association, to have access

to higher education without losing their character of working-men, and out of the recognition by many University men that so long as Oxford made no adequate provision for working-class instruction of this kind, it could not justly claim to be a national university. A joint committee of representatives of workmen and the University was formed in 1907, which issued a report in 1908. The report proposed the establishment—it had already been tried experimentally—in various centres of small classes, which, under the direction of an Oxford tutor, should undertake the intensive study of some branch of learning for a period of three years. It was anticipated that classes of this kind would be of great benefit both to the teachers and the students, that the teachers would appreciate the labour point of view, and that the students would have the benefit of the direction of a trained mind. As complements to the classes, it was proposed that the teachers should lecture at Oxford part of the year, and that selected students should pass from the class to the University. The report found considerable approval at Oxford. A statute was passed for the formation of a permanent Joint Committee, and something has already been done by the University and the colleges to provide the necessary funds. Eight tutorial classes were started in the winter of 1908—at Chesterfield, Glossop, Littleborough, Longton, Oldham, Rochdale, Swindon, and Wrexham—and some 234 students were enrolled, of whom 20 were women. The subjects of study were industrial history and economics, and the classes held weekly meetings of two hours' duration, one hour being devoted to a lecture and the other to discussion. The members of the classes belong almost entirely to the keener manual workers, and their main interest is in questions of civic importance; and the work they have done is considered highly satisfactory. As was inevitable, it was found that overtime and unemployment affected the continuity and intensity of study.

The Oxford scheme has been taken as a model by the Universities of London, Manchester, and Leeds, and a conference has been summoned of all Universities and University Colleges in England and Wales to consider common action on the lines of the Oxford Report. There has naturally been apprehension on the part of some Labour leaders as to the effect of co-operation of this kind between Labour and Universities which have not hitherto been notable for sympathy with Labour, but the movement numbers among its friends such excellent Labour men as Messrs. Bowerman, Clynes, Jowett, and Shackleton, to say nothing of the very capable secretary of the Workers' Educational Association, Mr. Mansbridge, while the democratic sentiments of most of the younger University men who have pushed the cause at Oxford are beyond suspicion.

SWANSEA SCHOOL CASE.

The Swansea School case, which dates back to 1905, bulked large in the education controversies of the year. The managers of the Oxford Street (Church of England) School at Swansea complained that the local authority had discriminated between the teachers in the Oxford Street School and those of the provided schools. The Board of Education in 1906 recommended that the difference in salary should be remedied. This was done, but by the subsequent advancement of salaries in the Council schools, the managers of the voluntary school felt their school

was still the object of an unfair discrimination.

At the end of 1908, Mr. J. A. Hamilton, K.C., now Mr. Justice Hamilton, who was appointed by the Board to enquire into the matter, found that the Swansea local authority had failed in their duty to the Oxford Street School. The Board of Education over-rode this report, and declared in favour of the local authority, whereupon the Church School carried the matter into the Court of King's Bench, which at the end of July gave judgment against the Board of Education. The Board decided to appeal, and the matter is still pending.

STATISTICS—ENGLAND AND WALES.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Year ending	Ordinary Public Elementary Schools.				“ Certified Efficient ” Schools.	
	Council Schools.		*Voluntary Schools.			
	Number.	Accom.	Number.	Accom.	Number.	Accom.
31st July, 1906....	6,990	3,551,766	13,537	3,506,148	79	10,951
31st July, 1907....	7,230	3,675,046	13,368	3,407,542	74	9,710
31st July, 1908....	7,408	3,766,824	13,213	3,321,170	75	9,745

* The denominations of the Voluntary Schools which are included in these figures, according to the nature of the religious instruction given, were as follows:—

	Church of England Schools.	Wesleyan Schools.	Roman Catholic Schools.	Jewish Schools.	Undenominational and other Schools.
Number of Schools	10,560	294	1,015	12	567
Accommodation	2,512,264	105,664	385,901	10,755	156,472

HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Year ending	Number of Schools		Accommodat'n.	
	Old Type.	New Type.	Old Type.	New Type.
31st July, 1906..	29	5	9,983	1,219
31st July, 1907..	26	13	8,810	3,722
31st July, 1908..	21	17	7,411	4,720

SPECIAL SCHOOLS.

Year ending	Certified Schools for Blind or Deaf Children.		Certified Schools for Defective or Epileptic Children	
	Num.	Accom.	Num.	Accom.
31st July, 1906	87	5,985	179	11,122
31st July, 1907	87	6,024	191	12,131
31st July, 1908	86	6,144	195	13,234

SECONDARY SCHOOLS RECEIVING GRANTS FROM THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.—ENGLAND.

	Number of Schools.	Number of Pupils.
1. Council Schools	239	52,902
2. Girls' Public Day School Trust Schools	31	6,678
3. Roman Catholic Schools	48	7,053
4. Foundation and other Schools	418	67,344
5. Total	736	133,977

In Wales the secondary schools recognised as eligible for grants provide for 6,819 boys and 6,796 girls.

NUMBER OF SCHOLARS IN ORDINARY PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND.

Between 3 and 5 years of age ..	388,967
" 5 and 7	1,199,770
" 7 and 12	2,969,721
" 12 and 15	987,481
15 and over	5,118
	5,551,077

Of these, 2,800,997 are boys and 2,750,080 are girls. This shows an increase of 7,100 over the figure for the previous year, which was 5,543,977. The average attendance during the year was 4,918,575, and the number of the scholars who paid fees was 163,615.

The 18,816 elementary schools in England are staffed by 163,536 teachers who are classified as follows:—

Trained Teachers, Certificated	45,375
Trained Teachers, Uncertificated	40,339
Uncertificated Teachers*	29,765
Other Teachers	38,058
	163,536

* This class only includes teachers recognised as uncertificated under the Code of the Board of Education.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

	1907-8.		
	No.	Accommodation.	
		Resident.	Day.
(1) Number of Colleges and Accommodation :—			
(a) Colleges controlled by a University, or by a College which is a constituent part of a University	10	—	1,709
(b) Colleges controlled by other University Colleges	5	—	571
(c) Colleges provided by Local Education Authorities	11	161	2,035
(d) Other Colleges	46	5,030	527
(e) Total	72	5,191	4,842

TECHNICAL AND ART SCHOOLS.

1907-8.		Technical Schools.	Art Schools.
(1) Number of Institutions recognised		35	39
(2) Number of Teachers		644	99
(3) Number of Students who attended at any time during the year ..		2,768	2,455
(4) Number of Students on account of whom Grants were paid :—			
(a) Who attended a Full Course of Instruction		1,630	—
(b) Who attended part only of a Full Course of Instruction		580	—
(c) Who attended a Shortened Course of Instruction		191	—

COST OF EDUCATION.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN LONDON AND OTHER LARGE TOWNS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1906-7;
ALSO FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

	Population.	Accommodation.	Expenditure per Scholar.	Total Expenditure.	Aid Grant per Scholar.
			£ s. d.	£	s. d.
London	4,758,217	775,917	4 13 1	4,194,324	7 9
Liverpool	746,144	141,906	3 8 3	536,870	9 3
Manchester	613,148	123,990	3 7 0	442,572	9 0
Birmingham	553,155	95,879	3 7 9	358,639	9 6
Leeds	470,268	98,882	3 9 1	317,684	9 9
Sheffield	455,553	75,413	2 13 0	244,481	9 10½
England and Wales	34,945,600	7,062,067	3 4 3	21,082,406	9 3½

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LONDON RATE.

In London the rate levied in respect of higher and elementary education was in 1907-8 1s. 6d. in the £; in 1908-9 a little over 1s. 7d. in the £; and for 1909-10 1s. 7½d. in the £. London raises locally a greater share of the cost of education than do other authorities, as the following figures of rates and imperial subventions in aid of elementary education will show:—

	Percentage of cost of Elem. Education borne by	
	Rates.	Grants.
London	67.9	32.1
County Boroughs	45.3	54.7
County Councils	31.8	68.2
Municipal Boroughs	39.2	60.8
Urban Districts	45.1	54.9
Joint Authorities	16.2	83.8
England and Wales	45.7	54.3

Thus London is alone throughout the country in bearing more than half the cost of elementary education within her borders.

ELEMENTARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES.—LOCAL INDEBTEDNESS.

	Total.	Per £ of rate-able value.
		s. d.
1884-5	15,252,000	2 1
1905-6	41,720,000	4 1

OXFORD AND LORD CURZON.

The movement for reform at Oxford, which has been gaining strength during the last few years, received a great impetus in April, 1909, when Lord Curzon, who was elected Chancellor of the University after the death of Viscount Goschen, issued his Memorandum on University Reform (Clarendon Press, 2s. 6d.). In July, 1907, Dr. Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, in the House of Lords, had asked the Liberal Government to appoint a Royal Commission to consider the whole question of University Reform, and the Earl of Crewe had replied to the effect that he and his colleagues would first like to know "what the most thoughtful and competent opinion at both Universities really demanded." As far as Oxford is concerned, Lord Curzon's Memorandum may be regarded as an answer to this just and reasonable request.

In his Memorandum Lord Curzon suggests changes in the constitution of the three governing bodies. He would modify the constitution of the Hebdomadal Council, of Congregation, and of Convocation. The Chancellor then passes to the more vital question of how to provide for the poor man at the University, remarking that "in opening the University to the poor, we do not wish to close it to the rich." He would not give up the college system, with its "inestimable advantages" and its

"associations of mingled tenderness and pride," and after discussing the possibility of other solutions, such as the extension of the non-collegiate system, he advocates the establishment of a new college, conducted on more economical lines than any of the existing colleges, and furnished with a large number of maintenance scholarships. The system of fellowship should be reformed on some definite plan drawn up in accordance with the needs of the University as a whole, and the duration of prize fellowships might advantageously be decreased.

Lord Curzon would abolish compulsory Greek, and in dealing with this question he mentioned that recently he had been obliged to refuse a benefaction of £30,000 towards a definite scientific object at Oxford because he could not guarantee that this barrier to entrance would be removed. In place of the present entrance examination or Responsion, "too easy for public school men and unsuited for others," he would have an examination organised on a scientific plan. He would improve the passage schools, and would provide special facilities for the education of business men. He would have a thorough examination of the question of the relations between the University as a whole and its constituent colleges, but insist that Oxford must remain a "university of colleges."

With regard to Finance, he suggests the establishment of an independent Board of Financial Control which should review the accounts both of the University and of the colleges, and should advise upon all matters concerning finance, and publish "a revised annual balance-sheet of the University and colleges in combination." He says here very truly, "the clue to the majority of University problems, and the condition of the majority of University reforms, is finance." He proposes alterations in the machinery of government, and further provision for research. The Chancellor notices other necessary reforms and advocates the granting of degrees to women, although he does not wish them to become members of the governing bodies of the University.

So far, however, little has been done to carry out these recommendations, and there is not much reason to believe that there is any weakening of the resistance to some of the reforms indicated. Not long before Lord Curzon wrote Congregation had refused by 136 votes to 108 to make any change in the method by which the degree of M.A. is obtained, and had declined by 165 votes to 133 to limit Congregation to "members of Convocation who hold or have held University or college appointments, or are directly concerned with the studies or administration of the University." Some time before this two of the most important of the suggested reforms, the granting of degrees to women and the abolition of compulsory Greek, had also been considered

and rejected. On the other hand, in June, 1909, the Hebdomadal Council passed resolutions in favour of encouraging poor men to enter the Universities in greater numbers.

Such is the present position of the important question of reform at Oxford. Changes must come, and most probably they will follow in the main the lines laid down by Lord Curzon, who, it must be remembered, has not spoken without consulting old and tried advocates of reform. But will they come from within or from without? Will the reformers, increasing as they are in number, gain the day in Convocation, or will Oxford prefer to wait for the findings of a Royal Commission?

AN ORIENTAL SCHOOL IN LONDON.

Some very interesting questions affecting many departments of national life were raised during the sittings of the Committee appointed by the Treasury to consider the Organisation of Oriental Studies in London. One section of the enquiry dealt with the instruction of officers in the army and navy, and more especially of civil servants destined for the Oriental Service. The second dealt with commercial education. The ideal school should supply not only these obvious and practical wants, but should also provide a learned education for the man who proposes to devote himself to Oriental Literature. The two kinds of training are of course quite separate, and can, with difficulty, be included in a single institution. The British Empire is the greatest Mohammedan power in the world, and it is suggested that the Central School, in the capital of the Empire, should be in touch with the schools in Eastern States. The Committee reported in September, 1909, in favour of the establishment of a school of Oriental Languages, which should be an integral part of London University. The cost is estimated at £12,725 per annum.

Some very striking evidence was given before the Commission with regard to the importance of a knowledge of native languages to commercial agents and travellers. It was pointed out by Mr. George Lloyd that German firms trading in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf send out their invoices in Arabic or Hindustani, whereas English firms use English or French; and that the trade is rapidly passing from British to German hands. Mr. V. Hirol gave evidence that the control of the native market in the Far East was slipping out of British hands, since British firms had to employ Chinese and Japanese to do the trade. In Shanghai hardly 5 per cent. of the Englishmen in commercial houses had any knowledge of Chinese. He gave as an instance, however, of an Englishman who prepared himself for his work

by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the vernaculars of Southern China, and accordingly built up a great business for Coates's cotton thread. The evidence goes to show that the openings are still there for trade, but the competition is keener, and the trade will go to the nation that sends the most alert and the best equipped men into the field. A school of Oriental Languages should provide part of the equipment. If, as suggested, it became the centre of a network of good British schools abroad, English boys born in foreign countries might gain the inestimable benefit of an early education in the country where they were to serve in administration or commerce, an education which would give them an enormous advantage over their competitors by giving them a natural understanding of the language, and of the character of the people with whom they had to deal.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Handbook to the Technical and Art Schools and Colleges of the United Kingdom. (Scott, Greenwood.) (1909.) 3s. 6d. net.
- Hayward, F. H. The Primary Curriculum. (Ralph Holland.) (1909.) 4s. net.
- Hollowell, J. H. Outline Chronology of Public Education in England and Wales, 1807-1907. (Northern Counties Education League.) 3d.
- Maclean, A. H. H. The Law concerning Secondary and Preparatory Schools. (Jordan.)
- Organ, T. A., and Thomas, A. A. Education Law. (Incorporating the Education Acts, 1870-1902.) (Butterworth.) (1903.) 12s. 6d. net.
- Paton's List of Schools and Tutors. 2s.
- Report of the Board of Education, 1907-8. (Wyman.) (1909.) (Cd. 4566.) 7d. net.
- Yoxall, J. H., and Gray, E. The Red Code. (1908.) ("Schoolmaster" Publishing Company.) 1s. net.
- Yoxall, J. H., and Gray, E. The N.U.T. Book of Education. (National Union of Teachers.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE POLICE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

In 1907, the last year for which complete returns are available, there were 46,810 policemen in England and Wales, or one to guard every 745 of the population. There are 58 administrative counties and 127 boroughs which have their own police forces; in addition, there are the City of London police and the Metropolitan police. Of the 46,810 policemen, 33,396 are constables, and 8,415 belong to the higher ranks. Additional constables to the number of 3,196 were employed during the year.

The county police, 14,871 in number, with an average daily strength of 14,254, cost £1,300,266 during the year, an average charge of £91 per man. The police of the City of London, 1,606 in number, cost £117,137, an average of £116 for each man.

SECTION XI.—WOMEN.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN 1909.

By H. M. SWANWICK.

When a great question fairly enters the arena of practical politics the issue, simple while it remained a principle, becomes almost incredibly **complex, crowded, and even confused**. Women's Suffrage has during 1909 been in the limelight, and that light has revealed an infinite number of points of view. Since the vote means the representation of individual views this is natural enough, and those who ask "why women cannot all agree together about it"—and even, some of them, propose to postpone any attempt to deal with the question until the happy day when they shall all agree—overlook the very basis of women's demand, which is one for free expression on matters concerning them.

The simple issue whether it be advisable or no for women to have votes has become complicated by three considerations: (1) **When should they be enfranchised?** Soon? Or in the "dim and speculative future"? (2) **How shall they be enfranchised?** On the present qualification? (which is what all the women's suffrage societies ask). On some qualification specially invented for them, as embodied in Mr. Hedges's Bill and Mr. Dickinson's second Bill? On some new qualification, which shall alter the basis of the franchise altogether, but make it one for men and women indifferently, such as the simple residential qualification of Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Bill? This last is the objective of the recently-formed People's Suffrage Federation. (3) **Is it not necessary, in the interests of law and order, to postpone any consideration of the question until advocates of women's suffrage cease to use illegal or disorderly methods?**

METHODS OF VIOLENCE.

Some people there are who regard the almost daily acts of violence as a sign that the situation is intolerable, and a reason for putting an end to it. The tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union, first adopted to attract attention to the women's claim, have been lately justified on the ground that men will only pay attention to violence, and therefore violence must be used, and on the further ground that men themselves have won every extension of the franchise by violence. I should prefer to say that violence, in a country where speech and writing are fairly free, is the wrong weapon for attaining political rights, and to point out that the violent deeds done in franchise riots in the past were those of a disorderly mob, and not of accredited leaders of the party. At the same time it must be recognised that the allusions to "pin-pricks," and the sneers of responsible Ministers of the Crown at the small amount of injury done by the militant suffragists, are direct incitements to violence, while the treatment of the earlier offenders as criminals (although their offences were purely technical), and the refusal of the Prime Minister to receive any deputation of women suffragists, have embittered feeling enormously, so that what was begun as reasoned and intentional protest is now (as is seen by the assault on Mr. Churchill) becoming passionate fury.

There can be no humane person who does not regret, however the blame may be apportioned, that matters should have been allowed to drift from bad to worse in this way, and suffragists of the more moderate party are inclined to think that much of the disaster is due to each side under-rating the forces on the other. The Women's Social and Political Union thought they could "rush" the Government; they over-rated the amount of active self-sacrificing (and party-sacrificing) support which they could command in the country, especially among the electors. The Government, misled by the extraordinary reserve and self-control of most women, evidently had no conception of the depth and breadth of the movement for enfranchisement among women.

THE WOMEN'S DEMAND.

Men have seen the industrial, social, economic, and educational world of women totally revolutionised during the last fifty years, but, not being women, they have not understood that women themselves were changing to suit their environment. Women, logical and idealistic, have gone straight for their idea; men, sentimental and practical, have disliked the new idea, which violated their sentiments, and have been annoyed at having their men's work interrupted by women's grievances.

Suffragists cannot for a moment tolerate the idea that consideration of their just claim should be postponed until the Government shall have, by repressive measures only, crushed out this rebellion. Nor can they patiently wait until men alone have settled what they regard as questions of importance. The demand for the franchise is really the demand to be heard on all these questions of importance, and must, therefore, take precedence of all other demands.

The real difficulty lies in the fact that no party sees a clear party advantage in enfranchising women, and therefore all parties are shy of taking it up.

Unless women can appeal to something higher than party, to something in the hearts of men which responds to the deep need for liberty which is growing in the hearts of women, their cause has a poor chance indeed of being won by fair means. What women have to bring to birth in men is an earnest desire that the women beside whom they must perforce live shall be as free as they. Men must learn to feel the deep shame of having women, because they are the mothers of the race (for there is no other reason), in physical, economic, and political subjection. Then, when men earnestly desire to free the women, they will soon settle the detail of qualifications.

It is not that women are set on this or that qualification—they are set on equality. The Liberal, who prefers a wider than the existing franchise, has only to act on his convictions, and place the qualifications as low as he pleases; the Conservative, if he desires to retain the present basis, may give women the vote as men now have it. What the women will not tolerate is that men should make difficulties of qualification an excuse for doing nothing.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The constitutional suffragists are bending the whole of their energies to creating an educated public opinion which shall exert irresistible pressure upon the Government—whichever it is—that will come in after the General Election. Their work is being made enormously more difficult by the militants, first because the Press invariably gives prominence to "sensations," and secondly because men cease to be amenable to reason when you annoy them. Still, the work will go on. No General Election was ever held on one issue only, and the great constitutional issue between Lords and Commons need not obscure that other issue which a wider patriotism will probably interpret, in time to come, as one of the most important the modern world has seen. Struggles between the estates of the realm have been before; class war has been for ages; there has been no precedent for the equal political rights of women with men in an Empire of the greatness of Britain.

Men must be won to desire this thing and to give it freely and willingly with both hands. To harass and abuse and obstruct is not to convince. When the country wishes it, the Government will hasten to carry out those wishes.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

I have spoken all along as if it were a question of women desiring the vote and men withholding it. It is so difficult to take the opposition of women seriously. And yet, of course, a few of the educated leaders take themselves very seriously indeed, and a few of them do undoubtedly regard women as incapable of judging on Imperial matters, and as likely to be themselves injured by the distractions and corrup-

tions of political life. A great many anti-suffragists, on the other hand, are, when one comes to enquire, not really opposed to the suffrage, but horrified by the violence of some suffragists, or it is adult suffrage which they really oppose. There are some distinguished men on the Anti-Suffrage League, but the roll of distinguished women is very small indeed, and the women, on the whole, seem very fairly to represent the organised inertia of the country.

H. M. SWANWICK.

WHICH SUFFRAGE SOCIETY TO JOIN.

The first thing a woman interested in the suffrage question naturally asks is, which of the many suffrage societies she should join. The answer must depend on the nature of her convictions on the subject. Roughly speaking, every suffragist must range herself with the militant or with the constitutional party; the differences are of degree. Some details, however, of the various societies (a full list of which is given elsewhere, with addresses and lists of officials) will serve as a guide. The oldest of all the suffrage societies is the North of England Woman Suffrage Society founded in 1867; it was followed closely by the London and Edinburgh Societies. In the same year the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was formed, to federate the scattered bodies concerned in the movement. Its object is to secure the parliamentary suffrage for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. It is a non-party organisation, and carries on a peaceful propaganda throughout the country. It gives active support to any parliamentary candidate who gives a satisfactory assurance of his intention to forward the woman's cause, and where both candidates are indifferent it takes elections only as an opportunity for propagandist work. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies numbers over seventy branches, and is affiliated to the International movement.

The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association also works to educate public opinion, while the (Liberal Women's) Forward Suffrage Union (within the Women's Liberal Federation), though at present loyal to the party organisation, is prepared to adopt more militant tactics against any future Liberal Government which should disregard its programme. The more advanced women's party organisations help the constitutional movement by propaganda. Suffrage for women on the same terms as men is a plank of the programme of the Women's Liberal Federation, and of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, the Independent Labour Party, and the National Women's Labour League. Independent help is given by the Writers', the Actresses', the Artists' Suffrage Leagues, the Women's Temperance Society, and generous assistance is received from the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

The quiet and orderly methods of these organisations were not the ones which have captured the major share of public attention in 1909. Of the militant societies two have dominated the rest—the **Women's Social and Political Union**, and the **Women's Freedom League**, which offer consistent opposition to the Government of the day at elections, and have filled the Press and the country with the talk of the desperate deeds undertaken to force the hand of the Government.

BILLS TO PROVIDE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The first Bill produced in the House of Commons was Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill in 1870 providing that words of masculine gender in Acts dealing with the qualification and representation of voters referring to the suffrage should be held to include females. This Bill successfully passed the Second Reading, as many of its successors have done. In 1875 Mr. Forsaith introduced a Bill for giving the franchise to single women if otherwise qualified. Later Bills varying in tenor were introduced by Sir A. Rolitt in 1892, by Mr. Faithfull Begg in 1896, by Mr. Galloway in 1902, by Colonel Denny in 1903, by Mr. Will Crooks in 1904, Sir J. Bamford Slack in 1905, Mr. Kelr Hardie in 1906, and by Mr. Dickinson in 1907. Mr. Stanger's Bill, on its Second Reading in the House of Commons in 1908, secured a majority of 179. This Bill proposed to give the vote to women on the same terms as men, without any limitation as to marriage. Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Snowden introduced Bills in 1909, which were dropped on the Second Reading. Mr. Howard's Bill, read for the second time in the House of Commons in March, 1909, coupled the enfranchisement of women with a suggestion of sweeping reform in the present electoral law, and was, as a matter of fact, repudiated by the Suffrage Associations, though it was supported by a number of influential women connected with the industrial and economic side of the woman's question. The Suffrage Societies are unwilling to confuse the issue and to destroy the solidarity at present existing on the question between Conservative and Liberal women by tacking the admission of women to the franchise to a measure which rouses acute political and social differences. All the Suffrage Societies as such agree on their demand for the vote for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

The Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which took place in London at the end of April, was a significant and deeply interesting occasion, and yet scarcely reported in the London Press. Delegates from all corners of the earth assembled to repeat the story that everywhere, in Scandinavia and Hungary, in Russia, in the United States, in Italy, and even in

Turkey, women were asking for political rights.

Among the most interesting of the delegates was Miss Annie Färnholm, a Member of the Finnish Parliament, and delegates from Britain overseas came to tell us how peacefully the women's vote worked over there, among people of our own blood. Mrs. Chapman Catt made an ideal President, conducting often very difficult sittings with a fairness, a breadth, and a humour that irradiated the whole proceedings.

There is no doubt that foreign delegates were very much impressed by the courage and cleverness of the militant suffragists, and they thought themselves lucky to be able to witness one of the welcomes from Holloway Gaol.

THE SUFFRAGE ABROAD.

In America Wyoming was the pioneer State to bestow the franchise on women, and it was followed by three other States. In Europe enfranchisement began in those northern countries where women have always enjoyed a better status than in southern States. In Sweden the grant of the suffrage for women forms part of the Labour and Liberal programmes, and was assured of the sympathy of the Crown before the victory of February, 1909, when a Women's Suffrage Bill passed the Lower House by a considerable majority, only, however, to be thrown out by the Upper. In Norway a Suffrage Bill was passed in 1907, admitting women with a tax-paying qualification to the suffrage, and the Norwegian women exercised the vote for the first time in 1909. Finland, a pioneer in so many forward movements, gave complete franchise to its women, with the right to sit in the Diet. Nineteen women were returned to the Diet of 1906, and twenty-five to the legislature of 1908. In Russia, where women have long been on a common footing with men in many political disabilities, they enjoy certain shadowy rights of suffrage. The Election Law of 1907 places propertied women in the same class as officers connected with the services, who, though they may not themselves vote, may pass on the privilege to sons who would not otherwise exercise the franchise.

Most complete of all is the triumph of the women in the Australasian Dominions of the British Crown. In New Zealand women have enjoyed the suffrage for the last sixteen years, in South Australia for fifteen years, and the suffrage was finally extended to all the States of the Australian Commonwealth, so that Australian women, numbering 995,375 souls, exercise both the State and the Federal vote. In Australia the extension of the suffrage to women has secured equality for women with men in pay received from Government departments, equal rights of naturalisation, and the introduction of an Act for regulating the marriage and divorce laws, at present so unequal in different States.

Even in those countries where no actual results have yet been obtained the movement has made headway. Frenchwomen who have adopted the programme of feminism met in congress at Lyons in June, 1909, with the hope that the next Chamber of Deputies to be elected in 1910 might well see the grant of the suffrage to women. In France more than anywhere else the suffrage movement is bound up with the labour question. The first mission of the French feminist is to bring the four million working women of France within the trade unions.

DIARY OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT DURING 1909.

JANUARY.

21st.—Lord Crewe stated at Brierley Hill that this Government could not without a mandate from the country bring in a Bill to forward a constitutional change greater than that suggested by Home Rule or the Reform Bill of 1832.

22nd.—Mr. Asquith replied to a letter from the W.S.P.U. that he did not think "any useful purpose would be served by receiving a deputation on the franchise."

25th.—Two members of the W.S.P.U. attempted to interview Mr. Asquith at Downing Street, and were taken into custody. Three other arrests were made.

25th.—Raid on Mr. Asquith's house, Downing Street. Two women arrested. At a second raid in the afternoon three women were arrested.

28th.—Men's League for Women's Suffrage. Meeting at Queen's Hall.

FEBRUARY.

10th.—Mr. Herbert Gladstone declines to acknowledge the Suffragists as political prisoners.

12th.—Mr. Herbert Gladstone was asked by a deputation of his constituents whether the Government would bring in a separate suffrage Bill, and what were his views as to the inclusion of women in the proposed Electoral Reform Bill. Mr. Gladstone said it was impossible for the present Government to bring in a separate suffrage Bill, apart from the Reform Bill. If a private member moved an amendment, which was accepted by the House, in favour of women suffrage, the Government would support it in the Reform Bill.

15th.—National Union of Women's Suffrage Associations attend special services in Westminster Abbey.

16th.—Opening of Parliament. Miss Matters distributes handbills from an airship.

18th.—A night raid on the House of Commons. Mrs. Despard and seven others arrested.

23rd.—Two Suffragists sent to Mr. Asquith at 10, Downing Street by letter post.

24th.—Women's Parliament, Caxton Hall. A deputation to Mr. Asquith set out for the House of Commons. Twenty-nine arrests were made, including Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Constance Lytton, Miss Daisy Solomon, and Mr. and Mrs. Frank Corbett.

26th.—Mr. Geoffrey Howard's Franchise Bill introduced. This Bill was not supported by the Suffragist leaders. Second reading of the Bill, March 19th.

MARCH.

1st.—The report of the W.S.P.U. records an income of £20,000, a staff of 75, and aggregate sentences of eight years during the year.

19th.—Anti-suffrage Petition, signed by 254,620 women, presented to Parliament by Mr. Massie, M.P.

24th.—Meeting at Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Resolution passed forming a deputation to wait upon Mr. Asquith.

26th.—Anti-Suffrage meeting at Queen's Hall. Declaration of 300 eminent men in favour of W.S. published in the Press.

27th.—Mr. Asquith declines to receive Miss Pankhurst as representing the W.S.P.U.

30th.—Attempted raid on House of Commons. Eleven women and one man arrested.

31st.—Another raid on the House. Nine arrests. Protest by Mr. Swift McNeill and Mr. Byles in the House against treatment of suffragist prisoners.

APRIL.

6th.—Mr. Dickinson's Women's Suffrage Bill (No. 2) introduced.

18th.—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's release celebrated by Joan of Arc procession through West End.

26th.—Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance opened at St. James's Hall. Mrs. Chapman Catt president. Congress concluded May 2nd. The speakers included Mrs. Garrett Fawcett, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Dr. Käthe Schirmacher, Miss Chrystal McMillan, Mrs. Despard, Mme. Sarah Grand, Lady McLaren, Miss Clcely Hamilton, and Mrs. Philip Snowden.

27th.—Pageant of Women Workers, organised by the N.U.W.S.S. A procession of women to the number of 1,000 representing every class of industry marched to the Albert Hall, where a meeting was held. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Mrs. Snowden, and Dr. Anna Shaw being among the speakers.

28th.—Demonstration at House of Commons. Miss Hume chained to statue of Lord Falkland. No arrests.

28th.—Two suffragists waylay Premier in Whitehall.

MAY.

11th.—At the meeting of the Council of the Women's Liberal Federation, Lady Carlisle received a letter from Mr. Asquith saying that in the matter of the Franchise the declaration which he made a year ago on behalf of the Government remained on record.

12th.—At the Women's Liberal Federation Conference a resolution that Liberal women should decline to work at Parliamentary Elections falling a definite promise on the Suffrage Question was passed by a large majority.

12th.—Rockets fired from launch outside House of Commons.

13th.—Women's Exhibition at Prince's Skating Rink opened by Mrs. Garrett Anderson.

21st.—Demonstration outside Sheffield Drill Hall on the occasion of Mr. Asquith's speech.

JUNE.

13th.—Release of Miss Woodlock.

18th.—Mr. Swift McNeill protested against the treatment of suffragist prisoners, on the occasion of the Home Office Vote.

29th.—March to the House of Commons. 108 women, including Mrs. Pankhurst, and 14 men arrested. Windows broken at Premier's house, also at Home Office, Privy Council Office, and Treasury.

JULY.

1st to 20th.—During the Dumfries bye-election the Government candidate (Mr. Gulland) was supported by the N.U.W.S.S., and their organiser (Miss Helen Fraser) was afterwards publicly thanked by the Liberals.

5th.—All-night vigil at House of Commons by members of the Women's Freedom League (continued 15 weeks without intermission). Miss Wallace Dunlop begins hunger-strike in prison. She was released on July 9th.

7th.—Petition to the King proposed by Women's Freedom League. King replies that petition must be presented through the Home Secretary. Question in House of Commons by Mr. G. Hardy as to expenditure on police used against suffragists.

8th.—Mr. Herbert Gladstone receives deputation of the Women's Freedom League and agrees to transmit petition to the King.

10th.—Revolt of the suffragists described in Mr. G. B. Shaw's "Press Cuttings" at the Court Theatre.

14th.—Revolt of prisoners in Holloway. Mrs. Dove-Willcox and Miss Theresa Garnett summoned for assault, and sentenced (on August 4th) to further imprisonment.

15th.—N.U.W.S.S. ask Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation, but after three months' delay he declines to do so. Copies of the correspondence published on October 6th.

19th.—International Women's Franchise Club formed at meeting in Holborn Restaurant.

21st.—Mr. P. Snowden asks question in House of Commons as to treatment of suffragists.

26th.—Mr. Charles Duncan asks whether the Premier is aware that 100 women of the Women's Freedom League have waited 3,000 hours for him outside the House.

AUGUST.

18th.—Arrest of pickets in Downing Street. Charged at Bow Street on August 27th, and defended by Mr. T. Healy.

20th.—Disturbance at Mr. Haldane's meeting at Liverpool. Seven arrests.

25th.—Liverpool prisoners' revolt and hunger-strike.

SEPTEMBER.

6th.—Three members of the W.S.P.U. attempt to see Mr. Asquith at Llynpe Castle. Windows of the castle smashed.

17th.—Demonstration on occasion of Mr. Asquith's meeting at Bingley Hall, Birmingham. Birmingham branch of N.U.W.S.S. held great protest meeting at the indiscriminate exclusion of women from Bingley Hall.

18th.—Men's League demonstration in Trafalgar Square.

23rd.—Food forcibly administered to Miss Laura Ashworth at Winsor Green Gaol. Prisoners handcuffed and placed in solitary confinement for violence.

OCTOBER.

4th.—Application for summons against prison officials for forcible feeding. Summons refused. Memorial to Prime Minister from medical men, including Sir Victor Horsley.

6th.—Question in Parliament regarding forcible feeding, by Mr. Keir Hardie. Further questions by Mr. Dillon on October 7th.

7th.—Albert Hall Indignation meeting. Meeting of Council of N.U.W.S.S. at Cardiff. Resolutions passed condemning acts of violence, and protesting against the Government's method of dealing with the suffrage question.

8th.—Demonstration on occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Newcastle. Four women arrested for stone-throwing at Liberal Club. Eight further arrests.

18th.—Mr. Winston Churchill withdrew his support from the Women's Freedom League so long as violent methods were used. On the 24th at a meeting of the N.U.W.S.S. a resolution deploring this decision was passed.

19th.—Mr. Runciman receives deputation of Men's League, Manchester Branch.

27th.—Question in Parliament regarding hosepipe turned on prisoner who barricaded cell.

28th.—Fluid thrown in Ballot boxes at Bermondsey Election. Mr. Asquith declined to receive Men's League Deputation consisting of Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., Sir Edward Busk, Sir Victor Horsley, Canon Hicks, Canon Kempthorne, Canon Talbot, H. Y. Stanger, K.C., M.P., Israel Zangwill, Professor J. H. Muirhead, J. Forbes-Robertson, Herbert Jacobs (chairman).

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Blackburn, Helen. *Women's Suffrage: A Record of the Movement in the British Isles.* (Williams & Norgate.) 6s.
- Cadbury, Edward, &c. *Women's Work and Wages.* (Fisher Unwin.) 6s.
- Hamilton, Cicely. *Marriage as a Trade.* (Chapman & Hall.) 6s.
- Harrison, E. B. *The Freedom of Women.* (Watts.) 6d. net.
- Irwin, Margaret. *Problem of Home Work.* (Scottish Council for Women's Trades.) 4d.
- Jenks, E. *Husband and Wife on the Law.* (Dent.) 2s. 6d.
- Matthew, A. H. *Woman Suffrage.* (Jack.) 1s. net.
- Return showing number of Women in England and Wales qualified for the Municipal Franchise. (p. 364.) (Wyman.) 1d.
- Woman in Industry: From Seven Points of View. (Preface by Mr. Shackleton.) (Duckworth.) (1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

For the whole subject of the legal position of women see R. Thicknesse, "*The Rights and Wrongs of Women*," Part I., Woman Citizen Publishing Society, 13, Bream's Buildings, E.C., 1s. net.; also A. B. W. & M. W. Chapman, "*The Status of Women under the English Law*" (a historical summary), Routledge, 1909, 2s. 6d. net.; Ellen Key, "*The Century of the Child*" (Putnam), 1909, 4s. 6d.

WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The legal position of women in local government has not been altered by legislation since 1907.

As regards the local government franchise, women in Scotland and in Ireland are on an equality with men before the law, although the provision that husband and wife cannot by joint occupation both be qualified as electors tells in practice against the woman. In England and Wales duly qualified unmarried women and widows can be registered as burgesses and county electors, and can vote accordingly in the elections of Town Councils and County Councils; their names are also put on the Register of Parochial Electors, in virtue of which they can vote in elections of Poor Law Guardians, District and Parish Councils, and Metropolitan Borough Councils. But the Register of Parochial Electors is in part made up of the Parliamentary Register, which includes three classes of men who need not be either burgesses or local government electors, viz., men owners, men lodgers, and men service voters; and to this portion of the Parochial Register women have no means of access, and, therefore, women owners, women lodgers, and women with what would be a service qualification in the case of a man, lack the local government franchise. The Local Government Act, 1894, which deprived women owners of their ancient right to vote in the election of Poor-Law Guardians, decreed that a woman should not be disqualified by marriage for voting for or being elected to local bodies under that Act, provided that husband and wife should not be qualified in respect of the same property; and, as the law stands to-day, qualified married women can vote not only in elections of Poor-Law Guardians, District and Parish Councils, and Metropolitan Borough Councils, but also in the election of the London County Council, for in 1900 the London County Council Electors' Qualification Act assimilated for London the Parochial Register with the Local Government Register.

In October of this year, in the Birmingham and Tewkesbury Revision Courts, it was successfully argued that the Qualification of Women Act, 1907, which decreed that a woman should not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected as a Councillor, Alderman, or Mayor of a Town Council or a County Council, has by implication conferred on married women the right to vote for such Councils. The contention, which was held by the Revising Barristers to be unanswerable, was that as none but burgesses and county electors can be elected as Councillors of Town and County Councils, the Act of 1907 would in respect to married women be a dead letter if it did not enable qualified married women to vote in the election of those bodies. Several married women were placed on the burgess roll for the City of Birmingham,

and two were registered as county electors for the county of Gloucester.

As regards legal eligibility to be elected, women in England and Wales are eligible to all local government bodies. So also are women in Scotland, for in 1907 the Qualification of Women (County and Town Councils) (Scotland) Act was passed consequentially on the passing of the similar Act for England and Wales. In Ireland, however, the law has still to be altered to enable women to be elected to County and Town Councils.

Practically, however, the fact that a candidate for a Town or County Council must have an electoral qualification, there being no alternative "residential qualification," narrowly restricts the choice of women candidates for these Councils. In some towns scarcely any of the women who take a prominent part in public, political, or philanthropic work are householders; the case of Sheffield may be quoted in point, also that of Croydon.

The Local Government Qualification Bill, for extending to County and Borough Councils the provision for a residential qualification for candidates, has been promoted by the Women's Local Government Society since 1908. Introduced by Dr. Shipman, M.P., it came on for Second Reading on May 7th last, and was talked out by Sir Frederick Banbury. Further progress has been impossible, owing to the state of public business.

In 1908 there were in England and Wales 605,908 women qualified to vote for County Councils, and 265,862 women (not included in the foregoing) qualified to vote for County Borough Councils.

Since 1907 women have been elected members of the City and Town Councils of Aldeburgh, Bath, Bewdley, Brecon, Dollar High Wycombe, Ipswich (two), Manchester and Reading. At Bath and Ipswich the women were returned at the last municipal elections, in which women also stood at Birmingham, Folkestone, Hull, Manchester, and Plymouth, but were unsuccessful. Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., the first lady Mayor, has been re-elected Mayor of Aldeburgh.

In London the triennial general elections for Metropolitan Borough Councils took place on November 1st. There were nominated in 19 out of the 28 Metropolitan Boroughs 64 women representing all shades of thought and opinion, Progressive views dominating. At least half of these women stood in virtue of the residential qualification. Eight were returned for the following Councils: Battersea, Bermondsey, Hampstead, Kensington (two), Islington, Paddington, and St. Pancras. The average vote for the successful candidate was 925, and for the unsuccessful 569. The women's campaign has been highly educational, and has brought to the poll unprecedentedly large numbers of women electors.

Up to the close of 1909, 1,165 women were serving as **Poor-Law Guardians** in England and Wales, 147 of whom were also Rural District Councillors. In Ireland there are 103 women Poor-Law Guardians, as against 85 three years previously. In Scotland, where the Parish Councils are the Poor-Law Authorities, 42 women are serving on 27 different Parish Councils; 99 women were also returned to the School Boards at the triennial elections.

During 1909 the increase in women's share in local government has not been only in the return of more women to serve on local government bodies, but largely in the greater number of appointments of women by such authorities. Both in London and the provinces the appointments of **women sanitary inspectors** and of **women health visitors** are more numerous (the latter principally under the Notification of Births Act), and their work is helping to reduce the heavy rate of infant mortality. Forty-six **women sanitary inspectors** have been appointed by the City of London and 26 of the Metropolitan Boroughs, the only London Boroughs which have not yet made such appointments being Deptford and Greenwich.

Miss Janet Campbell, M.D., M.S., D.P.H., is a medical officer to the Board of Education under the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907. Many Education Authorities, both County

Councils and Town Councils, have appointed qualified medical women as **School Medical Officers** to assist the Medical Officer of Health in the task of inspecting the children in the elementary schools.

Boards of Guardians, too, have frequently appointed **women assistant medical officers** for workhouse infirmaries. There are now five women in England and two in Ireland holding the post of relieving officer, and nine **women assistant relieving officers**.

Besides the posts above referred to, a woman may hold any of the following:—

Inspector of Factories.

„ „ Prisons.

Overseer.

Rate Collector.

Registrar of Births and Deaths.

Poor-Law Medical Officer.

Churchwarden.

Parish Clerk.

Sexton.

Postmistress, &c.

Women likewise are appointed to serve on Royal Commissions, Departments, Committees, the Central Midwives' Board, the Central Committee for the Unemployed, &c.

One lady, Mrs. McDowell Cosgrove, is serving as a member of the Governing Board of the Richmond (Ireland) Lunatic Asylum.

WOMEN AND THE LAW.

By RALPH THICKNESSE.

MARRIED WOMEN.

Married Women cannot take legal proceedings against their husbands while they are living together. A married woman is entitled to have her own earnings, savings, and property, to use as she pleases, but she cannot compel her husband to give her any part of her earnings or property unless they separate. Her savings out of housekeeping money belong to her husband. This is not so in France. She cannot compel him to provide for her living separate if he is willing to offer her a home. She must live where he chooses, and obey him as to the arrangements of the house; she must share his room if he insists upon it.

He cannot, however, insist on following her if she separates, nor can he force his way into her house or the house of a third person where she is staying. She can get an allowance from a magistrate at a small expense if he (1) deserts her, (2) is persistently cruel or commits an aggravated assault upon her, or (3) neglects to provide for her and the children. If he is in fault the magistrate will give her the children, and make an order for him to pay anything up to £2 a week. Desertion means either that the husband leaves her or compels her against her will to leave him. If they part by consent it is not desertion, but the man

is still liable to provide for her and the children up to £2 a week if the magistrate thinks it reasonable, and there is no written agreement about it. If he has been guilty of an assault she must leave him at once and apply to the magistrate as soon as possible. If she stays in the house with him when she might have left after the assault, he cannot be convicted or made to pay an allowance. A woman has no legal rights or control over her children, nor is any promise made by husband in respect of their education binding on the husband.

SEPARATED WOMEN, WIDOWS, AND DIVORCED WOMEN.

These are in the same position as single women except that in the first case they can only take proceedings against their husbands in respect of their property, but not to vindicate their character. They can be protected against his personal violence but not against what he says or writes about them even if untrue. Reform in this matter is desirable.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

It is murder for a woman to kill her own child when it is being born or afterwards. This crime has not, however, for many years been punished with death, but only with penal servitude.

The father must provide for the child up to 5s. a week (it ought to be more) till it is sixteen years old, and for the expenses of birth. He cannot be made to pay on the girl's unsupported oath, she must get some one else to back up her evidence. This is called *corroberation*.

There seems to be no reason why these cases should be brought into the Police Court. If they were heard in private by a County Court Judge, much shame would be spared to the woman. This is a simple matter which might very well be remedied.*

In France it is not allowed to make any enquiry as to who is the father of the child. This leaves the girl absolutely dependent on the good feeling of the man. In Germany there has recently been a very strong movement for the Protection of Mothers (*Mutter-schützverein*). It was inaugurated in Berlin by a public meeting of 3,000 persons, men and women under very influential patronage. The writings of Ellen Key, which have been published in German as well as Swedish, and are now being translated, have had an enormous influence in Germany. The leaders of the movement hold that the waste of child-life entailed by the neglect of unmarried mothers is a national evil, and that it is impossible to protect these children without protecting the mother. They are prepared to help any mother, married or unmarried, and do all they can for her and the child. There are private societies which devote some attention to this matter, but there is room for a national organisation on the lines of the German one.

As things stand at present no illegitimate child in the absence of a will can inherit property. Law and custom make both the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child outcasts. She will not be allowed to leave it in the Workhouse if the Guardians can prevent it, but she cannot be prosecuted for deserting it after infancy. One road to salvation for these children would be adoption into decent homes. But there is no proper system of adoption in England, and no agreement by the mother can bind her not to reclaim the child. The whole subject of illegitimacy wants, as the present writer has said elsewhere,† the political help of women. The present system entails untold misery on the girl-mother who does not know how to bring up or dispose of the child. If there were reliable homes in which the child could be placed and paid for by the mother, thousands of good citizens who now die in infancy by neglect and worse would be saved for the State.

DIVORCE.

Divorce cannot be obtained in England at less cost than £50 to £60, and where the case is contested it is much more

expensive. The causes for divorce where the woman is the complaining party are: (1) adultery coupled with cruelty, (2) adultery coupled with desertion for two years and upwards, (3) bigamy, i.e., where the man goes through the ceremony of marriage with another woman and lives with her as his wife. A man can get a divorce from his wife if she is guilty of adultery only.

In France and Scotland the adultery of the husband as well as the adultery of the wife is a good reason for divorce, also in France habitual drunkenness or cruelty of either. Proposed reforms in France are: (1) Divorce by mutual consent; (2) divorce by the wish of one party only; (3) insanity. All these give rise to "lively discussion."

A Royal Commission, on which two ladies have seats, under the presidency of Lord Gorell, was appointed in October, 1909, to enquire into the law of divorce.

Sir George Lewis and others advocate a reform in the Law so that permanent insanity, habitual drunkenness, and penal servitude should be reasons for divorce on both sides, also that couples who have been permanently separated for over five years should be either of them able to get a divorce. Lord Gorell has advocated giving the County Court Judges power to divorce so as to render it less expensive. At present every case must be heard in the Divorce Court in London.

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES.

BY MARY MACARTHUR.

There are now some 3,500,000 women wage-earners (exclusive of domestic servants), and the occupations which they follow are varied and numerous. Over 350,000 are engaged in professional pursuits.

The labour of women has also done much to build up the great textile industries. In Great Britain 325,000 women are engaged in the manufacture of cotton, 152,000 in the manufacture of worsted and shoddy, and 103,000 in the manufacture of jute and flax. In England and Wales there are 340,000 dress-makers, 195,000 laundry workers, 117,000 tailoresses, 111,000 charwomen, 95,000 staymakers, skirtmakers, and seamstresses. Over 142,000 find employment in shops, whilst many thousands are at work in the manufacture of food, tobacco furniture, pottery, and ammunition. It will be seen, therefore, that women's industrial activities cover a wide and increasing field.

A considerable proportion of the work of women is done under bad and unhealthy conditions and for insufficient remuneration. Many of the sweated trades, for instance, are those in which women predominate. Their docility and unorganised helplessness in many industries are exploited by employers to cut rates of pay and to increase hours

* See Report of H.C. Committee, 1909.
 † "The Rights and Wrongs of Women," page 22.

of labour. In home work, especially, conditions prevail which are not creditable to civilisation, and, up to the present, these hurtful conditions have been unregulated by law or trade-union.

ORGANISED TRADES.

Other classes of workers are, of course, much better paid, and this is especially true where women are well organised inside their trade unions. There are, for instance, 80,000 organised women weavers, and men and women are paid at the same piecework rates. A woman attending to four looms can earn 24s. a week. The lady clerk, less wise than the weaver, has not sought the protective strength of organisation. As a result it is the rule rather than the exception that lady clerks are paid from 15s. to 20s. a week for doing work for which men would receive 35s. to 40s.

Taking the best wages with the worst I estimate that the average wage for the **manual woman worker**, after deductions have been made for sickness, slack time, unemployment, and holidays, does not exceed 7s. 6d. a week all the year round.

Even these wages, which are by no means princely, are too often liable to be reduced by unfair systems of fines and deductions. In shops, many of the women assistants "live-in." They receive, say, 10s. a week and their board and lodging. Apart from the fact that the food in some establishments is so coarse and scanty that no inconsiderable part of their income has to be spent in purchasing additional supplies, it frequently happens that the women have to submit to an elaborate system of fines, ranging from 1d. to 3s. or 4s.

Methods of industrial betterment must in the main follow two lines—trade union organisation and labour legislation. In regard to the first it may be noted that the most recent Board of Trade report places the number of women trade unionists at over 201,000, most of them being employed in the textile trades. In the preparing and spinning departments of cotton factories there are 39,000 organised workwomen, whilst in the weaving sheds 109,834 women, or 54·4 per cent. of all women trade unionists, belong to their respective societies. Over 14,500 women trade unionists are engaged in the manufacture of linen and jute. In all branches of the textile trade 172,000 women are organised, as compared with 182,000 men. We find also that 3,300 women in the hatting trade are members of trade unions, 2,447 in food and tobacco trades, 4,690 female employees of public authorities, 1,300 in tailoring trades, and 5,000 engaged in shop life. Some thousands of women trade unionists are to be found in the boot and shoe trade, the clothing trade, and the printing trades.

—These figures clearly show that the

textile industries lead the way in regard to the organisation of women. As a matter of fact, these industries contain 85 per cent. of all female members of trade unions. The female membership of textile organisation has increased over 50 per cent. since 1904. At the same time it may be noted that the membership of non-textile societies is advancing rapidly and increased threefold between 1898 and 1908—from 10,000 to 30,000.

WORK OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

During the past 12 months there has been no serious strike affecting women workers, and the policy of the unions is to avert strikes by removing, if possible, the grievances that lead to them.

In the summer a number of girl chocolate makers, employed in North London, appealed to the Women's Trade Union League for assistance. They were working under insanitary conditions, for low wages, which were constantly being reduced. Practically the whole of the girls in the factory are now organised as a branch of the Federation of Women Trade Unionists, and several proposed reductions have been withdrawn.

The silk weavers of Halstead have suffered greatly from repeated reductions in wages. Recently, however, the union membership has been increased, and although a serious decrease in wages was proposed a few months ago, it was not pressed after a Union deputation had interviewed the firm.

The Women Workers' Union at Leek has made great progress, largely through the organising ability of its secretary. Despite the depression in trade the Union has been able to secure several substantial advances for its members. In Colchester a branch of tailoresses successfully resisted two reductions attempted at large factories where contract work for Government is carried on. As a result of trade union representation, one big Government contractor was induced to supply thread free, for which a charge was formerly made, sometimes amounting to 2s. a week.

LEGISLATION.

Some part of our energy in the direction of securing the industrial betterment of women must be put into legislative channels, so that existing laws may be properly enforced and fresh protective legislation placed on the Statute Book. Through the agency of the Women's Trade Union League questions are constantly being raised in Parliament in regard to such important matters as fair wages in Government contracts, conditions at the Pimlico clothing factory, dangerous trades, conditions in the Potteries, home work, overtime, evasions of Factory Act, improved and increased inspectorate, and prevention of accidents.

MARY MACARTHUR.

SECTION XII.

JUSTICE AND CRIME.

COURTS OF APPEAL.

The heads of our judicial system are the Lord Chancellors of Great Britain and of Ireland. The former presides over the supreme Court of Appeal, the House of Lords, where he is assisted in his judicial duties by four Lords of Appeal, and by those peers who hold, or have held, high judicial office. At present, the Lords of Appeal, who are life peers and who receive £6,000 a year each for their service, are Lords Macnaghten, Atkinson, Collins, and Shaw of Dunfermline.

Another court of appeal is the **Judicial Committee of the Privy Council**, which is usually composed of the same persons as the House of Lords in its judicial capacity, together with those members of the Privy Council who have held high judicial office.

Below this is the **ordinary Court of Appeal**, where the Master of the Rolls presides. He is assisted by five other judges. The **High Court of Justice** is divided into three branches, the **Chancery, the King's Bench, and the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Divisions**. In the King's Bench the Lord Chief Justice of England presides. These courts are at present manned by 23 other judges, who each receive £5,000 a year, but there is a constant outcry that the pressure of work demands an addition to their number. Other high courts are the Court of Arches and the Court of Criminal Appeal. For civil business the whole country is divided into a number of County Court districts, each presided over by a judge, who receives £1,500 a year.

In Scotland the **Court of Session**, with a Lord President, is the chief judicial authority, while in Ireland the judicial arrangements are modelled on those of England.

COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL.

The following summary shows the number and nature of the cases which came before this newly established court during 1908:—

- 42 appeals dismissed.
- 2 sentences increased by the addition of hard labour to the terms of imprisonment passed.
- 18 appeals allowed, and convictions quashed.
- 9 appeals allowed, and sentences reduced.
- 1 appeal allowed, and sentence altered in accordance with "The Penal Servitude Act, 1864."
- 1 appeal abandoned.
- 79 appeals (total).

CRIME IN 1908-9.

During 1908 the **Director of Public Prosecutions** took proceedings in 559 cases. There were among these 121

charges of murder, 26 men and 2 women being convicted and sentenced to death. In 17 cases he took proceedings against defaulting solicitors, eight of whom were sentenced to penal servitude. 203 persons were charged with forgery, fraud, and the like, and 62 persons with offences against the Bankruptcy Laws.

CRIME IN 1908-9.

Convicted at Assizes and Quarter Sessions:—	
Offences against the Person...	1,410
Offences against Property....	7,998
Other Offences	205
Indictable Offences tried summarily	21,710
Other Offences tried summarily..	153,578
Totals	184,901

The Prison Commissioners state that: "Apart from vagrancy, the increase of offences over the preceding year has been most marked in larceny—687 offences; breach of police regulations, 738, and Highway Acts, 353. Testimony from some prisons indicates that this increase is due also to a depression in trade, and the consequent want of employment. Thus it is reported from Durham that hard times have, in some cases, compelled a resort to thieving, the offences consisting chiefly of stealing coal, wood, and eatables."

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

	Warrants of Commitment issued against Debtors.	No. of Debtors Imprisoned
1906	153,148	12,014
1907	146,075	9,235

During 1909 the **Select Committee** appointed in March, 1908, to enquire into this question issued its Report, the Blue Book being published on July 28th. The opinion was generally expressed that the power of imprisonment for debt is necessary, as "our national life is based almost entirely on a system of credit," and the alternatives which were considered were dismissed as impracticable. The Report notes cases of wealthy persons who cannot be made to pay their debts except by proceedings under the Debtors Act; it refers to the differences in the administration of the Act, and makes suggestions for greater uniformity. Another suggestion made is that the period of the Statute of Limitations should be reduced from six years to three, and another that power of committal should be abolished in cases of money-lending and of the purchase of goods on the instalment system.

THE BORSTAL SYSTEM

On August 1st, 1909, came into operation the **Prevention of Crime Act**, dealing with the reformation of youthful

offenders and the detention of habitual criminals. The Children Act, which came into force in April, had already removed practically all young people under sixteen from our prisons. Ten years ago, in 1898-9, there were 43 young children under twelve years of age, and 1,679 children between the ages of 12 and 16 in prison. The numbers had decreased last year to 4 under 12 and 525 under 16 years of age. In future, under the Children Act, no young child can be sentenced to imprisonment, and only in very exceptional cases can any young person under sixteen be so sentenced.

The first part of the Prevention of Crime Act applies the experience gained in ten years of the working of the Borstal system to young persons between the ages of 16 and 21. Borstal Prison itself stands on a hill above Rochester, but there are other Borstal institutions at Lincoln and Aylesbury specially adapted for the instruction and moral training of young criminals. A series of careful observations on the lads discharged from Pentonville showed that in weight they averaged 14lbs. less than ordinary lads of their age, and in height were $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches short of the normal. Twenty-six per cent. were afflicted with definite disease or

disablement. They were destined to swell the ranks of habitual criminals.

At Borstal these lads live the life of ordinary lads apprenticed to a trade, and discipline is maintained so far as possible by rewards instead of punishments. They are taught to look forward to a career as respectable citizens, and when they leave the prison they are taken in hand by After Care Associations, which see them established in life. The system does not redeem all, but last year, out of a total of 265, 157 were known to be doing well.

RECIDIVISM.

The second part of the Prevention of Crime Act deals with the man who is convicted over and over again, and whose existence at large is a constant peril to the community. The Act provides in such cases for the detention of persons who are persistently dishonest or criminal in special institutions for a period of between five and ten years after the expiration of a sentence of penal servitude, when that period is not less than three years. It will, of course, be three years before "preventive detention" comes into operation, and as it is the first attempt of the kind in Europe to deal with recidivism its results will be awaited with interest.

INSURANCE.

In Marine Insurance we note two interesting reforms during the past year.

The Committee of "Lloyds" have decided that every underwriter must show to their satisfaction that he is financially capable of meeting his commitments. Formerly the Committee were content with a deposit of a fixed sum as a guarantee of responsibility. This change should conduce to a greater feeling of confidence and stability.

The Act which received the Royal Assent on October 20th, 1909, puts a stop to the taking out of gambling policies by persons having no insurable interest in the boat or cargo.

An important Government Bill dealing with Insurance Companies in general was read a second time in the House of Commons on November 4th, 1909. It extends to companies carrying on a fire insurance and accident insurance business the law relating to life insurance, with certain modifications. The Bill also seeks to bring

under the same laws the business of bond investment companies, which, in return for small periodical subscriptions contract to pay the bond or certificate holder a lump sum at some future date, and which frequently hold out the prospect of a loan in the meantime to be applied to the purchase of a house. It is further proposed to place foreign companies doing business in the United Kingdom in the same position as the British companies, with which they compete, and with this object in view the Bill provides that all life assurance companies, whether registered within or outside the United Kingdom, shall deposit, and keep deposited, a sum of £20,000 with the Board of Trade.

This Bill, which has the general support of the insurance companies, may not pass into law in 1909, owing to political complications, the Committee, Report, and Third Reading Stages having yet (November 23rd, 1909) to be disposed of in the House of Commons.

THE PUBLIC TRUSTEE.

This official commenced work on October 1st, 1908, and his first report in February, 1909, shows that he has already been entrusted with a great deal of business. It must be remembered that testators who entrust their affairs to him obtain the security of the State and need have no fear that their children and other dependents will suffer from the negligence or fraud of private persons.

In 1908 the Public Trustee accepted

the management of 325 cases, the amount of money involved reaching a total of £2,095,000. The total of invested money in his charge on December 31st, 1908, was £1,825,568; and he acted as executor to testators who left estates aggregating £455,300, and he administered 29 small estates valued at £13,700. The expenses of the office in 1908 amounted to £7,732; fees amounting to £4,460 were received, leaving a deficit of £3,271.

SECTION XIII.—THE CHURCHES.

THE CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.—REVIEW OF 1909.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Anglican Church in 1909 has not attracted the same world-wide attention as in 1908 when the Pan-Anglican Congress was held, and the Lambeth Conference of Bishops issued its report and series of resolutions. The Church has been engaged with questions of a more domestic character and in efforts to bring itself into more direct and living touch with the pressing needs and difficult problems of the times.

The long-drawn-out controversy on the **Ornament Rubric**, the report of the five Bishops, and the discussion thereon in the Lower House of Convocation have made it quite clear that the status quo was impossible. The inevitable result was the appointment of a committee to consider what alteration could be suggested in the Prayer Book so as to give a permissive sanction to the use of eucharistic vestments at the administration of Holy Communion. This committee is now at work, but already signs of disagreement have appeared, and the Dean of Canterbury has found it necessary to resign his position on the committee, so as to give himself more freedom of action outside.

The spectacular event of the year was the **Church Pageant**, held in the grounds of Fulham Palace, by permission of the Bishop of London. The main idea of the Pageant was to present, in a series of episodes, the history of the Church of England in these islands. The scheme was excellent, but the weather, combined with the lack of business management, led to a heavy financial loss, to the great disappointment of its sponsors.

The **Church Congress**, held at Swansea, was perhaps the most successful representative gathering of the year. The shadow of Welsh Disestablishment, which fell across the Congress, accounted for some strenuous utterances. The Congress was divided on the correct attitude of the Church towards Socialism, but a greater unanimity was apparent when the subjects of Christian Science, the marriage laws, and the sanctity of the home were under discussion.

A Royal Commission was appointed in June, 1906, "To enquire into the nature, origin, amount, and application of the temporalities, endowments, and other properties of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire; and into the provision made and work done by the churches of all denominations in Wales and Monmouthshire for the spiritual welfare of the people, and the extent to which the people avail themselves of such provision." Lord Justice Vaughan Williams was selected for Chairman, and the other Commis-

sioners were: Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir Francis Edwards, Bt., M.P., Ven. Archdeacon O. Evans, Rev. J. E. Greaves, Sir John Williams, Bt., Mr. S. T. Evans, K.C., M.P., Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., and Prof. Henry Jones. The last three members resigned in April, 1907, as a protest against what they considered unnecessary delay, and Mr. J. H. Davies, Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon, and Sir D. Brynmor Jones, K.C., M.P., were appointed to take their place.

The recommendations of the Lambeth Conference in reference to **Intercommunion** with other denominations is bearing fruit, and periodical meetings are held for mutual edification and consideration of points of difference, at which representatives of the Episcopal and the Free Churches are present.

The action threatened by the Bishop of Birmingham against **Canon Henson**, for conducting a religious service in a Birmingham parish without the consent of the vicar of the parish, has been abandoned. Thus the legal question raised by Canon Henson's action remains undefined.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

The Congregational Churches included in the Union have had their attention drawn to the unsatisfactory condition of the status and financial remuneration of the ministry. The chairman of the Union, the Rev. J. D. Jones, as a result of private enquiries, has ascertained that between 300 and 400 receive stipends hardly equal to that of a mechanic, or even of an unskilled labourer. To remedy this state of things the Council has determined to create a Central Fund of £250,000, the interest of which will be applied to increasing the stipend of country ministers to a minimum of £120 per year, and a proportionately higher minimum to ministers in the larger towns and districts where living is dear. The scheme carries with it the stiffening of the educational and other qualifications for entrance into the ministry. The **New Theology controversy**, which threatened at one time to cause serious friction in many Congregational Churches, has, through the wise counsels of its leaders, lost a good deal of its virulence, and on the whole the Churches are at peace. As a result of the movement, however, a strong and active League of Progressive Thought has been formed, which includes ministers and members of almost all the Christian Communions.

BAPTIST CHURCHES.

The Churches comprised in the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland are engaged in a serious effort to bring

the constitution of the Union into harmony with the growing needs of the denomination and the progressive demands of the age. The governmental difficulties of the Baptists are closely akin to those of the Congregationalists, and the problems that face them are not dissimilar. Briefly, it may be said that both are slowly evolving a method by which the denominational bond will be closer linked and a connexional spirit inculcated without interfering with the autonomy of each individual Church. The scheme put before the Churches by the Baptist Council, and now under consideration, includes Church Aid, a firmer control of the minister, an increase in ministerial efficiency, and better provision of ministerial support, with a prospect of increased retiring allowance.

METHODISM.

For the first time in the history of British Methodism an Assembly of representatives of all sections of the Methodist Church was held in Wesley's Chapel, London, to consider their common interests. The successful organic union of three progressive Methodist denominations has brought into prominence the desire, which is constantly finding expression, for a reunited British Methodist Church.

In the Wesleyan Methodist Church, of which the annual Conference is the collective voice, three subjects are agitating the minds of the members: The reorganisation of the training colleges, so as to afford more extended facilities for study; the alteration of the conditions of membership in the Church; and the unsatisfactory position of the denomination in London. The reports of special committees on these questions will be submitted to next year's Conference.

The Primitive Methodists are taxing their financial resources to the utmost by the establishment of a Thanksgiving Fund of £250,000, to celebrate the centenary of their existence as a separate denomination. The Fund is to be partly local and partly connexional in its application, and at the end of the year nearly £200,000 had been promised.

The recently-formed United Methodist Church, resulting from the union of the Methodist New Connexion, the United Methodist Free Churches, and the Bible Christian Connexion, is also engaged in raising a Thanksgiving Fund of £100,000 to celebrate the consummation of the union. It was to be expected that there would be some slight dislocation of chapels, circuits, and ministers during the first year, but on the whole the denomination under the new régime is working out its future with remarkable smoothness.

The Calvinistic Methodist Church, having survived the period of reaction following the Welsh revival, has entered on a campaign of renewed spiritual activity, and is realising

its place as one of the redeeming factors of the religious life of Wales. The same remark applies to the other Welsh Churches.

THE UNITAS FRATRUM.

Renewed attention has recently been drawn to the place of the Moravian Church in our national life by the overtures made by the Lambeth Conference of Bishops for inter-communion with the Anglican Church. The Moravian Synod, without accepting visible succession in the ministry as essential to the continuity of the Catholic Body of Christ, expressed in June, 1909, its willingness to accept mutual participation in the consecration of Bishops "as a fitting symbol of inter-communion." Their position is clearly defined in their third resolution sent to the Bishops: "That we hold that inter-communion with the Anglican Church must rest on the same mutual recognition and freedom to co-operate as now exists between us and several Churches, Episcopal and other, in Europe and America; and, corporate union not being in question, we regard our position as that of an independent branch of the Church Catholic—an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church, as described in the Act of Parliament 22, Geo. II., cap. 120."

OTHER CHURCHES.

The movement of the Society of Friends in the field of social service is making its influence felt in quarters hitherto untouched by any religious agency. The home missionary propaganda of the Unitarian Churches has been followed with satisfactory results, and has put new heart into many workers. The Christian Scientists claim to be rapidly extending, although they have been severely attacked in high medical and scientific quarters. The appeals made by the Salvation Army have been made on behalf of the social work rather than on behalf of the spiritual. General Booth has recovered from his illness and is at work again, though he has entirely lost the sight of one eye.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Apart from the regular and unceasing propaganda work of the Catholic Church, the only incident that calls for notice is the excommunication of Father Tyrrell. Although up to the time of his death he professed allegiance to the Catholic Church, the rites of burial according to the Church were denied to him, but a sympathising monk offered a few non-canonical prayers at his graveside.

BROTHERHOOD.

No review of our national religious life would be complete without some mention of the amazing growth of the Brotherhood and P.S.A. movement, with the complementary movement of the Adult School Societies. The latter

are chiefly organised by the Society of Friends, and have laid hold of non-Churchgoers in a manner that is truly surprising. The same is to be said of the Brotherhoods, the chief difference being that the former meet on Sunday mornings and the latter in the afternoons. The original idea of the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon has been gradually merged into that of mutual

social service, and there are very few meetings for men in which the paramount claims of human brotherhood are not the dominating factor in their existence. The movement has progressed so rapidly that a National Council has been called into existence, and the propaganda has extended to Holland, Belgium, France, South Africa, and China.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND (England and Wales).

Number of Incumbents	13,897
Number of unbenefticed clergy (estimated)	16,000
Easter Communicants	2,103,902
VOLUNTARY OFFERINGS:—	
For Home Work	£ 719,605 12 4
„ Foreign Work	836,921 7 4
„ Education Work	79,435 7 10
„ The Clergy (Education and Charity)	271,814 18 1
„ Philanthropic Work	580,797 17 6
	£2,488,575 3 1
FUNDS RAISED AND ADMINISTERED FOR PAROCHIAL PURPOSES ONLY:—	
For the Parochial Clergy	846,719 8 9
„ Elementary Education	470,118 13 10
„ General Parochial purposes (Church building, Church services, &c.)	3,656,830 17 3
	£4,973,668 19 10
TOTAL:—	
For general purposes	2,488,575 3 1
„ parochial purposes	4,973,668 19 10
	£7,462,244 2 11

NUMBER OF SITTINGS.

Parochial:—	
Appropriated	1,223,215
Free	5,947,942
	7,169,157
Extra Parochial (Chapels attached to Colleges, Public Schools, Military and Naval Depots, Hospitals, and other philanthropic institutions)	
	82,962
Total	7,252,119

ARCHBISHOPS.

<i>Apptd.</i>	
1903 <i>Canterbury</i> , Randall Thomas Davidson, P.C., G.C.V.O., D.D., b. 1848. <i>Consec. Bishop of Rochester</i> 1891; <i>transl. to Winchester</i> 1895.	
1909 <i>York</i> , Cosmo Gordon Lang, P.C., D.D., b. 1864. <i>Consecrated Bishop of Stepney</i> 1901.	

BISHOPS.

<i>Apptd.</i>		<i>Apptd.</i>	
1901* <i>London</i> , Rt. Hon. A.W.F.-Ingram, D.D., b. 1858		1903 <i>St. Albans</i> Edgar Jacob, D.D., b. 1844	
1901* <i>Durham</i> .. H. C. Glyn Moule, D.D., b. 1841		1889 <i>St. Asaph</i> , Alfred Geo. Edwards, D.D., b. 1843	
1903* <i>Winchester</i> , Herbt. Edw. Ryle, D.D., b. 1856		1897 <i>St. David's</i> John Owen, D.D., b. 1854	
1898 <i>Bangor</i> .. Watkin H. Williams, D.D., b. 1845		1885 <i>Salisbury</i> , John Wordsworth, D.D., b. 1843	
1894 <i>Bath & Wells</i> , Geo. W. Kennion, D.D., b. 1845		1905 <i>Southwark</i> , Edw. Stuart Talbot, D.D., b. 1844	
1905 <i>Birmingham</i> .. Charles Gore, D.D., b. 1853		1897 <i>Wakefield</i> , Geo. Rodney Eden, D.D., b. 1853	
1897 <i>Bristol</i> , Geo. Forrest Browne, D.D., b. 1833		<i>Without present Seats</i> (11, incl. <i>Sodor & Man</i>).	
1888 <i>Chester</i> .. Francis John Jayne, D.D., b. 1845		1904 <i>Southwell</i> .. Edwyn Hoskyns, D.D., b. 1851	
1903 <i>Exeter</i> .. Archibald Robertson, D.D., b. 1853		1905 <i>Carlisle</i> .. John Wm. Diggle, D.D., b. 1847	
1895 <i>Hereford</i> John Percival, D.D., b. 1834		1905 <i>Worcester</i> , Huyshe W.Y.-Biggs, D.D., b. 1845	
1891 <i>Lichfield</i> , Hon. Augustus Legge, D.D., b. 1839		1905 <i>Gloucester</i> , Edgar C. S. Gibson, D.D., b. 1848	
1885 <i>Lincoln</i> Edward King, D.D., b. 1829		1905 <i>Llandaff</i> Josh. Pritchard Hughes, D.D., b. 1847	
1900 <i>Liverpool</i> , Francis Jas. Chavasse, D.D., b. 1846		1905 <i>Rochester</i> , John Regd. Harmer, D.D., b. 1857	
1903 <i>Manchester</i> , E. Arbuthnott Knox, D.D., b. 1847		1905 <i>Ely</i> .. Frederic Henry Chase, D.D., b. 1854	
1893 <i>Norwich</i> .. John Sheepshanks, D.D., b. 1834		1906 <i>Truro</i> Chas. Wm. Stubbs, D.D., b. 1845	
1901 <i>Oxford</i> Francis Paget, D.D., b. 1851		1907 <i>Newcastle</i> , Norman D.J. Stratton, D.D., b. 1840	
1896 <i>Peterboro'</i> , Hon. Ed. Carr Glyn, D.D., b. 1843		1907 <i>Chichester</i> , Chas. J. no. Ridgeway, D.D., b. 1842	
1884 <i>Ripon</i> .. Wm. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., b. 1841		No vote <i>Sodor & Man</i> , Thos. W. Drury, D.D., b. 1848	

* Has announced his intention of retiring.

	President or Moderator.	Secretary.	Next Conference.
Presbyterian Church of England	Rev. J. Campbell Gibson, D.D., Swatow.	Rev. W. J. Robertson, M.A., 11, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.	Roth, Cardiff, May 2nd, 1910
Church of Scotland	Rev. Theo. Marshall, D.D., Edinburgh.	Rev. N. McLeod, D.D., Edinburgh.	Edinburgh, May, 1910
United Free Church of Scotland	Rev. R. Louis, Livingstonia.	Rev. A. Henderson, D.D., Crief.	Edinburgh, May 19th, 1910
Free Church of Scotland	Rev. W. MacKinnon, Gairloch.	Prof. J. K. Cameron, M.A., Edinburgh.	Not fixed
Congregational Union of England and Wales.	Rev. A. S. Jones, M.A., B.D., Bournemouth.	Rev. R. J. Wells, Memorial Hall, London, E.C.	London, 2nd week in May, 1910
Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.	Rev. Prin. J. T. Marshall, D.D., Baptist College, Manchester.	Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, M.A., Baptist Church House, Holborn, W.C.	London, 1st week in May, 1910.
Independent Methodist Churches	Mr. Ellis Barker, 17, George Street, Colne.	Mr. J. Vickers, 78, Brownlow Road, Horwich.	Manchester, June 18-21, 1910
Wesleyan Methodist Church	Rev. William Perkins, "Hutton," Audley Road, Hendon, N.W.	Rev. John Hornbrook, Middletown Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.	Bradford, July 13th, 1910
Primitive Methodist Church	Sir W. F. Hartley, Sea View, Southport.	Rev. J. D. Thompson, 29, Dalmeny Avenue, London, N.	Tunstall, June 15th, 1910
United Methodist Church	Rev. W. B. Lark, Hawarden House, Crooklets, Bude.	Rev. J. Baxter, 29, Park View, Wigan.	Nottingham, July 12th, 1910
Calvinistic Methodist Church	Rev. T. J. Morgan, Bow Street, S.O., and Rev. E. J. Evans, Highfield Rd., Walton, Liverpool.	—	Neath, June 20-22, 1910
P.S.A. Brotherhood	Mr. W. Ward, Park Road, West Dulwich, S.E.	Mr. Eben. Gould, M.A., Grantham..	Not fixed
Society of Friends	Mr. H. Lloyd Wilson.	Mr. Isaac Sharp, 12, Bishopsgate Without, E.C.	London, May 18th, 1910
Moravian Church	Bishop E. R. Hase.	Rev. H. F. England, E.C.	Fulneck, 1st week in August, 1910
Churches of Christ	Mr. G. Nicol, Dunfermline, N.B.	Mr. J. Fisher, 32, Fetter Lane, E.C.	Liverpool, 1st week in August, 1910
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion	Rev. J. Westbury Jones, M.A., 29, Marquess Road, Canterbury, N.	Rev. J. Foster, The Parsonage, Portland Street, Cheltenham.	Brighton, 1st week in September, 1910
Roman Catholic Church	Archbishop Bourne, Westminster	—	—
Roman Catholic Church in Ireland..	Cardinal Logue, Armagh	—	—
The Jews	Dr. Hermann Adler, Ph.D., &c. 22, Finsbury Square, E.C.	—	—

CHURCH STATISTICS.

	Ministers.	Evangelist and Lay Preachers.	Churches, Halls, &c.	Sitting Accommo- dation.	Church Members.	Sunday School Scholars.
Presbyterian Church of England ..	384	—	864	178,257	83,421	87,037
Church of Scotland	1,483	—	1,442	—	702,075	235,947
United Free Church of Scotland	1,720	—	1,658	—	506,588	241,160
Free Church of Scotland	71	—	189	—	—	—
Congregational Union of England and Wales	2,963	5,687	4,652	1,696,938	459,147	675,785
Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland	2,078	5,615	4,124	1,450,352	424,008	578,314
Independent Methodist Churches ..	424	—	156	43,320	9,442	27,219
Wesleyan Methodist Church	2,454	19,826	8,606	2,714,425	520,863	987,953
Primitive Methodist Church	1,178	16,153	4,912	—	212,168	465,531
United Methodist Church	891	6,138	3,188	—	186,905	323,675
Wesleyan Reform Church	21	527	196	—	8,489	22,322
Calvinistic Methodist Church	969	337	1,449	496,506	185,366	217,711
P.S.A. Brotherhood	—	—	—	—	500,000	—
Society of Friends	399	—	431	—	21,486	26,984
Disciples of Christ	16	—	20	6,850	—	2,673
Moravian Church	53	—	47	8,000	6,457	5,469
Churches of Christ	30	1,001	191	20,000	14,500	17,500
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion	34	—	43	14,140	2,289	4,082
Roman Catholic Church	21*	3,615†	1,753	} Estimated Roman Catholic population in Great Britain and Ireland, 5,500,000.		
R.C. Church in Scotland	6*	551†	384			
R.C. Church in Ireland	28*	—	—			
The Jews	—	—	—	—	20,569	—

* Archbishop and Bishops.

† Priests.

DISESTABLISHMENT.

By C. F. G. MASTERMAN, M.P.

It seems almost absurd, at this time of day, to present theoretical arguments for the **Disestablishment of the Church**. There are no theoretical arguments in favour of it. The whole "Establishment" position has been worn away by the inexorable arguments of actual fact. Directly "Dis-senters" were admitted into Parliament the conception of a State religion began to crumble. Directly Dissenters and non-Churchmen were found to be, as they are to-day, an overwhelming majority of the people, the theoretical case for Establishment vanished. By "non-Churchmen" I mean those who refuse any recognition of the discipline and moral and intellectual obligations of the Church. Most of the House of Lords, for example, would no doubt dub themselves, in any inquisitorial census, good "Churchmen." But the claim thus made, as you look down any bench of them, merely signifies recognition of whatever religion is national and "established," combined with a desire that the poor should be taught any creed that will make for patience and submission. If this be the kind of "establishment" that Churchmen desire they may welcome its continuance for centuries. There have been other previous Establishments of religion, which wise men have laughed at and wealthy men supported—as an antidote to Socialism and a comfort to the poor.

So that even those who with ardour to-day support the Establishment are compelled to turn to forlorn and queer arguments. Some say, How useful to have a national recognition of religion

—by Court, Parliament, society, people. Some ask, Who would crown the King? What chaplain would say grace before meat at country house parties? Or, What would be the influence of Christianity amongst the upper classes were the prestige of Establishment gone? I have even heard a modern philosopher defend the Establishment as "the greatest bulwark against Christianity in this country," just as, in the eighteenth century, Wesley and his followers were so furiously attacked by the Established Church, because "enthusiasm" was so alien to its spirit.

I must confess that, as a Churchman, I find these arguments tedious and irrelevant.

The Church, through its Establishment, lies to-day waterlogged and helpless in face of the demands of the new age. It can obtain no reorganisation of its archaic systems, no readjustment of its finances, no central or local self-government without having recourse to a Parliament not composed of Churchmen at all. It cannot even make a new Bishopric except on the condition that it provides a capital sum equal to an endowment of two thousand pounds a year—a condition which would certainly have excluded all the Bishops of the first six centuries of Christendom. When it has raised this large sum, it still finds increasing difficulty in getting Parliament to sanction the Bishopric at all. And as with the lesser, so with the greater: Convocations, Church Councils, Houses of Laymen, Diocesan Conferences pass their regular and vigorous resolutions; they have no more validity than the resolutions of a

University Debating Society. They can do nothing—they are tied hand and foot—without the sanction of Parliament. And the discussions of religious questions in Parliament are not of the kind of debate which are creditable either to the Church or the Commons. This complete paralysis of improvement, with the complete absence of any kind of central authority which can act for the Church as a whole, results in a stupor and futility which renders the Church of England hopelessly handicapped in face of the demands of the new century. And if "freedom" can only be purchased "by a great sum" in abandonment of tangible and realisable "endowments," it is conceivable that the gain would more than outweigh the loss.

And all this paraphernalia of impotence and State support continues in the midst of a world where the very idea of the "establishment" of any one religious body has become ridiculous. In all the great self-governing Colonies, the new nations which we have created and which are destined so soon to outnumber our own, the Anglican Church is as free and independent and released from State control as any other religious organisation. They would laugh at you to-day if you offered them tithes and offerings and Government patronage in return for surrender of patronage and government to the secular Legislature. The same is true of America, where the tiny dimensions of the Anglican Church is largely due to the fact that this was the church of the "upper classes" in England, and that it was the "lower classes" who fled across the Atlantic. But we can find still better analogy in the comparison with the greatest of all world-wide religious communities. Where is the Roman Catholic Church weakest to-day? In France, after a hundred years of renewed "establishment"; in Italy, where the people themselves drove the Church out of Parliament and privilege; in Spain, where all intelligence and love of freedom and desire for social betterment is slipping from her. Where is she strongest? In Ireland, where not one penny of tithe or past endowment goes to her support; in Southern and Western Germany, where a contented peasantry approves her social reform policy; in the United States, where she stands, with her millions of adherents, a free Church in a free people.

So it is that many of the best and most distinguished of the members of the Church of England are to-day on the side of Disestablishment. The demand comes from such as the Bishop of Birmingham on the one hand, recognising the heaviness of a "dead hand" upon a living Church; it comes on the other from such slum workers as Father Dolling, crying aloud that before you set yourselves to organise yourselves for "Church Defence" you should first contrive

that the Church, as organised, shall be worth defending. Where is the Church of England to-day at its best? In the poorer quarters of our vast industrial centres, in which, with no penny of endowment and none of the prestige and social advantage which the Establishment is supposed to bring, its members are grappling with realities—often in common effort with members of other Christian bodies—in the life of the disinherited poor. Such work would continue and flourish and increase if the whole apparatus of Establishment were swept away to-morrow. It is the true and strongest function of any Christian body. Where, on the other hand, is the Church at its worst? Just where the Establishment is most recognisable; in villages, where petty social persecution often accompanies religious differences; where the alliance between Church and landlord is accompanied by a kind of sullen rebellion against both by what remains of our agricultural population. Or in the cathedral town, with its little spitefulnesses and intrigues, its heavy, stifling atmosphere of conventional religion, overlaying also a peculiar susceptibility to bribery and beer. Or amongst the houses of the wealthy and successful, where the "fashionable" clergyman speaks to a "fashionable" audience, equally amused whether he denounces their vices or finds excuses for their sins.

HISTORICAL.

Historically, again, the Church of England has exhibited a marvellous revival during the past eighty years. But the whole revival has been due, not to its position as an Established Church, but to combatants who fought that position, and were bitterly opposed by all who clung to the old order. The ideal "Establishment" was that of the eighteenth century, when men drunk deeply to "Church and King," and Bishops were subservient courtiers, and chaplains ate with the upper servants at country houses, and religion was dead in England. Since then there have come movements of revival—Evangelical, doctrinal, with a reassertion of the Church as an entity independent of the State; Liberal, with a demand for disentanglement from the graveclothes of a dead past. Each of them has been fought by the "Establishment" of the Church; each had the Law Courts and engineering of secular justice persecuting them; each found many of its leaders ejected from the Church. None of them have a penny or a privilege with which to thank Establishment or Endowment.

THE ALTERNATIVES.

Two courses are open to the Church in the future, and no third. The one is the attainment of freedom through the sacrifice of some considerable proportion of its worldly possessions. The State will never allow the Church to go

with a tithe which in ancient days was laid upon the land to support the religious life of a united religious people. We have to-day no united religious people. We have abandoned the attempt to persecute Dissenters into uniformity. We have indeed, in England, no religious people at all, but an overwhelming majority, as revealed by recent censuses, who, though they are living on the capital made by the religious life of the past, are offering no additional contribution to that steadily dwindling supply. But if the Anglican Church is willing to make that sacrifice it can obtain, in connection and communion with all its branches abroad, a position of freedom to set its own house in order, and to undertake effective "missionary" propagandism, amongst the indifferent or alienated at home as well as in far countries of heathenism or other faiths. The alternative is that it will become more and more a "function" of the State; Religion "socialised," like the General Post Office; agreeable on State occasions; strictly "undenominational" in character; amiable to the timidities and special vices of the classes who rule England. And considering that not only the Christian theology but also the Christian morality is being increasingly challenged by a civilisation which finds the former incredible and the latter tiresome, such a fate would surely be one from which any drastic alternative would be welcome.

The question to-day is not an "alive" one in politics. Men's minds at present are turned to other, more violent issues. Here is a breathing space. No statesman, unless compelled by growing and increasing opinion within and without the Church, will set himself in the immediate future to undertake the immense work of Disestablishment. In that "breathing space" it would be well if those who cared for religion, apart from formalities and social influences, would really face the facts on this question, whose consideration may be delayed but cannot be denied.

DISESTABLISHMENT IN WALES.

Here is a question of totally different importance. It is a question immediately "alive." It cannot, and should not, be delayed. The Establishment in England is a Church set amongst a people for the most part indifferent to, or good-naturedly tolerant of, all or any religions. The Establishment in Wales is a Church set amongst a people almost passionately religious. The parallel is with Ireland; and those who set themselves to oppose this measure must find some reason which was not answered in the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and its subsequent history. There also an alien Church stood aloof from and contemptuous of the main current of a national life which expressed itself through other religious organisations. There also help was solicited from England by a

Church unable to defend itself on its own merits, because it had struck no root into the common life of the people. There also all the invective of "spoliation," "sacrilege," "persecution" was rung on the chimes by those who were keen to convert an effort after religious equality into an instrument for party advantage. There also ruin was prophesied of the Disestablished Church, if left alone without support of the State to carry out its own independent life. And there every prophecy was falsified by subsequent history. Only two arguments remain open to the opponents of this measure, so long overdue. The one is that the Welsh people are in favour of the Establishment there; the other is that Wales is not a nation. The former statement is an absurdity, the latter an insolence. Wales for more than a generation, through the voices of Liberals and Tories combined, has demanded Disestablishment. Often its people have demanded it with unanimity. And the assertion that Wales is not a nation could only be made in a wealthy cosmopolitan society which has forgotten the meaning of nationality, as of all earth's ancient sanities—the kind of society which thought that the Boers "would not fight" for their "national" existence, and that language, tradition, characteristics, ideals, and religions were all shortly destined to vanish before that "Imperialism" which has always been the symptom of mortal decay.

C. F. G. MASTERMAN.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Crockford's Church Directory for 1910. (Cox.) 20s. net.
 Evans, Howard. The Case for Disestablishment in Wales. (Liberation Society.) 6d.
 Free Church Year Book. (Published annually.) (Law.) 2s. 6d. net.
 Harvey, T. E. The Rise of the Quakers. (Law.) (1905.) 1s. 6d.
 Henson, Canon H. The National Church. (Macmillan.) (1903.) 6s.
 Hollowell, J. Hirst. What Nonconformity Stands For. (Clarke.) 1s. 6d.
 Horne, C. Silvester. A Popular History of the Free Churches. (Clarke.) (1904.) 2s. 6d.
 Hutton, W. H. A Short History of the Church in Great Britain. (Rivingtons.) (1899.) 3s. 6d.
 MacPhail, W. M. The Presbyterian Church. (Hodder & Stoughton.) (1908.) 5s.
 Mudie-Smith, R. Religious Life of London. (Hodder & Stoughton.) (1904.) o. p.
 Redfern, W. Modern Developments in Methodism. (Law.) 2s.
 Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. (Cd. 3040.) (Wyman.) 9d. net.
 Rogers, J. Guinness. Church Systems in the Nineteenth Century. (Thacker, Memorial Hall, E.C.) 4s.
 Skeats, H. S., and Miall, E. History of the Free Churches of England, 1688-1891. (Clarke.) 6s.
 Townsend, Dr. J. W. Methodist Union. (Milner.) 2s. 6d.

SECTION XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CONQUEST OF THE AIR.

By HUGH MARTIN.

The year 1909 will always remain one of the most memorable in the history of the human race, for from it will date the commencement of the era of human flight. Flying by the aid of machinery has been lifted at a bound out of the region of experiment into that of assured practical achievement. Some notable dates in the history of the conquest of the air are the following:—

1782.—The French Academy of Science declares "that it has been amply proved that it is impossible for man to raise himself in the air either by means of wing-like apparatus beating the air or by any other means whatever."

1783, July.—Joseph de Montgolfier sends up his first man-carrying hot-air balloon at Annonay, France.

1783, December 1st.—The French Scientists, Charles and Robert, make a successful ascent from the Tuileries in a Montgolfier hydrogen balloon.

1784.—M. Blanchard and Dr. Jeffries make the first cross-Channel passage (from Dover to Calais) in a balloon.

1803.—Sir George Cayley describes in detail in "Nicholson's Magazine" a design for an aeroplane similar in all essentials to the modern monoplane. He builds an aeroplane with 300 sq. ft. surface, but fails owing to the absence of an efficient motor.

1838.—Aeroplane patented by English inventor, Henson.

1852.—First practicable dirigible balloon built, by Henri Giffard, who by fitting a light steam engine and three-bladed screw to the car of a lozenge-shaped balloon was able to travel in calm weather at five to six miles an hour in any desired direction.

1890.—Otto Lillenthal, a German, commences a valuable series of "gliding" experiments, which terminated fatally six years later.

1892.—Lawrence Hargraves' model aeroplane, with compressed air motor, flies 343 ft. in 23 secs.

1893.—First practicable flying machine (steam driven), built at Baldwin's Park, Kent, by Sir Hiram Maxim.

1900, June.—Launch of the first Zeppelin airship, 420 ft. long by 40 ft. in diameter.

1903, December 17th.—Wilbur Wright, at Fort Meyer, U.S.A., makes the first recorded aeroplane flight, travelling nearly 300 yards in 59½ seconds on a biplane invented by himself and his brother, Orville.

1905, October 5th.—Wilbur Wright makes first long-distance aeroplane flight, covering 24 miles in 38 minutes.

1906, July.—Launch of the Deutsch airship, "Ville de Paris."

1908, October 23rd.—First aeroplane flight in Europe. M. Santos Dumont flies 30 yards on a machine of his own

invention, fitted with an Antoinette motor.

1906, November 16th.—First voyage of "La Patrie," pioneer of the French dirigible air-fleet. Ten days later "La Patrie" made a circular trip of 57½ miles in 132 minutes.

1908, October 31st.—M. Louis Blériot makes the first cross-country flight on a monoplane of his own invention, from Tournay to Ardenay and back.

1909, July 25th.—M. Louis Blériot flies on his monoplane from Sangatte, near Calais, to Dover, in 27 minutes 27 seconds.

1909, August 22nd.—First International aviation meeting at Rheims. Final triumph of the aeroplane.

1909, August 29th.—Count Zeppelin in his airship "Zeppelin III." completes his voyage from Lake Constance to Berlin, and is received by the Kaiser.

1909, September 30th.—Wilbur Wright flies round statue of Liberty, New York Harbour.

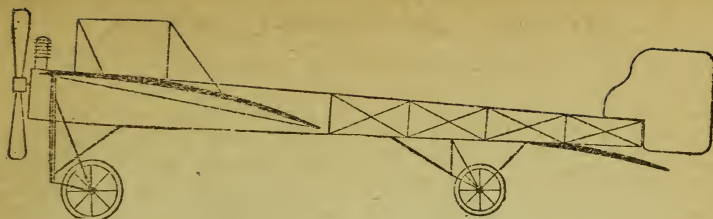
1909, October 15th.—First English aviation meeting opens at Doncaster.

1909, October 18th.—Blackpool Aviation meeting opens.

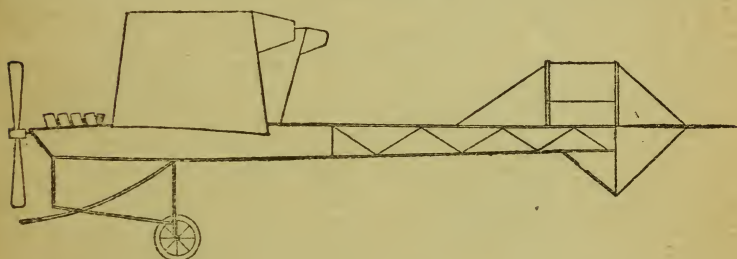
1909, October 18th.—Comte de Lambert flies in his Wright biplane from Juvisy to Paris and back, over the Eiffel Tower—30 miles in 49 minutes.

HOW AEROPLANES FLY.

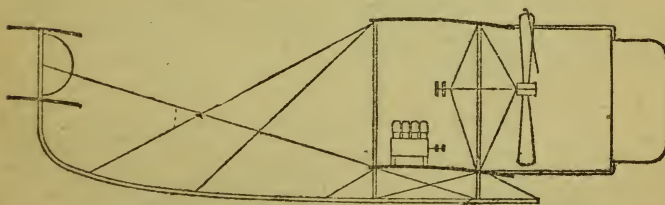
The general principle of flight by aeroplane is simple. It depends upon the fact that when an inclined plane is forced through the air in the direction of its inclination it tends to rise against the force of gravity, after the manner of a kite. As the result of laboratory experiments by Mr. Horatio Phillips and Sir Hiram Maxim, and practical experiments in "gliding" through the air with the support of planes by Lillenthal, Delagrange, and others, it was further demonstrated that the maximum amount of lifting force is not secured when the inclined plane is flat, but when it is curved, as in Fig. a. The generally accepted theory is that when the current of air strikes the "hump" of the plane a little above the arrow head in the figure, it is deflected upwards, and thus creates a partial vacuum over the hind part of the plane. At the same time the air is compressed in the hollow underneath. Thus, the plane is sucked upwards from above, and pushed upwards from beneath. The most efficient angle of entry (i.e., the acute angle which the plane makes with the horizon) is found to be seven or eight degrees. By increasing this angle greater lifting power may be obtained, but speed in the direction of travel is diminished, and the plane develops a tendency to



BLERIOT MONOPLANE



ANTOINETTE MONOPLANE



WRIGHT BI-PLANE

DIRECTION OF WIND

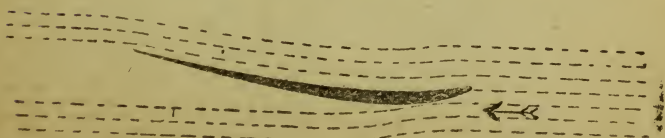


FIG A.—The arrow in the above diagram denotes the direction of the wind, not the direction of the flight.

slide backwards should the forward thrust be insufficient to maintain progress.

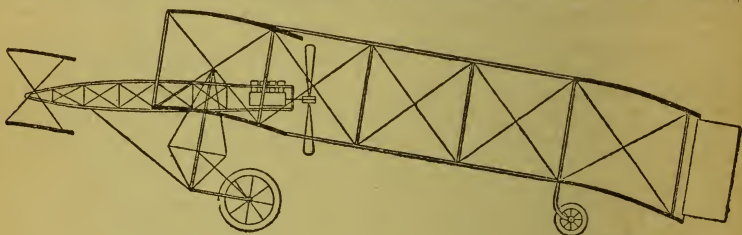
Vertical steering, or elevation, is accordingly controlled by means of auxiliary planes, the angle of which can be regulated at will by the pilot. These minor planes are placed either in front of the main supporting planes (as in the Wright machine) or behind them (as in the Blériot).

Horizontal steering, or direction, is controlled by means of a rudder acting on the same principle as the rudder of a ship, and generally placed astern.

Stability is one of the most difficult problems with which aeroplaneists have to deal. "Fore-and-aft" stability must be secured to prevent "pitching" when the machine is travelling through the air, and lateral stability to prevent rolling, or dipping to one side, either

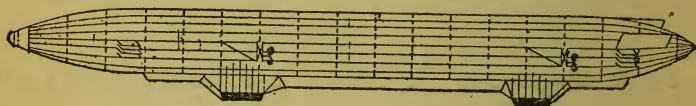
small movable auxiliary wings, at the tips of the main wings, as in most Blériot monoplanes, or between the main wings of a biplane, as in a Cody; (c) the introduction of vertical planes between the main wings of a biplane, as in the Voisin.

Power is furnished in all types by a petrol internal-combustion engine. France owes her unchallenged position in the forefront of flying to-day to her skill and enterprise in the manufacture of petrol engines, but at least one good engine of British construction is now on the market. Sufficient lightness has already been secured, one man being able to carry a 100 h.p. Antoinette engine. Reliability is now the subject upon which engineers are bending all their energy. Until a petrol motor has been devised which is not only light, but as reliable as a steam engine,



DIRECTION OF FLIGHT
←←←

FARMAN BI-PLANE



ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP

BLÉRIOT MONOPLANE
TO SAME SCALE

under the influence of a cross wind or when turning a corner.

(1) **Fore-and-aft stability**.—This is commonly secured by a tail, more or less nearly resembling the tail of a bird.

(2) **Lateral stability**.—This is of even greater importance, as upon it depends the ability of the aeroplane to turn while in the air. Aeroplanes of all patterns are inclined to dip towards the inside of the curve when their direction of flight is altered by means of the rudder, the amount of the dip depending upon the speed of the machine and the force and direction of the wind. A bicyclist taking a corner exhibits a similar inclination. Three methods of coping with the difficulty are employed.

(a) **Flexible tips** for the main wings, which can be warped at will, as in the Wright machine; (b) **ailerons**, or

aviation must remain a dangerous sport, instead of becoming a useful means of locomotion. As a rule, the propeller of a monoplane is in front of the supporting wings, and of a biplane behind them.

Starting is most commonly accomplished with the help of a "rolling chassis" consisting of three or more rubber-tired wheels attached to a steel framework under the main body of the aeroplane. The motor is set going, and the machine is drawn or driven forward by the revolving screw; the angle of the elevating planes is then increased, and the machine rises from the ground when sufficient speed has been attained for the air to exercise the needful pressure underneath the planes. It is necessary to remember that by speed in this connection is meant "air-speed,"

i.e., speed in relation to the air, which may itself be moving rapidly, not in relation to the earth. Wright biplanes have no rolling chassis, but are fitted with skates running upon a line of rails. When the pilot wishes to start he releases a weight supported on a tower, kept in position by a catch, the machine is drawn swiftly forward by an arrangement of pulleys, and frees itself automatically when the aeroplane begins to soar.

MONOPLANE v. BIPLANE.

Aeroplanes are divided into four classes.

(1) Monoplanes, which have only one "deck," or supporting surface.

(2) Biplanes, which have two "decks," from four to six feet apart.

(3) Triplanes, which have three decks.

(4) Multiplanes, which have four or more decks arranged like the laths of a Venetian blind.

Other distinct types of flying machine are:—

(1) The ornithopter, in which the principle of the flapping wing of a bird is adopted.

(2) The helicopter, in which the machine is sustained in the air by revolving screws or planes.

Of these three classes only the monoplane and biplane are as yet in practical use. Such excellent performances have been achieved with both types that it is impossible to say which machine will ultimately prove the superior. Blériot crossed the Channel on a monoplane; Comte de Lambert flew round the Eiffel Tower on a biplane. On a biplane Curtiss won the Gordon-Bennett trophy at Rheims, but the most daring and brilliant of all flights have been accomplished by Latham on a monoplane.

Modifications, it should be noted, are constantly being made, particularly in regard to the type of motor employed.

MONOPLANES.

Blériot.—This is the most famous of all monoplanes, as it was upon a machine of this type that Louis Blériot flew from Calais to Dover on July 25th, 1909. In the cross-Channel model the two principal wings, between which the pilot sits, together have a spread of 26ft. 6in.; their depth is 6ft., and they cut the air at an angle of seven degrees. Lateral stability is secured by warping the wings at the tip instead of by means of ailerons (small auxiliary wings), as in many Blériot models. The elevation of the machine is controlled by planes attached to a horizontal balancing fin behind the pilot, and behind this fin again is the steering rudder. As in all Blériot monoplanes, balance is practically automatic, and the movements of the machine are directed by means of a single lever. The motor is a 20 h.p. Anzani, rotating a two-bladed screw at the prow. Great success has also been attained with a Gnome engine. With the exception

of Santos Dumont's "Demoiselle," the Blériot is the smallest of all monoplanes.

"R. E. P."—Robert Esnault-Pelterie's monoplane—known for short as the "R. E. P."—when seen from above closely resembles a bird, owing to its fan-shaped balancing tail, the tip of which is used as an elevating rudder. Immediately beneath this tail, and at right angles to it, is the steering rudder. The main wings have a total spread of 32ft., and are warped at the tips by the direct pull of ropes in order to counteract "dipping." It is controlled by two levers, one for lateral stability and elevation, the other for direction.

Motor: 30-35 h.p. R.E.P., controlled by two foot-levers, and driving a four-bladed screw.

Antoinette.—It was upon an Antoinette that Latham emulated the Channel flight of Blériot. The machine is one of the largest of the monoplanes, the spread of the wings being a little over 40ft. Owing to its great length, and large horizontal spread of stern canvas, known as the feathering plane, the Antoinette has remarkable fore-and-aft stability. Lateral stability is secured by the use of triangular ailerons at the tips of the main wings, and also by a vertical feathering fin at right angles to the stern feathering plane. The elevating and steering rudders are very similarly arranged to those of the R. E. P. It is controlled by three wheels, one for the ailerons, one for steering, and one for elevation. The motor is a 55 h.p. 8-cylinder Antoinette, driving a two-bladed propeller, and controlled by two handles and a pedal. In spite of the multiplicity of "controls," Latham was able after only five lessons on an Antoinette to win one of the important prizes offered by the Aero Club of France.

Demoiselle.—M. Santos Dumont's machine is the smallest of all aeroplanes, measuring only 16ft. across the wings, which have a depth of 6ft. 6in. The elevating and steering rudders are both astern, at the end of a bamboo pole 20ft. long, and the engine develops 30 h.p., capable of driving the single screw at 1,800 revolutions a minute. The lifting surface of a Demoiselle is 90 square feet, as compared with the 260 of a Blériot monoplane and the 560 of a Wright biplane.

BIPLANES.

Wright.—The most famous, and the first, of the biplanes. Each of the principal planes in a typical Wright has a spread of 40ft., and is 6ft. 6in. deep. Elevation is controlled by a small replica of these planes affixed to an outrigger in front of the main body, and horizontal direction by a double rudder attached to the stern outrigger. There are no ailerons, lateral stability being secured by warping the main wings. The machine is singular in having no arrangement for securing fore-and-aft stability.

with the result that it is liable to "pitch" when not in the hands of a highly-skilled pilot. It is controlled by two levers, that on the left hand of the pilot being connected with the elevating rudder, and that on the right with the steering rudder and wing-warping mechanism. The motor is 25 h.p. 4-cylinder Wright, driving twin-screws in opposite directions immediately behind the main planes. The ordinary Wright model is launched from a short line of rails, and has no "rolling chassis."

Voisin.—The Voisin is one of the most successful of the French-made biplanes. It has a wing-spread of 34ft., and, as in the Wright, the planes are 6ft. 6in. deep, but in other details the two types differ widely. By the introduction between the main planes of vertical planes, so as to form a series of three or more cells, a large measure of lateral stability is automatically obtained. To secure fore-and-aft stability two narrower planes—forming a species of trailer—are attached to the tail framework, and behind this again comes the steering rudder. The elevating rudder is a still smaller pair of planes (in some models a single plane) at the extreme front of the machine. It is controlled by a wheel for steering, pedals for elevating or depressing. The motor is a 40-50 h.p. 5-cylinder Gnome, actuating one double-bladed propeller astern of the central cell. Voisin models of the Farman and Delagrangé types differ somewhat in detail, the latter employing a monoplane elevator, and placing his steering rudder between, instead of behind, the two tail planes.

Cody.—S. F. Cody's machine, built at Aldershot, resembles in some points both the Wright and the Voisin. Like the Wright type, it has no tail, and like Delagrangé's model of the Voisin, has a single elevation rudder carried in front. Horizontal steering is by two rudders, one for the other aft of the supporting wings. The device for securing lateral stability is unusual, viz., two movable ailerons placed midway between the tips of the main planes, stability being further aided by the division of the elevating plane into two halves, which can be tilted at different angles. The machine is exceptionally large, the main planes having a span of 52ft. and a depth of 7ft. 6in., giving a total surface of 780 sq. ft. The elevator gives an additional surface of about 100 sq. ft. Motor: 80 h.p. E.N.V., geared to two propellers, as in the Wright. The Cody aeroplane weighs about one ton.

Farman.—Henri Farman began flying on a Voisin, and the machines which he now builds himself resemble the Voisin in some particulars. The Farman is totally devoid of the vertical partitions by which stability is secured in a Voisin, and has instead two ailerons—described as balancing

flaps—behind the tips of the supporting planes. The elevator, carried on an outrigger in front, is a biplane. Horizontal steering is accomplished by means of two rudders working in unison behind a balancing tail similar to that of a Voisin, but without vertical surfaces. The main decks have a span of 32ft. 6in. and are 6ft. 4in. deep. The motor is a 50 h.p. Gnome.

Curtiss.—Curtiss machines are built for speed and lightness. The main deck span is only 28ft. 9in. and depth 4ft. 6in., but the American inventor, Mr. Glen Curtiss, uses a 30 h.p. engine. The main supporting surface is 272 sq. ft., compared with the 560 of a Wright. Like the Wright, it has a double rudder in front for vertical steering, but, unlike it, has only a single rudder behind for horizontal steering. Curtiss resembles Cody in employing ailerons between the main planes to secure stability, each of these auxiliary wings measuring 2ft. by 6ft. A curious feature of the machine is the method of control. A wheel is used for horizontal and vertical steering, but the balancing ailerons are moved by a swaying motion of the pilot's body, which is in contact with the necessary levers.

AIRSHIPS.

There are three recognised types of airship, or dirigible balloon, the non-rigid, the semi-rigid, and the rigid, so named to indicate the construction of the gas envelope. In all, the most important problem is to ensure stability, i.e., to prevent the vessel either from rolling or pitching.

NON-RIGID.

Representative dirigibles having entirely flexible gas envelopes are the "Clement Bayard" and "Ville-de-Paris." The car, which is of great length, hangs freely from the cigar-shaped envelope, at the rear (or blunt end) of which is the device for securing stability, viz., a number of small, sausage-shaped balloons known technically as an empennage of ballonnets. The ship is drawn through the air by a single screw at the prow, and steered by a fin at the stern. By manipulating two pairs of elevating planes the aeronaut can cause his vessel to rise or fall without loss of gas or ballast. Particulars of the "Ville-de-Paris" are as follows: Length, 200ft.; maximum diameter of envelope, 35ft.; motor, 70 h.p.; capacity, 112,000 cub. ft. The car is of metal tubing.

SEMI-RIGID.

Some notable examples of the semi-rigid type have been the "Lebaudy," "La Patrie," and "République," all the work of Paul and Pierre Lebaudy, and very efficient though ill-fated vessels. The lower part of the gas envelope in this type is flat and attached to a rigid frame, which gives stability to the ship by acting when in motion somewhat

after the fashion of an aeroplane wing. In the case of "La Patrie"—carried away to sea at the close of 1907—stability was further ensured by a cruciform arrangement of planes at the stern of the envelope. Steering is accomplished in Lebaudy airships by means of a large fan-shaped rudder, astern of the rigid framework from which is suspended the small car containing a petrol motor driving twin screws which exert their power amidships. Dimensions of envelope 196ft. by 33ft. 9in. Capacity, 113,000 cub. ft.

RIGID.

The only well-known example of the rigid type of dirigible is the "Zeppelin," constructed by the German Count of that name. The main principle of construction is the enclosure of a number of small balloons, placed side by side like marbles, by a rigid framework of aluminium built in the shape of a tube tapering to a point at both ends. Each balloon is separated from its neighbours by an aluminium partition. A sheeting of impervious material stretched over the framework completes the body of the airship. Below the framework hang two cars (connected by a passage-way under the belly of the ship), containing

the petrol motors for driving the 4 propellers, two of which are placed near the bows and two near the stern.

Stability is secured by lateral and dorsal fins at the stern, where also are situated the planes, arranged in groups, which govern the horizontal and vertical movements of the ship. There are additional elevating planes near the prow. Count Zeppelin has built a number of examples, all of immense size, upon Lake Constance. The vessel in which he sailed to Berlin contained 17 separate balloons within its framework, which was 442ft. long, and 36ft. in diameter. The aggregate capacity of the balloons was about 460,000 cub. ft.; the motors developed some 250 h.p., and the four 3-bladed propellers were each 7ft. in diameter. The ship could carry 20 passengers. The latest "Zeppelin" is officially stated to have a radius of action of nearly 1,500 miles.

FLYING RECORDS.

Below are given some of the best performances at the principal aviation meetings held during the past year. The dates in brackets are those of the commencement of the respective meetings.

RHEIMS (August 22nd).

Pilot.		Machine.
DISTANCE.		
H. Farman	112 miles in 3 h. 4 m. 56 s.	Voisin
Latham	96 miles in 2 h. 18 m.	Antoinette
SPEED.		
Curtiss	18½ miles at 47 m.p.h.	Curtiss
Blériot	18½ miles at 46.76 m.p.h.	Blériot
Blériot	6½ miles at 48.08 m.p.h.	Blériot
HEIGHT.		
Latham	516 feet	Antoinette
H. Farman	366 feet	Voisin

BRESCIA (September 8th).

Pilot.		Machine.
DISTANCE.		
Curtiss	31½ miles in 49 m. 2½ s.	Curtiss
Rougier	31½ miles in 1 h. 9 m. 42 s.	Voisin
HEIGHT.		
Rougier	660 feet	Voisin

BERLIN (September 26th).

Pilot.		Machine.
DISTANCE.		
Rougier	81½ miles in 2 h. 41 m.	Voisin
Latham	11½ miles in 18 m. 46 s.	Antoinette
H. Farman	11½ miles in 20 m. 9 s.	Farman
HEIGHT.		
Latham	593 feet	Antoinette
Rougier	626 feet	Voisin

JUVISY (October 8th).

Pilot.		Machine.
	DISTANCE.	
Com'te de Lambert	10 miles in 17 m. 41 s.	Wright
Paulhan	13½ miles in 27 m.	Voisin

DONCASTER (October 15th).

Pilot.		Machine.
Le Blon	22 miles 295 yards in 30 m.	Blériot
Sommer	14 miles 1,275 yards in 25 m. 30½ s.	Farman
Delagrangé	1 mile 860 yards in 1 m. 47½ s. (49.9 m.p.h.)	Blériot

BLACKPOOL (October 18th).

Pilot.		Machine.
Rougier	17 miles 1,544 yards in 34 m. 27½ s. (32.33 m.p.h.)....	Voisin
Paulhan	13 miles 1,592 yards in 25 m. 53½ s. (32.81 m.p.h.)....	Farman
H. Farman	47 miles 1,184 yards in 1 h. 32 m. 16½ s. (30.3 m.p.h.)..	Farman

BROOKLANDS (Exhibition Flights. October 30th and November 1st).

Pilot.		Machine.
	HEIGHT.	
Paulhan	800 feet.....	Farman
	DISTANCE.	
Paulhan	96 miles in 2 h. 29 m. 20 s.	Farman

Farman, on a Farman, flew 144 miles in 4 h. 17 m. 53 s. at Mourmelon on November 14th.

Rcugler, on a Voisin, attained an alti-

tude of 885 feet at Antwerp on November 4th.

Paulhan, on a Farman, attained an altitude of 977 feet at Esher on November 6th.

POLAR EXPLORATION.

By A. T. M. BORTHWICK.

Whether posterity will salute the year 1909 as that in which pertinacious effort through centuries culminated in the discovery of the North Pole, or whether that honour has a prior claimant in the year 1908, is a question which has not been settled satisfactorily when this Year Book goes to press. At any rate, the year 1909 will be notable for ever on account of the world-shaking quarrel between two American explorers, **Commander Peary** and **Dr. Frederick A. Cook**. Peary's announcement on September 6th, that he had reached the North Pole on April 6th, 1909, came with dramatic unexpectedness five days after Cook had startled humanity with the news that he was at the Pole on April 21st, 1908—nearly 12 months earlier. Thereupon ensued the most lamentable controversy ever known in the history of exploration. Peary and his supporters denounced Cook as an impostor; and for some time the very violence of Peary's denunciations swept waverers to the side

of Cook, who accepted the situation with a calm modesty that won most of those who met him. The whole colossal enterprise was brought down to the level of a music-hall joke, in which the quaintly-suggestive name of one of Cook's two Esquimaux companions, Etukishuk, was not forgotten.

All this was in striking contrast to the dignity that surrounded and succeeded the brilliant exploits of Lieut. E. H. Shackleton, the British explorer who went nearest the South Pole in October, 1908, and whose knighthood was among the birthday honours of 1909.

As between Peary and Cook, Peary's story has been accepted in official circles in America. It still remains, at the time of writing, for Cook to produce his proofs, which he has promised to do before the Danish University in Copenhagen first. Meanwhile, the unpleasantness of his position has been intensified by statements that he

did not achieve a previous alleged exploit, the climbing of Mount McKinley, his account of which lifted him to a high prominence among explorers.

DR. COOK'S STORY.

Cook's dash to the Pole was decided upon at the end of an Arctic summer cruise with Mr. John Bradley, who fitted out a ship for him. Briefly, his story is that in August, 1907, he went into winter quarters at Annotok, which is 700 miles from the Pole; and that he left there on February 19th, 1908, crossed Smith's Sound on the ice and Nansen Sound, and left Cape Hubbard for the great dash on March 18th, 1908. The distance to the Pole was then 460 miles, and Cook took with him two Esquimaux and 26 dogs. He claims to have discovered new land at Longitude 84 deg. 47 min. N., Latitude 86 deg. 36 min., and in the next nine days to have travelled 100 miles, and thus got within 204 miles of his objective. During the next six days (he says) he covered 105 miles, and the remaining 99 miles to the Pole was accomplished in seven days more.

Here are Cook's words describing the conclusion of the outward journey:—

On April 21st the corrected altitude of the sun gave 89°, 59' 46". The Pole, therefore, was in sight. We advanced the 14 seconds, made supplementary observations, and prepare to stop long enough to permit a double round of observations. At last the flag has been raised to the breezes of the North Pole. The day was April 21st, 1908. The sun indicated local noon, but time was a negative problem, for here all meridians meet. With a step it was possible to go from one part of the globe to the opposite side—from the hour of midnight to that of midday. The latitude was 90 degrees, the temperature 38 below zero centigrade, the barometer 29.83. North, east, and west had vanished. It was south in every direction; but the compass pointing to the magnetic pole was as useful as ever.

One of the objections taken to Cook's account deals with his picturesque impressionism, in which convincing detail has been sacrificed to the grandiloquent expression of his feelings. He turned back on April 23rd, 1908, and explains his long silence by the statement that after strenuous fights with gale, ice, and fog he went into winter camp near Cape Sparbo, having made unsuccessful attempts to reach Baffin's Bay. In April, 1909, he touched Greenland, and sailed from Upernivik on a Danish boat; and it was not until September 1st, 1909, that he sent the news of his achievement to the "New York Herald."

Far greater reliance has been placed upon the story told by Commander Peary, whose long and arduous experience as an Arctic explorer deserved the crown of discovery which he claims to have won. His message reached the world on September 6th, 1909, five months after he was at the Pole; and he returned later laden with much

more evidence in the way of record and details of the journey than did Cook. Peary also made the final dash with only Esquimaux companions and dogs, and he appears to have found his greatest danger to be that of stumbling into "leads," or water chasms in the ice—in one of which Professor Marvin, a scientific member of the expedition, was drowned. Of extreme interest is Peary's statement that through a hole in the ice about five miles from the Pole he took a sounding with 1,500 fathoms of wire without finding bottom. Unfortunately for the definiteness of this observation, the wire broke, so that no closer record of this kind could be obtained. Capt. Bartlett, of Newfoundland, Peary's shipmaster, accompanied him to about the 88th parallel. One of Peary's reasons for this was that it seemed to him appropriate that, in view of the magnificent British record of Arctic work, a British subject should be able to boast that he, next to an American, had been nearest the Pole. Peary spent about 30 hours at the Pole, and during that time the minimum temperature was minus 33, and the maximum minus 12. Unlike Cook, he was not helped by the discovery of plenty of game, and his progress was aided by a series of relief marches from his base, to which his assistants returned as their part of the work was done. Peary's intention had been to follow the route he took in previous explorations, and the route he actually took across the Polar Sea to the Pole was a little to the westward of that by which he reached the 84th parallel in 1902. He left Cape Columbia, to the north of Grant Land, in February; and his travels over the ice and snow did not result in the finding of any of the fine sporting country in which Cook takes such pride.

THE SOUTH POLAR EXPEDITION.

These accounts of actual attainment of the ideal of North Polar explorers overshadowed to some extent the fine achievement of Lieut. (now Sir Ernest) Shackleton at the other end of the earth. Lieut. Shackleton carried forward the magnificent work done by Capt. Scott, who in his turn hopes to advance the British record of Lieut. Shackleton by an expedition which is to start (should the funds be forthcoming) in 1910, and for which the "Terra Nova," a barque-rigged whaling boat of 749 tons, is to be acquired. Shackleton's boat was the "Nimrod," a forty-year-old wooden vessel of 227 tons, and which left New Zealand in December, 1908, after a previous attempt earlier in the year to make the dash from King Edward VII. Land had been defeated. The party, which included Lieut. Shackleton, Dr. Marshall, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Wild, underwent hardships with which those described by the North Polar explorers do not compare. Ponies had to be killed for food, and 1,300 of 1,700 miles which the little party travelled across the ice

were undertaken without ponies, sledges having to be dragged by the men themselves. In Latitude 85 S. Wild and Shackleton discovered coal measures at least 1,500 feet thick; and this confirmation of the theory that coalfields might be found at the Pole is the most interesting geological discovery that was made. There can be little doubt, thanks to the work of these British explorers, that there is a plateau of almost continental size extending over the portion covered by Lieut. Shackleton to beyond the South Pole for a distance probably of 1,800 miles. For the first time, as a result of this expedition, the general public has been given an intimate idea of the vast desolation of this land by means of cinematographic pictures. Shackleton reached the South Magnetic Pole and got within 111 miles of the South Pole itself, at Latitude 88° 23'.

OTHER EXPEDITIONS.

Of the other explorers engaged in Arctic and Antarctic research, Dr. Charcot, the Frenchman, left Havre on August 16th, 1908, with six automobile sleds and what is said to be the most perfectly-equipped vessel ever sent on such an expedition, and at the end of the year 1909 was still somewhere in the Antarctic seas. The "Zeppelin" Polar Expedition has not got beyond the stage of contemplation; and the other dirigible balloonist with Polar aspirations, Mr. Wellman, of America, has failed again with his airship, which was caught in a squall at the beginning of the trip. On June 20th, 1909, Capt. Ejnar Mikkelsen, the Danish explorer, set out to look for the bodies of Mylus, Erichsen, and Hagen, lost in the Danish National Greenland Expedition, 1906-8. Capt. Roald Amundsen, the distinguished Norwegian traveller (and first man to accomplish the North-west passage), hopes to take Nansen's boat, the Fram, and to drift across the Polar seas with the ice, starting in 1910. It is understood to be his intention to take specially trained Polar bears with him. Mr. Evelyn Baldwin, leader of the Baldwin-Zeigler Expedition of 1901-2, is another of those who propose to reach the North Pole by drifting.

THE DRAMA.

By H. GRANVILLE BARKER.

A REPERTORY THEATRE.

For some years I have been studying as dispassionately as may be the theatrical situation, and I conclude that the establishment of a repertory system is not only desirable, but inevitable. Not to the exclusion of every other method of presenting plays—far from it; but as a necessary compensation for the loss which every other method seems to inflict on the Drama.

Consider first of all the method of producing Shakespeare which Irving brought to such perfection. The method, as interpreted and developed by his

disciples, amounts in practice to this: "If Shakespeare had had our modern scenic resources he would have been only too thankful to arrange his plays to fit them. Unfortunately the poor chap is dead, so we must do the job for him—re-arrange the plays. And anyhow, the public likes scenery, lots of it, good, expensive, and solid." What effect has this upon the plays of Shakespeare as a living theatrical force? Scenery thought of as the protagonist of your play implies expense, direct and indirect, expense of preparation, expense of running. It may well cost more to shift and light than all your company of actors costs. I am serious about that. Such expenditure, if not followed by a long run, means failure. A long run means that the actors of small parts get so stale in them as to become mere automata, while for an actor of a great part to be at his best in one performance out of four is an achievement. Who can play Hamlet or Macbeth, or Juliet or Rosalind, or Othello or Lear eight times a week with nervous force, inspiration, and spontaneity? The thing is impossible. Garrick at the height of his success played perhaps four times a week. On the other hand, if anything that at least sixty or seventy thousand people do not want to see must be counted a failure, penalising the theatre with a loss of perhaps six or seven thousand pounds, what a dreadful thing to the cautious manager must the choice of his play be; how overwhelming the temptation to serve up to the public nothing but the same old well-tried dishes, varying the seasoning just a little—just a very little.

So that, as far as the staging of Shakespeare goes, the Theatre is involved in a vicious circle of consequences; the general consequence to the average playgoer being that six of the plays he may perhaps see six times each in a long lifetime, and three or four more three or four times altogether if he's lucky. For the rest he had better visit Germany. Add to this the fact that no school of verse speaking or acting can be expected to flourish under such conditions and it becomes clear, I think, that some new idea is needed if our Shakespeare inheritance, that whole dynamic world of life and beauty, is to be anything to us but dry bones in the study or waxworks on the stage.

And now consider the state of affairs in what is usually called "modern comedy." We have in England a school of actors as highly trained in the good manners of the stage as any comedy of manners can require, well trained also in the expression of certain emotions. But—the vicious circle again—the cause and effect of their training is the same. And it is not only a vicious, but a narrowing circle in this case. It is so obviously true of the art of the Theatre as of any

other that mechanical perfection is fruitless. Only the repertory system—the opposite of the long run—can provide the actor with the variety he needs. A repertory system is the next step, it is a necessary step, in the progress of English drama.

Can a play have all the attention and care that is now lavished upon its production in a good theatre and yet lack the benefits of a home? Some people may not appreciate the metaphor, but as it is true, I think, that the average man is less himself surrounded by the artificial comfort of a hotel—telephones at every turn, a winter garden, and an everlasting orchestra—than he is in the simpler place with its work-a-day atmosphere that he calls home, so it seems to me that a play is not most vital because of *ad hoc* luxuries of brilliant company and setting that it is planted amongst. A hotel is well enough for a holiday, and there are holiday plays that do best with hotel treatment. But a home is a place good, bad, or indifferent by virtue of a certain spirit that prevails there. You may take up the carpets and alter the furniture, change all the servants, change the house even, but still there will remain, good, bad, or indifferent, that spirit, the spirit of a common purpose expressed in corporate life. And a play, I believe, will be most alive and keep most alive in such a home as a repertory theatre makes for it, and no other quite can. Granted a dozen material disadvantages: comparative poverty, imperfection of service; let a play be worse mounted, worse produced, worse played—and here I testify to what I have seen—still if the work has been done for it in that homelike spirit of corporate life which a repertory theatre creates, and without which it must perish, that play will be more vital than the squandering of money and time and talent could make it elsewhere.

H. GRANVILLE BARKER.

The Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament appointed in June, 1909, to report on the Censorship of Plays appeared on November 11th. The members of the Commission were: Mr. H. Samuel (chairman), Lord Plymouth, Lord Wilmoughby de Broke, Lord Newton, Lord Redesdale, Lord Gorell, Mr. R. Harcourt, Mr. Hugh Law, Colonel Lockwood, and Mr. A. E. W. Mason. The proposals submitted by the Joint Committee form a compromise which is perhaps hardly likely to prove a final settlement of the question. The Lord Chancellor should continue to be the licenser of plays, but it should be optional to submit a play for license and legal to perform an unlicensed play, whether it had been submitted or not. The reasons for which the Lord Chamberlain should refuse a licence would be: Indecency; offensive personalities; the representation in an invidious manner of a living person or a person recently dead; violation of the sentiments of religious reverence; the presence of anything likely to

conduce to crime or vice, or to cause a breach with a friendly power, or a breach of the peace.

A Licence from the Lord Chamberlain would naturally be a protection to the manager producing a play. The producer of an unlicensed play would take his chance, supposing that it contained any risky matter, of proceedings initiated by the Director of Public Prosecutions. When notice had been given of an intended prosecution, further performances of the play in question would have to be deferred until the case was heard and decided.

The Court before which the case is brought should have power to prohibit the play for a period of not more than 10 years, to impose penalties on the manager and the author, or to endorse a conviction on the licence of the theatre, three such endorsements within five years to constitute ground for the forfeiture of the licence. The Attorney-General should have power to apply to a Committee of the Privy Council, which might hear the case within closed doors, and might prohibit the production of the play for 10 years and endorse the licence. The Lord Chamberlain—not the Examiner of Plays—should bear really, as well as nominally, the responsibility for the giving or refusing of a licence. The legal difference between theatres and music halls should be abolished.

The Dramatic Committee of the Society of Authors protested in the Press on November 27th against certain findings of the Royal Commission, while acknowledging that their case against the Censorship was practically admitted. They hope that public attention will be centred on the recommendation that empowers a landlord to compel his lessee to produce only such plays as have been passed by the Censor, since the insistence of theatre landlords on this clause would, in practice, make the limitations imposed on the Censorship a dead letter.

LITERATURE.

BY R. A. SCOTT-JAMES.

It is doubtful if any year of this century has been so barren in respect of first-rate creative literature as 1909. It is significant that the most urgent signs of the times are to be found not in the quality of the books that have been written, but in the way in which books have been introduced to the public. There have been two factors of supreme importance, both to the book-reading public and to writers.

(1) The first is the ever-increasing production of cheap reprints of the classical authors. Not only have the works of the best-known English novelists and translations of many French novels been issued in editions of ten, twenty, or even fifty thousand copies each, but also books of poetry, history, criticism, and philosophy. The literature of the world has been thrown broadcast in a cheap, agreeable form before a public which has responded with unexpected eagerness. This movement has had two results, one obvious, the other conjectural. It is obvious

that the purchase of cheap classics by readers has been temporarily harmful to the lending libraries. Living authors with their new books have had to face a serious competition, and publishers have feared the risk of issuing works by little known writers. But, on the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the vastly increased reading of the classics must have been producing a more fastidious taste which in the long run will be on the side of the better-class authors of to-day.

(2) A disturbing new condition has been introduced into the book trade, one which followed naturally from the dissemination of cheap reprints. The publishers of new literature have sought to hold their own by issuing recent books at greatly reduced prices. For instance, there have been works by living writers issued in large editions at 7d. each, and entirely new novels issued at 3s. (instead of 6s.), and in a few cases even at 1s. This movement, if it succeeds, is likely to prove anything but an unmixed blessing. It means that no author can get his book published under these conditions unless his name is popular enough to attract a very large public. Now who are the authors who can secure a very large public? Not by any means the best writers, not those who are richest in creative ideas, or who have a significant point of view to express; but those who are shameless or simple enough to pour all their vigour into expressing the sentimentalism or the mock violence or the craziness fashionable in the largest and most stupid of reading circles. These are the writers likely enough to benefit by the cheapening of books. The more serious contemporary author seldom has a sufficient following to ensure the circulation of a large edition of his works.

It may, indeed, happen that serious authors of the standing of Mr. H. G. Wells or Mr. Conrad or Mr. Galsworthy might be able to endure the test of a large circulation. But this test necessarily handicaps the new man of talent who has his reputation yet to make. Publishers will be more than ever afraid of new writers, and, most of all, they will fear the new genius. It seems as if each year added to the handicap of the young writer who regards art as a serious matter. The latest development in publishing threatens him with yet more hostile conditions.

During the year there has been perhaps a more than usual activity in certain branches of quasi-philosophical research. In *psychical enquiry* Sir Oliver Lodge has expressed on the scientific side the converse of that which Father Benson has expressed on the imaginative side. Prof. William James has made another striking contribution to his study of philosophy as an issue of practical life, and it is significant that at the same time the unphilosophical philosophy of Nietzsche has not only

been translated into English, but popularised in the works of English authors, who cannot be expected to have understood him. The *Catholic Modernist movement in theology* has received brilliant exposition in the works of Father Tyrrell and Mr. Lilley. And the German philosopher, Eucken, has been translated into English.

It remains to be said that few of the most conspicuous authors have done much to add to their reputation. Mr. Wells, indeed surpassed himself in "Tono-Bungay." Mr. De Morgan, who protests that he is no more than 70 years of age, has now, in his abundant Mid-Victorian manner, written the best of his novels, and Mr. Galsworthy has shown himself no less brilliant as a dramatist than as a novelist. Mr. Thomas Hardy's poems are good enough to prove that if he had not made fiction his life-work he might have proved to be a great poet. One new poet stands to the credit of this year, Mr. Ezra Pounds. In spite of his artificial archaisms, there is a quality of confidence and exaltation in his ideas, added to a striking originality in his vigorous rhythms, which will make it a matter of great interest to watch his promising future.

ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING IN 1909.

LIGHTING.

In considering developments of electricity during 1909 the first place must undoubtedly be given to the *metallic filament lamp*. The wide and very rapid adoption of this lamp by the public—the marked improvement in construction in conjunction with the rapid fall in price, and the far-reaching effects on the electrical industry are almost unique. This lamp is now supplied for 25 and 50 volts, and 10, 12, 16, and 25 candle-power, which allows of great economies in private-house lighting as much as 70 per cent. saving in current being possible. A life of 2,000 hours for each lamp is easily obtainable. They are also made with candle-powers up to 450, and in many places are displacing enclosed arc lamps.

TRACTION.

In the traction branch of electricity one of the most interesting features during the year was the official statement of the results of the working of the electrified Liverpool and Southport railway. This gives the first authentic figures of the working of an electrified main line railway in Great Britain. The results seem to show that the suburban railways of London and other large cities could be electrified with advantage to the public and the railway companies.

Great interest has been evinced during the year in the *single-phase overhead system*. The Heysham line of the Midland railway, which has this system at 6,500 volts pressure, continues

to operate successfully. Some very interesting results of the operating were published in November. These were surprising as showing that the supposed defects of single-phase equipments were not found in practice—the watt-hours economy and the accelerating capacity being quite satisfactory. The completion of the Brighton company's line from Victoria to London Bridge, via Brixton, on this system is noteworthy as being much the most extensive and complicated high-tension single-phase scheme in this country. The line voltage is 6,700 volts, and this is transformed down on each train to 750 volts, which is the motor voltage.

Trouble was experienced with the overhead conductor wire on single-phase system of the New York, New-haven, and Hartford lines. Opinion is divided as to the relative merits of this system, and the third-rail direct-current system. The investigation of Mr. Merz for the Melbourne railway system, showed that the economy of first cost and of operation of the single-phase overhead system had not been proved for such a service.

SMELTING BY WATER-POWER.

The production of iron in the electric furnace has continued to attract much attention. It is easy to appreciate the especial importance of this development, in the production direct from the ore in such countries as Sweden and Canada where there is iron ore and a good supply of water power but restricted coal supply. Some interesting figures are available for a plant being constructed near Gothenburg, in Sweden. There will be three electric furnaces of 2,500 h.p., each producing 7,500 tons of metal per year per furnace. The estimated first cost of each furnace is £2,750. Electric power will be purchased at 30s. 8d. per horse-power per year, and coke for reduction at 23s. 4d. per ton. It is estimated that pig iron can be produced for 56s. 8d. per ton.

At the beginning of the year some very instructive results were obtained from the electric shaft furnace at Domnarfret, in Sweden; the pressure varied between 40 and 50 volts, and the power was 450 kw.* The ore was magnetite from Crangseberg. The consumption of coke was about 750 lbs. per ton of pig iron. The general result was that the cost of production of pig iron per short ton was—in charcoal-blast furnace, £2. 2s. 1d., and in the electric-shaft furnace £1. 15s. 8d., showing a saving under the conditions there existing of 6s. 5d. per ton.

There have been several new furnaces in France—a Girod furnace with water power at Ugines—a 5-ton Heroult furnace also with water-power at Sant-du-Tarn, and a new design of furnace at Unlux with two pairs of electrodes in a circular receptacle.

The present position seems to be that

for making special steel in comparatively small quantities the electric furnace is a commercial success, but for making steel of ordinary quality the electric method, even where cheap water-power is available, is too expensive as at present applied.

The application of the electric drive to rolling mills has continued to extend. There are now 13 steelworks having electrically-driven reversing rolling mills, and five have the conversion of their plant under consideration. In America and Germany electric power has been applied to much heavier rolling than in this country. Where blast furnace or other waste gas is available for use there is no question of the greater economy of the electric drive.

ELECTRICAL TRANSMISSION.

Further advances have been made during the year in electrical transmission, the tendency being to progress further in the direction of high voltages. In the Grand Rapids Muskegon Power Company, of America, energy is obtained by a hydro-electric installation on the Muskegon River, and transmitted 40 miles at a pressure of 110,000 volts. This is the highest voltage yet brought into practical use for transmission. That this is almost the limit with present devices, is shown by the fact that when the transmission line voltage is increased by 10 per cent. the line loss due to "corona" discharges is increased by almost 100 per cent.

IN MINING ENGINEERING.

During the year there has been a distinct setback to the use of electricity in collieries owing mainly to one or two explosions which, rightly or wrongly, have been attributed to defective electrical apparatus. In some cases the electrical power has actually been removed in favour of compressed air. The Miners' Federation seriously discussed a resolution calling for the immediate removal of all electrical apparatus from dusty mines. This was ultimately withdrawn owing to the appointment by the House of Commons of a select committee to consider the matter.

Electrical transmission for the propulsion of large ships has latterly been discussed by several of the technical societies. This method seems to present the only suitable means of applying the internal-combustion engine to vessels requiring a large horse-power. The chief objection is the greater space required.

Very important new regulations regarding the use of electricity have been published during the year. The Board of Trade issued revised regulations relating to the supply of electricity. The Home Office also issued very comprehensive new rules for the use of electricity in factories and mines. The draft of the Home Office rules aroused very strong opposition when first issued. Mr. James Swinburne was

* 1 Kilowatt=1.34 horse-power.

appointed by the Home Office to hold an inquiry, which resulted in the extensive alteration of the rules for final adoption.

The Electric Lighting Acts (Amendment) Bill 1909, emerged from both Houses considerably altered. Probably the most important clause in this Bill is that enabling the Board of Trade to grant provisional orders for supplies in bulk without its being necessary to go to the great cost of getting a Private Bill.

THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.

Many as the attempts at an international language have been in the last fifty years, numbering more than eighty in all, they can be grouped under three heads: The arbitrary, based on theories of what should be; the international, based on the greatest attainable degree of internationality; and the mixed, based partly on theories and partly on usage. Thus, to give one example only, the word "elephant" might, in an arbitrary or philosophical language, be *da, bo, ge, mi, fu*, or any possible combination of vowels and consonants. In a mixed language, it might be *nefan, nelfan, lefan, fan, lef, elf*, or any such group. In an *a posteriori* or international language it can only be *elefant*, with or without a grammatical termination, because this form is common to all European languages.

It was not until VOLAPUK leapt into popularity in the early eighties that the question assumed a practical aspect. Volapük was the work of a Swiss priest, Mgr. Schleyer, who is still alive. It was first published in 1880, and in a brief eight years attained an enormous popularity, the devotees of the system numbering more than one million, and official support being given to it everywhere. Its grammar was entirely artificial. In its vocabulary, nominally Anglo-German, every root was so distorted as to become unrecognisable, to make it fit in with cast-iron rules. The last Volapük Congress appointed an Academy to revise the grammar of the language; its labours have resulted in a totally different scheme, Idiom Neutral (see below).

While Volapük was at its height, in 1887, a Polish oculist, Dr. Zamenhof, brought out under the pseudonym of "Doktoro Esperanto" his scheme of Lingvo Internacia, now known as ESPERANTO. It made very slow progress until the Marquis de Beaufront founded, in 1898, the French Esperantist Society; it is now being studied all over the world, more than a thousand societies being devoted to its propaganda, and the number of its adepts being variously estimated in six or seven figures, though the official year book only musters some 30,000 names.

The success of Esperanto was based on the principle of internationality,

implicitly recognised in the choice of most of its elements.

In 1909 the fifth annual Esperantist Congress was held at Barcelona, under Royal patronage, and was attended by 1,500 people. The headquarters of the Esperantist organisation in this country are at 133, High Holborn, London, W.C. (British Esperanto Association, secretary H. Clegg.)

IDIOM NEUTRAL, published in 1902 by the Akademio Internasional de Linguo Universal (the transformed Volapük Academy), was the first consciously to apply throughout the principle of maximum internationality. The result was a sort of simplified Latin, very easy to read for every educated European, though far from being so regular and therefore so easy to speak as Esperanto or Ido. Most of its authors and supporters have, in the last twelve months, passed over to Ido (see below). The new president of the Akademio is Prof. Peano, via Barbaroux, Turin, Italy.

IDO, the work of the ex-Esperantist pioneer, Marquis de Beaufront, was adopted in proof in October, 1907, by the Committee of the "Delegation for the Adoption of an Auxiliary language," representing 300 societies and 1,250 University Professors and members of Academies. It was published in the summer of 1908, and has since made very rapid progress. It has now been translated into eleven languages, and it is propagated by over 100 societies.

Its chief original principle is complete reversibility, i.e., the power of passing from one word of a family to another. Thus, if "brosar, to brush" gives "broso, a brushing" (the act) and "brosilo, a brush" (instrument), we know that any verb of action, like "fotografar, to photograph," will similarly give a noun of action "fotografo, photography," and an instrument "fotografilo, a camera." This makes the language extremely regular and easy to use. It is further different from Esperanto in its alphabet, which, while phonetic, excludes accented letters, parts of its grammar (suppression of general accusative case and plural adjectives), and its vocabulary, which has been made more international and fuller. The Ido Academy, elected in 1909 by the members of the Ido Union (whose head-quarters are at Geneva), watches the progress of the language as such, while the Committee, including many eminent men, is in charge of the propaganda. The London head-quarters are at 115, Riverview Gardens, Barnes, S.W. (London Ido Club, Hon. Sec. H. Croxford). Ido books are published by Mr. Guilbert Pitman, 85, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

An exhaustive analysis of all past and present International Language schemes will be found in *Histoire de la Langue Universelle*, by Professors Couturat and Leau, Paris, Hachette, 1907, 10 francs; with its supplement *Les*

Nouvelles Langues Internationales, 2s. (Guilbert Pitman, London). All new schemes are reviewed in "Progreso," a monthly magazine, 4s. yearly (Guilbert Pitman).

RADIUM.

In January it was announced that a British Radium Institute was to be founded, at the suggestion of King Edward VII. The necessary funds were provided by Sir Ernest Cassel and Lord Iveagh, and a site was procured in Riding House Street, Portland Place, London. The Institute, which has for its chairman Sir Frederick Trèves, will be carried on on the lines of the Radium Institute in Paris, and will exclude treatment by Röntgen rays, Finson light, &c., which can be had elsewhere. The Institute hoped to secure five grams of radium, which, at the Paris market price, would mean an outlay of £30,000.

In the autumn of 1909 the first radium factory was established at Limehouse. The raw material, pitch-blende, is to be obtained chiefly from the Trenarth Mine, Cornwall, and the works are under the direction of Sir William Ramsay.

CANCER IN 1909.

The death rate from cancer, which stood in 1871-5 at 445·6, had risen in 1901-5 to 864 per million persons living. If the figures are taken for persons over 35 the figures are much more serious, being put by one authority at 1 in 7 among women and 1 in 11 among men. Of the many alleged causes for the spread of the disease, some have been disposed of by the investigations carried out under the direction of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund. That any particular climate or soil is responsible is discredited by the fact that aborigines throughout the British Empire are liable; its association with any particular diet is negatived by its presence among the various castes of India, and among the rice- and fish-eating Japanese, &c. But no research has hitherto satisfactorily established the means of prevention of a disease which claims annually 60,000 victims in England and Wales alone. A step forward was taken in 1909 in the opportunities for the study of the disease when the £250,000 left by Mr. Harry Barnato for the foundation of a hospital or kindred charity was placed by the trustees at the disposal of the Middlesex Hospital, which possesses a Cancer Investigation Department for bacteriological and histological research. The new charity is to be independent of the hospital, and on a separate site, though it will be under the same administration.

VIVISECTION.

The rapid and steady growth of the practice of vivisection during the past ten years is shown by the following statistics of the number of scientific

experiments in England and Scotland upon living animals, as reported by the Government Inspector:—

1890	8,469
1900	19,839
1901	11,645
1902	14,906
1903	19,084
1904	32,563
1905	37,935
1906	43,073
1907	73,374
1908	88,634

Experiments on living animals
in 10 years 343,522

The figures for 1909 will not be available until June, 1910.

Mr. G. D. Thane, Inspector for England and Scotland under the Cruelty to Animals Act, 1876, in his latest report to the Home Secretary states that the number of vivisectors licensed for the year 1908 was 453, of whom 126 performed no experiments. Following are some particulars of the experiments:—

Without anæsthetic (inoculations, &c.)	85,121
With anæsthetic	2,851
Cancer experiments	40,870
Experiments on fish (sewage disposal)	12,500

247 operations were performed upon dogs and cats in a state of anæsthesia, and the animals allowed to regain consciousness. The number of other animals dealt with in the same way was 989.

In Ireland during 1908 390 experiments on living animals were made, of which 322 were without anæsthetics. In 21 cases the obligation to kill the animal before recovery from anæsthesia was dispensed with. The animals experimented upon were (according to the Inspector for Ireland, Mr. W. Thornley Stoker) as follows: 208 guinea-pigs, 113 mice, 38 rabbits, 15 dogs, 3 cats, 3 sheep, 3 cattle, 3 fowls, 2 horses, 1 goat, and 1 rat.

A Royal Commission was appointed in September, 1906, "to inquire into and report upon the practice of subjecting live animals to experiments, whether by vivisection or otherwise; and also to inquire into the law relating to the practice, and its administration, and to report whether any, and if so, what changes are desirable." The Commission concluded taking evidence in 1908, and its report is now awaited.

Strong protest was entered by the anti-vivisection societies against the inclusion of such well-known vivisectors as Sir John McFadyen and Dr. Gaskell in the Commission, while no scientist who is known as an opponent of vivisection was admitted. The British Union declined to give evidence under such conditions, but witnesses representing the National, and London and Provincial societies were called.

SECTION XV.—IMPERIAL AND FOREIGN.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE—AREA AND POPULATION.

	AREA (according to Latest Returns).	POPULATION.			Total	Population per sq. mile.	Total	1908 (Estimated)
		1881 (Census).	1891 (Census).	1901 (Census).				
	Sq. Miles.	Total	Total	Total	Males.	Females.		
United Kingdom	121,090	34,884,848	37,732,922	20,102,408	21,356,313	41,458,721	342.4	*45,004,384
Isle of Man and Channel Islands	303	141,260	147,842	70,576	79,704	150,370	496.3	—
India, British	1,097,821	199,068,961	221,195,436	117,774,412	114,081,121	231,855,533	213.3	—
" Native States	675,267	54,702,509	66,075,156	32,146,882	30,314,667	62,461,549	91.9	—
Aden (including Perim)	80	34,860	44,079	30,530	13,444	43,974	549.7	—
Socotra	1,382	—	12,000	—	—	12,000	8.6	—
SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES:—								
Australian Commonwealth	2,974,581	2,252,617	3,183,237	1,977,649	1,795,599	3,773,248	1.3	4,221,713
Dominion of New Zealand†	104,751	489,933	626,658	405,992	366,727	772,719	7.8	941,824
Dominion of Canada	3,745,574	4,324,810	4,833,239	2,751,645	2,619,570	5,371,315	1.4	6,153,789
Newfoundland	42,734	179,594	197,934	111,311	105,726	217,037	5.1	230,139
Labrador	120,000	2,773	4,106	—	—	3,947	4.024	—
Natal	35,371	402,687	543,913	450,437	474,681	925,118	32.6	1,164,285
Cape of Good Hope	276,995	720,984	1,527,224	1,218,940	1,190,864	\$2,400,804	88.7	2,507,500
Orange River Colony	50,392	—	—	210,085	177,220	\$387,315	87.7	447,088
Transvaal	111,196	—	—	702,569	567,382	\$1,269,951	\$11.4	1,222,005
OTHER BRITISH COLONIES & POSSESSIONS:—								
Swaziland	6,536	—	—	37,471	48,020	\$85,491	\$13.1	—
Basutoland	10,293	127,701	218,902	163,873	184,975	\$348,848	\$33.9	133,100
Bechuanaland Protectorate	275,000	—	190,000	59,574	61,202	\$120,776	\$0.4	—
Rhodesia, S., N.E., and N.W.	439,575	—	500,000	—	—	1,250,000	2.8	1,398,000
Nyasaland Protectorate	43,608	—	—	—	—	1,706,000	16.2	948,270
Uganda Protectorate	223,500	—	—	—	—	4,500,000	20.1	—
British East Africa Protectorate	175,588	—	—	—	—	2,960,000	16.9	4,000,000
Somaliland Protectorate	68,000	—	—	—	—	153,000	2.3	348,076
Strait Settlements.	1,600	423,384	512,342	379,151	193,098	572,249	383.8	600,127
Labuan	5,883	5,853	5,853	5,017	3,394	8,411	278.5	8,286
Ceylon	25,332	2,758,738	3,007,789	1,896,212	1,669,742	3,565,954	140.8	3,983,064
Mauritius	705	359,874	370,588	198,552	171,471	371,023	526.3	376,635
Dependencies of Mauritius	130	2,771	3,224	2,762	2,097	4,859	37.4	5,764
Seychelles	156	14,191	16,440	9,805	9,432	19,237	123.3	21,502
Hong Kong	48.5	160,402	221,441	219,460	77,752	297,212	9,587.5	334,372
New Territory	341	—	—	57,344	44,910	102,254	300.0	102,894
Wel-hai-Wei	285	—	—	68,586	62,206	130,792	458.9	—
Territory of Papua	90,540	—	350,000	—	—	350,000	3.9	350,000
Fiji	7,740	127,095	121,180	66,874	53,250	120,124	15.5	128,404
Falkland Islands.	6,500	1,553	1,789	1,203	840	2,043	0.3	2,266
St. Helena	47	4,511	3,877	1,534	1,803	3,342	71.4	3,485
Ascension	34	—	205	360	50	410	12.0	—
WEST AFRICA:—								
Nigeria	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Southern, Protectorate of	77,260	75,270	85,607	—	—	2,055,546	57.5	6,000,000
Gold Coast	119,280	147,382	1,473,882	660,263	826,170	1,388,847	12.5	1,696,965
Sierra Leone	30,000	60,546	74,885	—	—	1,486,433	34.2	1,208,100
Gambia	3,619	14,150	14,296	43,885	46,469	1,027,000	24.9	154,330
Total West Africa	485,839	549,966	1,648,590	—	—	16,209,880	33.4	18,017,221
Bermuda	19	13,948	15,013	8,006	8,929	17,535	922.9	19,229
British Honduras	7,562	27,452	31,471	19,140	18,339	37,479	5.0	42,406
British Guiana	90,277	252,186	270,731	156,697	137,261	293,958	3.3	297,713
WEST INDIA ISLANDS:—								
Bahamas	4,404	43,521	47,565	25,000	23,735	53,735	12.2	—
Turks and Caicos Islands	169	4,732	4,744	2,408	2,879	5,287	31.3	—
Jamaica	4,207	580,804	639,491	366,058	389,672	755,730	179.6	833,721
Windward Islands:—								
St. Lucia	233	38,551	42,220	23,821	26,062	49,883	214.1	54,599
St. Vincent	140	40,548	41,054	—	—	47,548	339.6	51,779
Barbados	166	171,860	182,867	88,200	107,388	195,508	1,178.2	194,518
Grenada	133	42,403	53,209	29,986	33,452	63,438	477.0	71,174
Leeward Islands:—								
Virgin Islands	58	5,257	4,639	2,254	2,654	4,908	84.6	—
St. Christopher	65	29,137	30,876	12,977	16,805	29,782	458.2	92
Nevis	50	11,864	13,087	5,605	7,169	12,774	255.5	13,867
Anguilla	35	13,219	3,699	1,687	2,203	3,890	111.1	4,537
Antigua	170	34,964	36,699	15,861	19,092	34,953	205.6	—
Montserrat	324	10,083	11,882	5,668	6,637	12,335	379.5	13,804
Dominica	291	28,211	26,841	12,870	16,024	28,894	99.3	32,488
Trinidad	1,754	153,128	200,023	136,820	119,328	255,148	145.5	312,106
Tobago	114	18,051	18,353	8,671	10,080	18,751	164.5	22,437
Total West India Islands	12,021½	1,216,363	1,357,254	—	—	1,572,644	130.8	—
Gibraltar	1½	18,381	19,100	9,403	10,952	20,355	10,856.0	18,644
Malta	117	149,782	165,037	91,994	92,748	184,742	1,579.0	209,974
Cyprus	3,584	185,630	209,236	121,066	115,956	237,022	66.1	256,433
Total British Empire:—								
United Kingdom	121,000	34,885,000	37,733,000	20,103,000	21,356,000	41,459,000	342.4	—
British India (including Native States)	1,773,000	253,861,000	287,271,000	149,921,000	144,396,000	294,317,000	166.6	—
Other Colonies and Possessions	9,438,000	14,650,000	20,360,000	—	—	49,581,000	5.3	—
TOTAL BRITISH EMPIRE (approximate) ...	11,332,000	303,696,000	345,364,000	—	—	385,357,000	34.0	—

• Estimated population in the middle of 1909.
+ The population of Australia given here does not include the Aborigines, who numbered 148,000 in 1901.
† The population of New Zealand given here does not include the Maories, who numbered 47,731 in 1906.
‡ Census of 1901. No Census was taken in 1901 owing to the war.
§ The total population of the Empire at the present time is estimated at 295 millions.

UNITED SOUTH AFRICA.

BY FRANK R. CANA.

The South Africa Act, 1909, which received the royal assent on September 20th, places the self-governing dominions of the king (in the words of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Crewe) in something like their final form, enabling South Africa to take its place in the empire beside the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Dominion of New Zealand. The establishment of the Union, based on the reconciliation of the Dutch and British in South Africa, was hastened by the courage and wisdom of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in granting self-government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in 1906-7. The Botha ministry quickly grasped the necessity for cordial co-operation between British and Dutch if the country as a whole were to prosper. This view was shared by statesmen of all parties in Cape Colony, and Natal and the Orange River Colony fell into line. The result was the meeting of a National Convention in 1908-9, which decided upon unification. A Draft Act setting forth the terms of the proposed union received the assent of the colonial legislatures, and subsequently was embodied in an Imperial Act.

The date fixed for the establishment of the Union is May 31st, 1910.

The Act does not apply to the native territories, i.e., Basutoland, Swaziland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. These remain under the direct control of the Imperial Government, but guarantees have been taken to safeguard native rights should these territories ultimately be handed over to the Union. The alienation of native lands is absolutely forbidden. Neither does the Act apply to Rhodesia, though its eventual inclusion in the Union is provided for. The area of British South Africa which remains outside the Union is 681,404 square miles, its white population 17,683, its native population 2,123,472.

The Union consists of the four self-governing colonies—the Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange River Colony. By the Act these colonies cease to exist: they become simply provinces of the Union with strictly local and delegated powers. Their names are altered, the word "colony" being dropped and "province" substituted. In the case of the Orange River Colony, the old name (on the proposal of Dr. Jameson) was restored; it becomes the Orange Free State Province. Instead of the abolished colonial legislatures there is established a Union Parliament (which will meet at Capetown). Though ultimately subject to the Parliament of Great Britain the Union Parliament is a sovereign body, and has power to alter the constitution. It consists of two chambers, a House of Assembly and a Senate.

For the House of Assembly the basis of representation is the number of adult European males. The Assembly will consist of 121 members, 51 from the Cape Province, 17 each from Natal and Orange Free State, and 36 from the Transvaal. As far as possible each constituency is to contain the same number of voters, and provision is made for automatic redistribution of electoral areas, but a proposal to introduce proportional representation was defeated. There must be a general election every five years. In the Senate each of the four provinces is represented by eight senators. In addition eight senators are nominated by the ministry; of these four have to be chosen specially to protect the native interests.

The qualifications for the vote are the same as those existing before the establishment of the Union, that is in the Transvaal and Orange Free State the natives are absolutely, and in Natal practically, excluded from the franchise, while in the Cape province the Kaffirs will enjoy the suffrage. But no one not of European descent will be eligible for election to either House of Parliament. If in both Houses of Parliament there be a two-thirds majority in favour of that course the franchise may even be taken away from the Cape Kaffirs. That is a very unlikely contingency.

There are some sensible provisions affecting both Houses. Ministers may sit and speak in either House, but can vote only in the House of which they are members. Re-election is not necessary on the acceptance of office. Members of Parliament are paid £400 a year, with a deduction of £3 for every day's absence during the session. All money Bills must originate in the Assembly, and the Senate has no power of amendment. If a money Bill be rejected by the Senate, a joint sitting of both Houses may be held when members shall vote upon the measure as one body. Thus, the absolute power of the purse is secured to the popular chamber. A non-financial Bill must have been twice rejected by the Senate before a joint meeting of both Houses be held to decide its fate.

In each province a council, of not fewer than 25 members, will be established having powers and duties analogous to English county councils. They are guaranteed for five years the control of elementary education. The franchise qualifications are the same as for the Parliament, and in Cape Colony Kaffirs will be eligible for seats on the council. The councils will last for a statutory period of three years. One of their duties is the election of Senators to Parliament.

At the head of the executive is a governor general, who will be paid £10,000 a year. The offices of governor of the Cape, of Natal, &c., are abolished. Provincial Administrators (local men) taking their places. A Supreme Court

of Judicature for the Union is established. The language difficulty is settled by enacting that the Dutch and English tongues shall be on a footing of perfect equality. Pretoria is the administrative capital.

The area of British South Africa within the Union is 473,954 square miles, its white population 1,116,806, its native population 4,059,018. It has a National Debt of £110,000,000, and starts with a revenue of some £16,500,000 per annum. For the last four years exports and imports have averaged over £72,000,000 a year.

INDIAN REFORM.

On November 2nd, 1908, a Royal Message to the princes and people of India signalled the 60th anniversary of the transfer of the government from the East India Company to the Crown. The message announced an early extension of representative institutions, a promise of reform which was further substantiated on December 17th, when Lord Morley made a statement of the reforms in the government of India to be embodied in a Government Bill in the Session of 1909. Lord Morley put aside as unworthy any suggestion that the unrest in India should affect in any way the date of the reform scheme which had been occupying the attention of the Government of India for the last two years. The real courage, he pointed out, lay not in refusing the just aspirations of the Indian people for a share in the government, but in persevering in the face of violence and crime on the lines of advance laid down by the preparatory Commission. On the other hand Lord Morley gave his entire support to the Indian Government in the extraordinary measures adopted for the repression of crime; he declined to interfere in the matter of the deportations under the Bengal regulations of 1818, or with the summary procedure set up to deal with sedition.

The Indian Councils Bill, in which the proposals for the amendment of the Indian Council Acts of 1861 and 1892 took shape, was introduced by Lord Morley in the House of Lords on February 17th, and received the Royal Assent on May 25th. As finally passed it provided for the enlargement of the imperial and provincial legislatures, for the representation of different classes of the community, partly by nomination and partly by direct election, and for greater freedom of discussion, with the right of asking supplementary questions.

The Executive Councils which assist the governors in Madras and Bombay are also increased in number from two to four; and power is given to constitute a similar body in Bengal. But no such Council can be set up in any of the other provinces if the assent of either House of Parliament is withheld.

The final details of the new charter were published at Calcutta in Novem-

ber in a Gazette of 450 pages. The Indian Charter promulgated in this document marks the most important legislative change in Indian government since 1858. The actual changes, far-reaching as they are, are perhaps most noteworthy as an indication of the desire to break down the barriers of race and prejudice existing between the rulers and the governed. Lord Morley's appointment of Mr. S. P. Sinha, a distinguished Hindu barrister, to be law member of the Viceroy's Executive Council had already proved that race was no bar to the attainment of the highest positions in the Civil Service.

The Indian Councils Act gives the educated classes a fair chance of bringing their aspirations and their grievances to the notice of the Government. It makes no attempt to set up in India a representative system as understood in this country; it was not adopted with any idea of leading to parliamentary institutions; and the supreme power remains with the Crown. Within these limitations it is a sincere attempt to represent, under difficulties almost unparalleled, the many peoples and the many conflicting interests over which the Viceroy presides.

The New Act provides for an extension of each council in point of numbers, as well as in representative character. The total maximum strength of the Legislative Councils was 126; in future it will be 370. Under the old régime only 39 could be regarded as elected members in any sense; under the New Act 135 members will sit by right of election. The Imperial Council will number 68, the Provincial Councils count 51 members in the Bengal Council, Madras and Bombay 48 each, the United Provinces 49, Eastern Bengal and Assam 43, the Punjab 27, Burma 18. On the Imperial Council the Government retains an official majority of three; in the Provincial Councils there is a non-official majority, which, however, includes representatives of Anglo-Indian commercial houses, who are not likely to coalesce with the native element.

Members may ask supplementary questions, that is, they are free to heckle the Government; they will have opportunity to bring forward definite resolutions; and they will be invited to take an active part in shaping financial measures. All members must take the oath of allegiance to the crown, and the Government retains the right to exclude candidates whose candidature would, in their opinion, be a public danger. Lord Morley declined to entertain the suggestion that deportation under the old Bengal regulations should disqualify any candidate. The system by which the Mohammedan minority obtained adequate—in some opinions, a more than adequate—and separate representation is a complicated one, and very different from the system originally proposed by Lord Morley.

The new councils will meet for the first time in January, 1910.

A quarter of a century ago the foundations of local self-government were laid by Lord Ripon. But, as Lord Morley points out in his dispatch, the principles he sought to establish have been seriously perverted, and the work of reconstruction will be incomplete until the people are entrusted with the effective management of their own affairs in village, town, and district. It has been made clear that this essential feature of any constitutional readjustment will be taken in hand without delay, in connection with the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, which reported in 1908.

On November 29th, news came from Calcutta that Sir E. Baker, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, had relieved Mr. Surendranath Banerjee from his disqualification under the regulations in regard to the new council. It is hoped that this wise act will check the tendency to boycott the new council in Bengal because of the exclusion of leading moderates under the present rules.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Some twenty-five years ago a movement took definite shape among the educated classes of India of all races, religions, and provinces, to meet together and discuss their political wants. Hitherto the people of India had been widely separated from one another by differences of language, creed, and caste; and these differences had been intensified by distance. It was the British Government that for the first time made it possible for them to unite in a common object. The original stimulus came from the education in English, which is given in all colleges and higher schools, and in many of the common schools; but the scheme could never have been realised if it had not been for the development of the railway system. The first Indian National Congress was held at Bombay, in December, 1885; the President being Mr. W. O. Bonnerjee, a Bengal Brahmin. The 24th Congress was held at Madras in December, 1908, under the presidency of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, O.I.E., a member of the Supreme Legislative Council. The 25th Session is to be held at Lahore at the end of December, 1909, and Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, K.O.I.E., has been nominated for the presidency. The Chairman of the British Committee is Sir William Wedderburn, Bart. A weekly journal named "India" is published at 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W., the address of the British Committee.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

BY H. SACHER.

A REVIEW OF 1909.

Two Mohammedan lands made the year's politics of Europe and the Middle East. The Turkish revolution created or strengthened parallel movements in Persia, Egypt, and, more recently, in Greece; while it provided the staple fare of European diplomacy. Morocco has shaken the domestic government of Spain, and provided a bone of dispute between France, Germany, and Spain. These two countries are therefore a key to much of the year's history, and have a first claim to attention.

TURKEY.

The Turkish Parliament opened on 17th December, 1908, and from the first the situation was full of anxiety for the reformers. The Committee of Union and Progress had an overwhelming majority in the Chamber. But it had no confidence in the ministry; it suspected the Sultan; the garrison of Yildiz and Constantinople, a kind of Pretorian guard, was undependable; and the parties opposed to the Committee, though weak in Parliament, were strong and clamorous in the Press. The situation was further complicated by the attitude of the representatives of the Foreign Powers, in particular of the British Ambassador. The habit of direct interference in the internal affairs of Turkey was ingrained in the foreign ambassadors, and they looked upon the revolution as only a shifting of influence. They did not appreciate the fact that the Young Turks, while anxious to be on good terms with the Powers, were determined to run their country themselves. The British Ambassador became an active partisan of Kiamil, and the "Times" took the same line. Kiamil professed to be an ardent servant of England; in the eyes of the Young Turks he was a minister grown very old in the service of absolutism, and the father of Said Pasha, a creature with the most unsavoury of reputations. It was solely due to English pressure that the Chamber was induced to give a vote of confidence to Kiamil on 13th January.

A month later, however, Kiamil was dismissed by the Chamber.

Without consulting his colleagues, he had turned out of office the Ministers of

War and Marine, although they were members of the Committee and supported by the overwhelming majority of the Chamber. The choice of ministries was significant; they were precisely the offices the appointment to which, with the consequent control of the armed forces, the Sultan had desired to retain in his own hands. Kiamil's action, of course, implied a denial of the responsibility of the Government to Parliament. Hilmi Pasha, who had been Inspector General of Macedonia after the Mürzsteg reforms, became Grand Vizier, with a mixed Cabinet, consisting partly of old officials and partly of adherents of the Committee. The new ministry laid its programme before the Chamber on February 16th, and accepted the doctrine of ministerial responsibility to Parliament in the fullest sense.

The fall of Kiamil was the signal for a deplorable campaign against the Committee of Union and Progress in the British Press, although the Committee hastened to express most emphatically the warmth of its sentiments towards this country. English influence was thrown on the side of the opposition party—the Liberal Union.

The Liberal Union had been founded by Prince Sabah-ed-Din to advocate a policy of autonomy and liberal concessions to the nationalities, as against the centralisation and the compulsory uniformity which were more in favour with the Committee; but when the leadership of the Liberals passed to the Albanian Ismail Kemal Bey the party lost the purity of its motives, and there can be no doubt that it collaborated with the reactionaries in bringing about the counter-revolution of April. There were many restless elements: the garrison at Yildiz embittered by the loss of its privileges; the fanatical clericals; the Greek and other nationalities uneasy as to their privileges; the displaced officials; the old officers risen from the ranks; and the soldiers irritated by the preference given to college-trained officers. The Committee, too, had made mistakes, and all these factors were being organised nominally by the Mohammedan Union, and actually by the Sultan.

On the 6th March the Yildiz troops, who had mutinied in the previous November, made a significant demonstration before the Sultan. On the 31st March they broke out into open mutiny, which was suppressed with some bloodshed. The Cabinet resolved to replace the Pretorian Guard with reliable troops, but, before this could be done, on 13th April the counter-revolution broke out. Most of the garrison of Constantinople surrounded the Parliament House at dawn, and numerous Young Turk military and naval officers, and the Minister of Justice and some deputies were murdered; but most of the Committee leaders escaped. Simultaneously with the rising at Constantinople began a ghastly

series of Armenian massacres in the province of Adana. The Hilmi Cabinet at once resigned, and the Sultan the following day issued a pardon to the soldiers and appointed Tewfik Pasha Grand Vizier.

The reply of the Young Turks was swift and decisive. The third Army Corps and the second at once arranged an immediate advance on Constantinople. Volunteers were raised, and on the night of the 15th seven battalions and a number of volunteers left Salonika, and the next morning occupied the line of fortifications 30 miles outside the capital. The next few days were spent by the army leaders in completing the investment of Constantinople, and by the Sultan and the Cabinet in trying to effect an agreement. On April 24th the investing army occupied Constantinople after severe fighting. Martial law was at once proclaimed. On the 27th April the National Assembly deposed Abdul Hamid, and his younger brother succeeded him as Mohammed V. Abdul was imprisoned at Salonika, and the new Sultan at once took the oath to the Constitution.

Since the defeat of the counter-revolution the work of reconstruction has gone steadily forward, though martial law still prevails in the capital. Hilmi remains Grand Vizier, but young and vigorous reformers like Talaat Bey and Djavid Bey hold the most important posts. Parliament has legislated much, if not always wisely or liberally; the finances have been put in some degree of order; several departments have been reorganised; the development of the country's natural resources has been taken in hand; the army and the navy have been improved; Macedonia has kept the peace; the non-Christian races have been admitted to the army. The Government has had the inevitable difficulties with the nationalities. There has been trouble in Albania, the chronic rebellion in the Yemen has not been exorcised, and the Armenians and the Greeks fear for their privileges. The Young Turks are determined not to permit the patriarchs to continue an *imperium in imperio*; but they have outlined a scheme of autonomy for the Yemen and made concessions to the Nationalities, so that there is good reason to believe that their original attitude has lost some of its rigidity.

PERSIA.

The triumph of the Young Turks over the Sultan inspired the Persian Nationalists to equally decisive action against the Shah. On 6th January the Bakhtiari chief Samsem seized Ispahan in the name of the Constitution. The Shah paid no attention, but pushed forward his preparations against Tabriz, the headquarters of the Nationalist movement, which was completely invested on 12th February. Simultaneously, a revolution at Resht, led by the Sipahsalar, gave that city over to the Nationalists.

On 21st March the Sardar Asad, brother of Samsem, reached Persia, and took charge of the Bakhtiari movement. Neither the Shah nor the two Powers appreciated the importance of the movements at Resht and Ispahan. The Shah still believed that if he captured Tabriz Nationalism would be crushed; Russia was waiting for an excuse for intervention; England following a policy of drift. On 11th April the Foreign Office committed the grave blunder of landing sailors at Bushire. There was some disorder, but nothing to justify so serious a step. The English precedent was quickly seized upon by the Russian Government. By the middle of April food was very scarce at Tabriz, and it was feared the foreign residents were in danger. The Russian Government induced the Shah to order a short armistice on the 20th April for the provisioning of the town, and this was indefinitely extended three days later. Nevertheless, a Russian force of several thousand men was sent, most of whom are still there.

The Nationalists saw that the Russian occupation of Tabriz threatened the integrity of Persia, and recent events in Turkey had shown how the Shah could be brought to his knees. The Sipahdar and the Sardar-Asad arranged a joint march on Teheran. The Sipahdar seized Kazvin on 5th May, a city 80 miles from Teheran. The Powers brought pressure to bear upon the Shah to promise the restoration of the Constitution in the hope of taking the wind out of the sails of the Nationalists, and efforts were made to dissuade the Nationalists from their enterprise. The Nationalists, however, had no faith in either the Shah or Russia, and their fears were confirmed by the offer of a loan to the Shah by Russia in violation of the Constitution. In June the Sardar-Asad united with the Sipahdar's force from Resht, and marched against the capital. The Russian Government, on the pretext that the lives of foreigners were unsafe, hurriedly rushed several thousand men to Kazvin, but the Nationalists, after some slight fighting, slipped past the Royalist forces, and on 13th July entered Teheran. The Shah took refuge in the Russian Legation, and on the 15th the National Assembly deposed him and appointed his infant son, Ahmed Mirza, Shah in his place. The Sipahdar was made Minister of War and the Sardar-Asad Minister of the Interior. In September the Sipahdar became Premier. After prolonged negotiations the ex-Shah was given a pension, and retired to the Crimea.

The new Government in Persia hastened to restore the Constitution and to arrange for the elections and the meeting of Parliament. It has done extremely well with very limited means. Its greatest handicap is the lack of money, and the Powers have not been helpful. The Russian army at Kazvin remains to dominate the Persian Parliament. There is another Russian army at Tabriz, and

a third is likely to be sent without excuse to make war on the Shaaheens, although the Persian Government has dispatched a well-equipped expedition of 4,000 men against them.

EGYPT.

The General Assembly was opened by the Khedive on February 2nd, and it at once petitioned for a Constitution. The same demand had been made by the Legislative Council in the previous December. The Premier, replying to the General Assembly, held out no hopes; but events in Turkey and Persia seem to have affected the point of view of the Administration, for in August the Minister of Justice declared that the British Government would probably grant some form of constitution in the course of the winter. In March the Press Law of 1881, enacted at the time of the occupation, and in abeyance since 1894, was revived. This law requires newspapers to register and to make a deposit, and gives the Government power to suppress a journal for offences against "order, religion, and morality." The revival of this law was the occasion for strong protests and numerous demonstrations. In September, the Nationalists held their Congress at Geneva, and it was remarkable for the wide publicity given to its proceedings by the British and Continental Press, and the presence of delegates from the Irish and Labour parties.

GREECE.

The revolution in Turkey reacted upon Greece in two ways. It stirred up in the Greek army the desire to emulate the Turkish army, and it provided the occasion for action by defeating Greek ambitions in Crete. The younger officers, anxious to reform the army and the corrupt administration, formed a military League directed against the politicians, and, to a certain extent, against the Royal Family, for the Crown Prince was the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and other Princes held military and naval posts. M. Ralli, the Premier, refused to accept the League's programme, which included a demand for the cashiering of the Princes and the placing of the army and navy departments under capable officers. On 29th August the army occupied a hill outside Athens. M. Ralli at once resigned, and M. Mavromichalis succeeded him pledged to carry out the officers' programme. The popularity of the movement was proved by the impressive demonstrations in every large city of the kingdom. The Greek Chamber met on 3rd October, and, under pressure, passed the League's measures without discussion. The naval officers, however, thought that their branch of the service was being neglected in favour of the army. Not satisfied with the attitude of the leaders of the Military League and the Ministry, Lieut. Tybaldos, on 29th October, seized the arsenal, and

with the torpedo flotilla, attacked the loyal section of the navy. The mutiny was easily suppressed and the ring-leaders captured, but the division persists between army and navy, and there is a suspicion that the movement is professional rather than national.

MOROCCO.

In January, Mulai Hafid was recognised by the Powers, which was a step in advance, but in the same month there was an ominous gathering of troops by the Roghi, the Pretender, who is generally understood to have been a French tool. From the Moroccan point of view an equally unpleasant fact was the conclusion in February of an agreement with regard to Morocco between France and Germany. The French Government now trusted to diplomacy and to internal troubles to make Mulai Hafid submissive. M. Regnault was sent on a special mission to Fez. In March the Shereef Kittani attempted a rising, but was captured and executed. In June the Hyaina tribe proclaimed the Roghi Sultan, and Mulai Hafid's brother, Mulai Kebir, revolted. The rebel army was almost at the gates of Fez; the Sultan's own counsellors were untrustworthy, and he had little money. Mulai, however, refused to bend, and in September he had the satisfaction of defeating and capturing the Roghi. Diplomacy having failed, and rebellion having proved a broken reed, the forward party in France began to urge once more an appeal to arms.

Meanwhile, to Mulai Hafid's troubles with France and with his own subjects was added a conflict with Spain. The Roghi had granted mining concessions, near Melilla, to Spanish and French financiers. The Riff tribes attacked a construction party building a railway from Melilla to the mines, killing four labourers. The Spanish Government at once began to pour troops into Melilla on a scale so large as to indicate serious ambitions. The early fighting resulted in grave Spanish defeats, the most heavy of which occurred on 27th July. Towards the end of September the Spaniards occupied Zeluan and Nador, but they had made no real impression on the Riffs.

SPAIN.

The purposeless Riff war in the interests of a few speculators led to very grave events in Spain. The embarkation of the troops was the signal for many riots, and the province of Catalonia was the scene of an armed rising. The rising, which broke out in Barcelona and elsewhere on 26th July, and lasted until 1st August, seems to have been quite spontaneous in origin. It began as a general strike and developed, without design, into barricades and the burning of convents and monasteries, but there was no killing. The rising was suppressed without much difficulty, and all Spain placed under martial law. Large numbers of prisoners were

lodged in the fortress of Montjuich, and the Government closed all the "modern schools," the only schools in Spain not under the control of the church. Francisco Ferrer, the founder of the modern schools, was himself arrested in September on the charge of having planned the whole trouble. The war was unsuccessful; the constitution suspended; reaction and repression the only ministerial policy. It was felt that the Premier, Senor Maura, and the Minister of the Interior, Senor Lacierva, were provoking a revolution and imperilling the dynasty. But the final crime of the ministry was the execution of Senor Ferrer. Senor Ferrer was condemned by a military tribunal after a sham trial, and hurriedly shot on the 13th October before any intervention could be attempted. The arrest of Senor Ferrer had called forth protests from the most eminent progressive writers and thinkers in Europe; his death was the occasion of popular demonstrations throughout Europe and America. The condemnation of the world and the fears of the King as to his own safety sealed the fate of Senor Maura. On the 21st October he was compelled to resign and give place to Senor Moret and a Liberal Government. The new Cabinet will end the Riff war, and it has already reversed Senor Maura's reactionary domestic policy.

FRANCE.

The event of the year in France was the unexpected fall of M. Clemenceau. The senatorial elections in January had gone in his favour, and although the bye-elections to the Chamber had been damaging to the Radicals, and he had been beaten in March by a postal strike, when the strike was resumed in May and June he easily got the better of the strikers. The report of the Parliamentary Commission on the neglect of the navy was the occasion of his defeat. M. Delcassé led the attack, and M. Clemenceau, riding for a fall, failed to secure a vote of confidence. His departure was no loss to French progressive politics, for he had failed to carry out the programme of his party, and had worked for a combination with the reactionary Republicans against the Socialists. M. Briand succeeded him as Premier, with two other ex-Socialists, MM. Viviani and Millerand, in his Cabinet. He pledged himself to carry through the social reform programme of the majority, and to govern in a spirit of conciliation; but the open declaration of war by the church upon the lay system of education forebodes a renewal of the conflict between State and Church.

GERMANY.

In Germany, the chief political event likewise was a change of Ministers. Defeated by Conservatives and Clericals on the finance reform question, Prince Bülow resigned in July. He was succeeded by Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg.

The country has shown its detestation of the Conservative-Clerical taxes by rallying to the Socialists, who have won striking victories in bye-elections to the Reichstag, and in the Landtag elections of Baden and Saxony. The strong movement, supported by the powerful Conservatives, in favour of restricting expenditure upon the navy is a hopeful sign, and should render easier the elimination of suspicion and jealousy from the relations between Germany and England.

RUSSIA.

In Russia there are no visible signs of improvement. The Duma has been barren; repression is as merciless as ever, and the reactionaries appear to have obtained the upper hand and to have M. Stolypin under their control. The attack upon the liberties of Finland has been renewed. In violation of the Finnish Constitution, large sums have been appropriated from the Finnish treasury as a contribution in lieu of military service, the Finnish Diet has been dissolved, and it seems to be intended to annex the Finnish province of Viborg, bordering upon St. Petersburg, to Russia.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

The quarrel of the nationalities crippled the efficiency of the Reichsrath. In Hungary, the Coalition Government, after an inglorious tenure of office, went finally to pieces, and the split in the Independence party, which constitutes the majority in Parliament, has prevented a solution of the Cabinet crisis.

SWEDEN.

Sweden has been the scene of the largest and best-conducted general strike on record. It began with a series of lock-outs affecting 80,000 men and part of a comprehensive attack on the right of combination. The trade unions replied in August by proclaiming a general strike. It embraced between 200,000 and 300,000 workers, a very considerable fraction of the industrial workers of Sweden. The men held out for weeks, and the strike has not yet formally ended.

UNITED STATES.

On March 4th President Taft took office, and summoned Congress in Special Session to fulfil the Republican pledge to revise the tariff. Congress revised the tariff upward instead of downward, a measure which has caused much dissatisfaction, especially in the Western States. Mr. Taft has resolved to play a more active part in foreign affairs, especially in the affairs of China. The U.S.A. bankers insisted on a share in the loan for the building of the Hankau-Canton railway, and Mr. Taft has protested against the agreement imposed by Japan upon China as a violation of the open door.

CHINA.

In January Yuan Shih-Kai, the most eminent of Chinese statesmen, was dismissed from office, but his fall has not

resulted in a reversion to reaction—the provincial assemblies, for instance, which are the first stage in the formation of a parliament, met in September—and he will probably soon return to power. China's chief difficulty was with Japan. A long series of questions remained ever from the Russo-Japanese war. Japan forced a partial settlement highly unfavourable to China, and probably in breach of the doctrine of the open door. The murder of Prince Ito at Harbin by a Korean in October was evidence of the bitterness provoked by the Japanese government of Korea.

THE YEAR'S DIPLOMACY.

The tortuous course of international policy during the year is to be explained by the development of the design of organising the European Powers into two hostile groups—the "Triple Entente" of England, France, and Russia, and the Triple Alliance. Every problem that arose was treated, not on its merits, but in the light of its possible bearing upon our relations with Russia and Germany. We assented to dangerous inroads by Russia upon Persian integrity. We permitted the Balkan crisis to suspend Europe during many weary months on the verge of war, and in the end swallowed every principle we professed to stand for; and we supported Japan in her bullying of China, though such action was likely to bring us into conflict with the United States.

In the Balkan crisis England professed to have two objects in view—the safeguarding of Turkish interests and the maintenance of the principle that international treaties could not be abrogated except by international agreement. The chief Turkish interest was to end her disputes with Russia and Bulgaria as soon as possible. After three months, largely through the intransigent attitude of Kiamil, who was entirely under the thumb of England, not a single step towards an agreement had been made, and all the parties most intimately concerned were embittered and preparing for war. On 10th January, Austria took the decisive step of offering £2,500,000 compensation to Turkey together with other concessions; it was not till the end of February, when Hilmi Pasha had replaced Kiamil that an agreement was reached. On the other hand, we helped to force upon Turkey and Bulgaria an arrangement which had the grave defect of strengthening Russia's hold upon Bulgaria, and possibly alienating Bulgaria from Turkey. On 19th February Russia recognised Bulgarian independence, and so threw over her zeal for the sanctity of treaties. England and the other Powers followed suit. After agreements had been made with Bulgaria and Austria, Serbia threatened Austria with war unless Serbia was given compensation. Russia, as the chief Slav Power, backed Serbia, although Russia was pledged, in a general way, to recognise the annexation of Bosnia. England, without a

policy of her own, supported Russia, and it required the decisive intervention of Germany to induce the Powers of the "Triple Entente" to bring Serbia to order, and themselves to recognise Austria's annexation of Bosnia. It was not until April, some seven months after the crisis began, that its main problems were disposed of, and even then Crete remained over to cause trouble. European diplomacy had been thoroughly discredited, and the tension between the two groups of Powers was serious. The one satisfactory feature in the prolonged wrangle was the persistent effort of France, after she had come to an agreement with Germany in connection with Morocco, to smooth out the tangle.

A characteristic feature of foreign policy during the year, indicating the frantic desire to consolidate alliances and understandings, was the numerous Royal visits. In June the Tsar met the Kaiser in the Gulf of Finland, and it was fairly apparent that Russia could not afford to quarrel with Germany. In August the Tsar came to Cowes, a visit which was the subject of a strong protest in Parliament by the Labour Party. From Cowes the Tsar went to Cherbourg to meet the French President, and in October he met the King of Italy at Racconigi—a visit from which the Italians hoped for support in the Balkans against Austria.

H. SACHER.

THE CONGO QUESTION.

Whatever the future may disclose, the production of a Congo Reform Bill in the Belgian Chamber at the beginning of November constituted a full vindication of the Congo Reform Association and its work. For months before the movement had gathered force, one of its latest recruits being Sir A. Conan Doyle, who issued a stirring popular appeal against "The Crime of the Congo."

In a dispatch to the Belgian Government, Sir Edward Grey had declared that the annexation could not receive British recognition until the system of compulsory labour had been abolished, freedom of trade established, and the territories reserved to the natives extended, while he suggested arbitration on points remaining in dispute. Speaking at Sheffield on October 21st, the Foreign Secretary emphasized the first two of these demands, pointing to the possibility of "undesirable complications" should the situation be "prolonged indefinitely." The system of taxation in rubber he again described as indistinguishable from slavery.

Meanwhile, M. Renkin, the Belgian Colonial Minister, had been out to the Congo, and repeatedly denied that there were any atrocities. But the Reform Bill produced by the Belgian Government on his return went far to meet the British and American demands. It provided for the opening of the Congo to free commerce in three

sections between July 1st, 1910, and July 1st, 1912, Belgium only reserving five territories, amounting to 2,343 square miles. It further proposed a gradual limitation of taxation and forced labour and the raising of a loan, charged on the Congo, of £1,300,000 for administrative purposes. Speaking at Newcastle on November 8th, Mr. E. D. Morel demanded the improvement of these terms, complaining especially of the postponement of the reforms, the vagueness of some of the provisions, the failure to reduce the native army, and he asked for assurance that there should be no more raids.

At the Guildhall on the following day, however, the Prime Minister hailed the Bill as having "opened a prospect more hopeful than any which has hitherto been offered to us." Mr. Asquith declared that the conditions on which the Congo State was founded "not only have never been fulfilled, they have been continuously and habitually violated." The agitation in the United Kingdom was disinterested and had no ulterior purpose. He did not offer a final opinion; but if a complete change should prove to have been effected, Great Britain would be eager to recognise and encourage the Belgian administration of the Congo.

FINANCIAL REFORM IN GERMANY.

Though the Tariff Reformers in this country have persistently declined to indicate what their alternative to Mr. Lloyd George's Free Trade Budget would be, a glance at the German financial reform of 1909 will reveal the broad lines on which a Protectionist budget is constructed. The finances of the German Empire have for the last 30 years been based on Protection. When the Empire was established in 1871 as a federation of 26 States, it was thought that the revenue from the Imperial State monopolies, the Post Office, the telegraphs and some of the railways, together with the revenue from the customs, would prove sufficient to keep the Empire going. As a sort of *vis aller* it was provided that the deficiencies, should they occur, should be met by contributions from the individual States in proportion to their populations. Experience soon showed that the calculation was wrong from beginning to end. Neither the tax nor the non-tax revenue sufficed to meet the requirements of the Empire, and the individual States were called upon to contribute yearly an ever-growing sum. It was then, in 1879, that Bismarck, in anticipation of our own Tariff Reformers, decided to "broaden the basis of taxation" by introducing a protectionist tariff. Heavy duties were put on most of the foreign produce and goods imported into Germany, and the individual States were assured that not only would the call upon their financial assistance be now reduced to a minimum, but henceforth they would receive

from the Imperial Exchequer all the proceeds of certain taxes affecting the spirits industry by way of return payments.

For some time things went very well. Customs and Excise yielded fat returns, and the so-called matricular contributions from the States sank within three years from over three millions to about £60,000. As against that, the return payments grew from year to year, ultimately exceeding the matricular contributions by hundreds of thousands of pounds. From about the end of the nineties, however, the tide began to turn. The famous World-Policy, involving new colonial adventures and increasing armaments, began to encroach on the financial resources of the Empire, and the return payments to the States were reduced, while their matricular contributions grew. Deficits, loans, and temporary financial makeshifts became the order of the day, and the national debt jumped up from £56,000,000 in 1890 to £115,000,000 in 1900 and £212,000,000 in 1908. The deficits of 1907-8 and 1908-9, amounting each time to over £12,000,000, were both covered by loans.

In 1908 the Government proposed the following new taxes:—

(1) State monopoly in the whole-sale trade in spirits....	£5,000,000
(2) Increased excise duty on tobacco	3,800,000
(3) Increased excise duty on beer	5,000,000
(4) Tax on still wine	1,000,000
(5) Tax on electricity and gas	2,500,000
(6) Tax on advertisements in newspapers, &c.	1,650,000
(7) Death duties	4,600,000

£23,550,000

The remaining £1·5 millions were to be obtained by doubling the rate of the matricular contributions from 5d. to 10d. per head of the population in exchange for the remission of the so-called deferred contributions which had been booked, but not paid in.

It will be seen that the financial "reform" proposed by the Imperial Government consisted in the introduction of additional indirect taxation to the amount of four-fifths of the required sum, leaving only one-fifth to be met by a direct tax. The Government did not even venture to propose by way of death duties higher rates than a paltry one-half per cent. on estates exceeding £1,000, gradually rising to three per cent. on estates of £50,000 and more, thus making recourse to indirect taxation inevitable.

Both Conservatives and Liberals agreed that four-fifths of the required sum ought to be raised by indirect taxation, but the landlords, who form the Conservative party, strongly objected to the death duties, while the Liberals objected to some of the indirect taxes, which appeared burdensome to commerce and industry. A long triangular struggle between the Government, the Liberals, and the Con-

servatives, aided by the Catholic Centre Party, ensued, which, after many dramatic incidents, ended in a complete victory for the Bloc of the latter two parties. The death duties were rejected; so were also the proposed taxes on still wine, on electricity and gas, and on advertisements, as well as the projected spirits monopoly which threatened the interests of the landlords' distilleries. The Government thereupon proposed increased duties on coffee and tea, and a tax on matches. These were accepted, but further proposals by the Government relating to a re-modelled inheritance tax and a tax on fire insurance policies were rejected. On their part, the Conservatives had to abandon their schemes for the taxation of milling and for a tax on increment land values—the latter never meant seriously—and to modify certain other proposals of minor taxes. As a result, the financial reform as imposed by the Conservative-Centre Bloc on the Government and the Reichstag, and promulgated as law in July, 1909, assumed the following shape:—

(1) Tea and Coffee	£1,850,000
(2) Beer	5,000,000
(3) Spirits	4,000,000
(4) Tobacco	2,150,000
(5) Sparkling wine	250,000
(6) Matches	1,250,000
(7) Lighting media	1,000,000
(8) Sugar	1,750,000
(9) Passenger railway tickets	1,000,000
(10) Stamps on bills of exchange and on cheques	975,000
(11) Stamps on securities	1,125,000
(12) Coupon tax	1,375,000
(13) Land transfer	2,000,000

Total estimated yield... £23,725,000

The deficiency up to £25,000,000 will be made up by matricular contributions from the States at the rate of 10d. per head of the population.

A few words will suffice to show the true nature of this protectionist and agrarian budget. The first eight taxes are indirect taxes, and will burden the consumer—chiefly the working class—by additional £17,250,000. The ninth tax is a direct tax which, however, will burden exclusively the working class, as it is chiefly an extension of the existing railway passenger tax to the fourth class on railways, used exclusively by the poorer classes of the population. The taxes 10, 11, and 12 are direct taxes hitting the commercial world, and only the last is a tax on landowners. Thus, the Conservatives and their clerical allies have succeeded in throwing the major part of the burden which had been intended for their shoulders on the commercial classes (politically the Liberals), leaving the rest of the taxation to fall upon the consuming public, mainly, the labouring classes. This is financial "reform" according to the gospel of the Protectionists.

It remains to point out that the political result of this financial "re-

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form" has been the immense strengthening of the German Social Democracy, which has found its expression in a series of brilliant Socialist victories at Reichstag bye-elections and elections to the Prussian, Baden, and Saxon Landtags.

USEFUL BOOKS.

- Brailsford, H. N. Macedonia. 10s. 6d.
Buxton, Noel. Europe and the Turks. (Murray.) (1907.) 2s. 6d. net.
Bryce, James. The American Commonwealth. (2 Vols.) (1893-5.) (Macmillan.) 25s.
Chiról, V. Middle Eastern Question. (Murray.) (1903.) 18s. net.
Cromer, Lord. Modern Egypt. (2 Vols.) (Macmillan.) (1908.) 24s. net.
Darby, Dr. E. International Tribunals. (Peace Society.)
Dawson, W. H. Evolution of Modern Germany. (Unwin.) (1908.) 21s. net.
Ellot, Sir Charles. Turkey in Europe. (Arnold.) (1900.) 7s. 6d. net.
Hull, W. I. The Two Hague Conferences. (Ginn.)
Kinz, Bolton. Italy To-day. (Nisbet.) (1901.) 12s. net.

Kropotkin, Prince. The Great French Revolution. (Helmemann.) 6s. net.

Lawrence, T. J. International Problems and Hague Conferences. (Dent.) (1908.) 3s. 6d. net.

Mead, Edwin D., Editor. The International Library. Various vols. (Ginn & Co.)

Morel, E. D. Great Britain and the Congo. (Smith, Elder.) 6s.

Nevinson, W. H. The Dawn in Russia. (Harper.) 7s. 6d. net.

Pares, B. Russia and Reform. (Constable.) (1907.) 10s. 6d. net.

Perris, G. H. Russia in Revolution. (Chapman & Hall.) (1905.) 10s. 6d. net.

Robertson, J. M. Letters on Egypt. (Routledge.) (1903.) 2s. 6d. net.

Sir Robert Hart. (Hutchinson.) (1909.) 6s. net.

Stead, Alfred. Great Japan. (Lane.) (1905.) 10s. 6d. net.

Trevelyan, G. M. Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic. (Longmans.) (1907.) 6s. 6d. net.

Trevelyan, Sir George. The American Revolution. (3 Vols.) (Longmans.) (1905.) Per vol. 5s. net.

XVIlth Universal Peace Congress (in London) Report. (National Peace Council.) 5s.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND ARBITRATION.

BY G. H. PERRIS.

The past year has been marked, like its recent predecessors, by several inter-Governmental, as well as many international professional, educational, and commercial conferences, and by various Royal and Ministerial visitations, whose chief aim is declared to be the strengthening of the peace of the world. Princes and statesmen do, indeed, pay increasing lip service at this shrine; and, although not conspicuously in the last two or three years, the processes of conciliation and arbitration have made notable progress.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCES.

The Permanent Arbitration Court established by the First Hague Conference (1899), which tried its first case, that of the Mexican Pious Funds, in 1902, was strengthened as a result of the Second Hague Conference (1906) with the assent of the whole civilised world. It remains to make resort to it obligatory and automatic in every kind of dispute.

From 1822 to 1900 there were enacted 123 Arbitration Treaties, and about as many more, of larger scope and value, have since been signed, chiefly just after, and on the model of, the Anglo-French Treaty of October 14th, 1903. During the 19th century 212 arbitral awards were made, some of them in very grave disputes, and every one of them was executed.

Apart from the Arbitration Convention, the main agreements of the first Hague Conference were a revision of the Brussels rules of land warfare; an adaptation of the Geneva Convention, 1864, to naval war; and declarations prohibiting the use of poisonous explosives, of projectiles from balloons (not renewed), and of expansive bullets. At the second Hague Conference the problem of the burden of armaments was again raised by the British delegate, Sir E. Fry, who said that in the intervening eight years the annual expenditure of Europe (except Turkey), the United States, and Japan, on armies and navies, had increased by £69,000,000—from £251,000,000 to £320,000,000. The invention of Dreadnoughts and super-Dreadnoughts—which now cost up to 3 millions sterling apiece—marks a still later stage in this ruinous and futile competition.

Many of the 13 Conventions, 8 Resolutions, 1 Declaration, and 1 Draft Convention contained in the Final Act of the Conference only secured partial support, and therefore only paved the way for future legislation. This has been accomplished in one instance: the subsequent International Conference in London has established a Naval Prize Court, with a code especially in regard to contraband and blockade. The Hague Conference of 1907 also adopted a summary arbitration procedure for small cases; condemned forcible collection of debts before arbitration has been resorted to or refused; adopted very inadequate restrictions on the use of floating mines and warfare without notice; and, above all, decided upon the next conference for not later than 1914. The French Government has promised then to raise the question of a collective movement against ultra-Protectionism; and it is certain that the armaments problem will be brought forward more strongly than hitherto.

THE UNOFFICIAL MOVEMENT.

Meanwhile, the non-official and popular peace movement grows steadily in volume and earnestness. In addition to the inculcation of the ideal of international justice and friendship against the existing condition of war and "armed peace," which it pursues by education among the young and agitation and organisation among the masses and in Parliament, its chief aims are: (1) To extend the practice of submitting all disputes to International Law Courts; (2) to strengthen and make more frequent the Hague Conferences, till they become a regular Congress of Nations and ultimately an International Legislature; (3) to unify and strengthen the now scattered offices of the future International Civil Service, such as the International Postal, Telegraphs, Copyright, Sanitary, and other Unions; (4) to bring about a general arrest, and then reduction of armaments; and (5) to encourage everywhere free self-government; to check abuses of colonisation, and imperial rule; to secure justice for subject races; to combat militarism in every form; and to aid every advance toward international democracy.

In these aims, the Peace Movement has the practically unanimous support of organised labour. It works through a variety of bodies, variously expressing its political, religious and ethical, and economic aspects, some of them nearly a century old. Since 1889 it has held annual International Peace Congresses in different Western countries. Head-quarters were established in 1891 in the International Peace Bureau (Kanonengweg, Berne, Switzerland) representing the Societies all over the world. In the following year the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau (Brussels: Secretary, Dr. O. L. Lange), which organises the yearly meetings of the Inter-Parliamentary Arbitration Union, was founded. Yearly National Peace Congresses have since been established in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States. Many newspapers and other publications are issued.

SECTION XVI.—DIRECTORY OF SOCIETIES.

ARBITRATION, &c.

Institute of International Law.

Gen. Sec.: M. Rolin, 99, Rue de Namur, Louvain, Belgium. Founded in 1873, to facilitate the reign of justice and law among nations; received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1904.

International Arbitration League (formerly Workmen's Peace Associations).

Sec.: F. Maddison, M.P., 11, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. Objects: To promote the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, and the establishment of a High Court of Nations; to secure a reduction of national armaments. Organ: "The Arbitrator."

International Arbitration and Peace Association.

Sec.: J. Frederick Green, 40 and 41, Outer Temple, Strand, W.C. Objects: (1) The establishment of a system of international arbitration; (2) constitution of a congress of diplomatists and jurists for the purpose of framing an international code and an international federation; (3) reduction of standing armies and navies; (4) conclusion of international treaties, &c. Organ: "Concord."

National Peace Council.

Offices: St. Stephen's House, Westminster Bridge, S.W. The Council is the standing Executive Committee of the annual National Peace Congress. The chief Peace and Arbitration Societies are represented on the Council.

Nobel Peace Fund.

Sec.: Raguvald Moy, Drammensvei, 18, Christiania, Norway.

The Peace Society.

Sec.: W. Evans Darby, LL.D., 47, New Broad Street, E.C. Founded in 1816. Annual subscription, £5. 5s.

CHARITIES.

Association of Subscribers to Charities.

Sec.: A. H. Paterson, 845-850, Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C. Objects: (1) To promote systematised co-operation between the charities of London; (2) to prevent overlapping and waste of resources.

Association for Promoting the General Welfare of the Blind.

Sec.: Howard Mullins, 258, Tottenham Court Rd., London, W. To teach trades and give employment to the blind, and pension them when past work. Annual receipts for goods sold, £12,958.

British and Foreign Blind Association.

Sec.: Henry Stainsby, 206, Great Portland St., London, W. Produces and publishes Braille books, &c.; labour bureaux for blind musicians, masseuses, piano tuners, &c.

British Home and Hospital for Incurables (1861), Streatham, S.W.

Sec.: Edgar Penman, 72, Cheapside, E.C. To assist those of the middle class who are so far incapacitated from incurable disease as to be unable to assist themselves, and are greatly dependent on others.

Cabmen's Shelter Fund.

Hon. Sec.: Lieut.-Col. Cecil Troughton, J.P., 19, Buckingham St., Strand. Established 1875, to supply cabmen with shelters and good refreshments at moderate prices. Has 55 shelters. Income, 1908-9, by voluntary contributions, £408.

Charity Organisation Society.

Sec.: C. S. Loch, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. General object: The better organisation of charitable effort. Consists of a Central Council and 40 District Committees. Methods of assistance: (1) Rigorous preliminary enquiry; (2) adequate and suitable assistance when given. The C.O.S. is not itself a relief society, but brings the resources of private benevolence and of relief organisations on investigated cases. Issues "Annual Charities Register and Digest" (5s.).

Charity Voting Reform Association.

Sec.: William H. Sturges, 3, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W. To reduce labour and expense in making applications to charitable institutions.

Governesses' Benevolent Institution.

Sec.: A. Wesley Dennis, 32, Sackville St., W. Established 1843, to invest their savings in annuities, and to help in their annual payments, providing temporary home at small cost, free registration office, holiday home, &c. Voluntary income, 1908, £11,879.

Hospital Saturday Fund.

Chairman: Rt. Hon. Sir Savile Crossley, Bt. Sec.: A. W. Davis, 54, Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C. Founded 1873, to assist metropolitan hospitals and kindred institutions not reached by Metropolitan Hospital Sunday Fund. Annual income about £30,000, obtained from some 700 firms. Collected and distributed since 1873, £488,635. Official organ: "Hospital Saturday Fund Journal" (monthly, 3d.).

Hospital Sunday Fund, Metropolitan.

Pres.: The Lord Mayor. Sec.: Sir E. Hay Currie, Mansion House, and 12, Queen Victoria Street, E.O.

The King Edward's Hospital Fund for London.

Sec.: H. R. Maynard, 7, Walbrook, E.C. Founded by H.M. the King in 1897. Object: To secure from £100,000 to £150,000 in annual subscriptions from those who have not hitherto regularly contributed on behalf of the hospitals of London. Management: By President and General Council under special Act of Parliament. Receipts for 1908, £345,752.

League of Mercy.

Grand Pres.: The Prince of Wales. Lady Grand Pres.: The Princess of Wales. Sec.: Col. Kempster, 29, Southampton St., W.C.

London Mendicity Society.

Chairman: Robert Pierpoint. Sec.: W. F. Arbuthnot, 9, Red Lion Sq., Holborn. Founded 1818. Investigates begging letter appeals for subscribers, gives immediate relief in urgent cases, and, by issuing Food and Enquiry Tickets, discourages haphazard giving to street beggars. Receipts for 1908, £1,177. 18s. 8d.; expenditure, £1,176. 7s. 2d.

Maternity Charity and District Nurses' Home (1889).

Sec.: F. R. Panter. Howard's Rd., Plaistow, E.; Lansdown Rd., Victoria Docks, E.; and Katherine Rd. and Skelington Rd., East Ham, E.; also at Barking. Training school for midwifery and district nursing. Objects: To provide nursing in their homes for inhabitants of East and S.W. Ham and neigh-

bourhood; nurses supplied free of charge to district cases.

Newspaper Press Fund.

Pres.: Lord Burnham, K.C.V.O. *Sec.*: J. P. C. Coast, B.A., 11, Garrick St., London, W.C. Founded 1884, for the relief of necessitous members of the literary departments of the Press who are members of the Fund, and for their widows and families. To Dec., 1908, 3,481 grants given, value £63,183.

Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses (1897) (Incorporated).

Sec.: Miss A. Martin Leake, 68, Victoria St., S.W. *Objects*: "Training, support, and maintenance of women as nurses for sick poor, and generally provision of improved means for nursing sick poor." Institute owes its foundation to the gift of Queen Victoria of the balance of the "Women's Jubilee Offering," amounting to £70,078. 11s. 4d.

Royal Association In Aid of the Deaf and Dumb.

Treas.: Sir Arthur H. Fairbairn, Bt. *Sec.*: Thomas Cole, 419, Oxford St., W. To provide religious and other instruction after school period, to visit and relieve deserving and necessitous cases, and to obtain employment for the deaf and dumb.

Royal Maternity Charity (1757).

Sec.: Major G. Lionel B. Killick, 81, Finsbury Sq., E.C. *Object*: For married women at their own habitations. *Admission*: By letter of recommendation. Annual subscriber of £1. 1s. may recommend at present four patients. Patients attended by midwives on the register of the C.M.B. Medicines supplied gratuitously through certain druggists. A training school for midwives is attached. Charitable contributions, £1,369; invested funds and rents, £893; patients, 2,376.

Royal Literary Fund.

Sec.: A. Llewelyn Roberts, 40, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W. Founded 1790, to administer assistance to distressed authors and their widows, mothers, sisters, and orphans. Average income, £3,200; invested funds, £58,570.

Surgical Aid Society (1862).

Sec.: Richard C. Tresidder, Salisbury Sq., Fleet St., E.C. *Objects*: To supply leg instruments, artificial limbs, artificial eyes, trusses, elastic stockings, crutches, &c., and every description of mechanical support to the poor without limit as to locality or disease. *Admission*: By subscriber's recommendation, and by special grants. Payment taken in cash in lieu of letters. Water beds and invalid chairs lent on subscriber's recommendation. Appliances provided on certificate of surgeon only. Income, £22,605.

The Society for the Relief of Distress.

Hon. Sec.: C. J. Cave, 78, Jermyn St., S.W. Founded in 1860, for the relief of the London poor by visits of voluntary almoners, after complete investigation, and where permanent benefit is likely to result. Non-sectarian.

CHILDREN.

Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association (1906).

Sec.: Miss Dalglish, 55, Denison House, Westminster, S.W. *Object*: Promotion of thorough industrial training for boys and girls, by apprenticeship and other methods, including arrangements for attendance at trade schools and at technical classes,

Benefited (1908): 612, excluding temporary help.

Barnardo's Homes, National Incorp. Assoc.

Hon. Director: W. Baker, M.A., LL.D., 18-26, Stepney Causeway, London, E. Founded 1863 by late Dr. Barnardo, for orphan and destitute children of all denominations. In 1909 maintained 8,595 boys and girls; 69,550 dealt with since foundation. Income, 1908, £235,000.

Boys' Brigade.

Sec.: W. A. Smith, 162, Buchanan Street, Glasgow. London Office: 84, Paternoster Row. Founded 1883, to develop Christian manliness in boys, by means of military organisation, gymnastics, religious services, &c. Membership, over 10,000 officers and 100,000 boys.

Children's Country Holiday Fund.

Sec.: W. R. L. Blakiston, 18, Buckingham St., Strand. To provide fresh air for ailing London children. Number of children sent away in 1908, 2,510. Expenditure, £31,212; parents' payments, £9,875.

Children's Happy Evenings Association.

Pres.: H.R.H. the Princess of Wales. *Hon. Sec.*: Mrs. Bland-Sutton, 47, Brook St., Grosvenor Sq., W. Provides recreative evenings, by permission of the L.C.C., for children attending the Council schools, in their school buildings. The Association has 167 branches, benefiting 28,000 children weekly.

Child-study Society (London).

Hon. Sec.: W. J. Durrie Mulford, 90, Buckingham Palace Rd., London, S.W. Founded 1894, for scientific study of the mental and physical condition of children. Membership over 800. Journal, "Child Study," quarterly, free to members.

Church of England Walfs and Strays Society.

Sec.: Rev. Ede M. Rudolf, Savoy Street, London, W.C. For the rescue of destitute, neglected, and cruelly-treated children. Methods: (1) Boarding-out; (2) small homes; (3) emigration.

Field Lane Institute (Ragged Schools and Refuges).

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K.T., G.C.M.O. *Hon. Sec.*: T. O. Chadwick, Vine St., Clerkenwell Rd., E.C. Established 1841, and supported by voluntary contributions. Conducts refuges, creches, Bible schools, youths' institutes, Ragged Church services, mothers' meetings, &c., at the Central Buildings in Clerkenwell, and a boys' certified Industrial Home at Hillfield Rd., W. Hampstead.

Lord Mayor Treloar's Cripples Home and College (Alton, Hants.).

Trustees: Sir William Treloar, Bt., and others. London office: 122, Mansion House Chambers, E.C. Receives crippled boys—tuberculous and non-tuberculous—for curative treatment and technical education; 160 inmates between Sept. 7th, 1908, and May, 1909. Parents contribute when able. Non-sectarian. Funds aided by "Queen Alexandra League of Children." *Hon. Sec.*: Miss Treloar, Grange Mount, Norwood, Surrey.

National Society of Day Nurseries.

Treas.: Col. Gore Browne. *Hon. Sec.*: Hon. Mrs. St. John Mildmay, 121, Mount St., W. *Objects*: To promote the registration and official recognition of day nurseries, to

assist financially and otherwise in establishing local nurseries.

Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Nat. Society of.

Director: Robert J. Parr. *Central Office:* 40, Leicester Sq., W.C. Cases dealt with from Jan. 1st, 1902, to Aug. 31st, 1903: Total number of complaints, 34,111; of these, 32,874 cases were found to be true, affecting the welfare of 93,043 children, and involving 46,040 offenders. Action taken: Warned, 29,464; prosecuted, 1,529 (1,479 convicted, 50 discharged); otherwise dealt with, 1,881. 341 yrs. 6 mths. imprisonment and £265 in fines were inflicted, and also 71 yrs. detention in inebriate reformatories. 27,537 children were known to be insured for a total of £142,088. 698 cases ended in death. 169,633 supervision visits were made.

Ragged School Union and Shaftesbury Society.

Director and Sec.: Sir John Kirk, 32, John St., Theobald's Rd., W.C. Has on its register 7,500 poor crippled children in London, and helps 10,000 of London's poorest weekly. Founded in 1844; has now 140 affiliated Mission and Sunday Schools, and manages Holiday Homes, Barefoot Missions, Cripple and Drift Missions, Bands of Hope, Crèches, &c.

Recreative Evening Schools Association (1886), 37, Norfolk St., Strand, W.O.

Hon. Secs.: R. Yeburgh, Esq., M.P.; Rev. Dr. Paton. Aims to promote evening schools and classes of a recreative and practical character. The Association gives advice and suggestions in regard to evening continuation schools, and prepares pamphlets with practical hints for distribution.

State Children's Association (and Boarding-out Association).

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. S. A. Barrett, 53, Victoria St., S.W. Opposes the placing of children in workhouses, barrack schools, block buildings, village communities, and grouped cottage homes, and recommends boarding-out, scattered homes, small certified homes, or—for certain children—emigration, training ships, or trade training schools.

Wage-earning Children, Committee on.

Chairman: Stephen N. Fox. *Hon. Secs.:* Miss N. Adler, 8, Craven Hill, Hyde Park, W.; Miss Constance Smith, 8, Port St., S.W. Formed to increase the efficiency and promote the reform of existing legislation for the protection of children of school age.

CO-OPERATIVE.

The Agricultural Co-operative Federation, Ltd.

Sec. and Manager: Mr. F. C. Portnell, 124/7, Minorities, E.C. A wholesale trading association for the supply of agricultural requirements of all kinds to co-operative societies in different parts of the country.

The Agricultural Organisation Society, Ltd.

Sec.: Mr. J. Nugent Harris, Dacre House, Dacre St., Westminster, S.W. *Objects:* The organisation of agricultural co-operative societies, including societies for the supply of agricultural requirements and the sale of agricultural produce, dairy societies, egg and poultry societies, agricultural credit societies, and societies for acquiring land

and sub-letting it in small holdings or allotments. Official organ: "The A.O.S. Journal." The Co-operative Brotherhood Trust.

Sec.: S. B. Goode, 87, Newington Green Rd., London. To carry on the business of general providers, so as to supply its members and the public. Individual members pay entrance fee of 1s., and hold minimum of five shares in the Society. Societies or companies pay entrance fee, and must acquire and hold minimum of 10 shares in the Society.

Co-operative Holidays Association (in connection with the National Home Reading Union).

Treas.: D. Drummond Fraser, Esq., Manchester. *Gen. Sec.:* T. Arthur Leonard, College House, Brunswick St., Manchester. "Comradeship" is the keynote of the scheme. *Holiday centres* (open all the year): The Abbey House, Whitby; Ardenconnel, Row, N.B.; Park Hall, Hayfield, Derbyshire; Ashburton House, Addiscombe, Croydon. Open during summer only: Fort William, N.B.; Keswick; Ambleside; Bangor (N. Wales); Portballintrae (N. Ireland); Berwick-on-Tweed; Wharfedale, Yorks; Taunus District, Germany; Le Conquet, Finistère, France; Finhaut (Chamonix, Switzerland). The Co-operative Insurance Society.

Sec.: James Odgers, Reg. Office, Corporation St., Manchester. *Branch Offices:* 84, Westmorland Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne; 65, Sunbridge Rd., Bradford; 53, Queen St., Cardiff; 4, Southampton Row, Holborn, W.C. *Scottish Offices:* 23, Morrison St., Glasgow; 12, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. A Federation of over 900 co-operative societies, founded in 1867, which undertakes Life Assurance, Workmen's Compensation, Third Party Accident, and other insurance. Claims paid, £275,000; insurance funds, £250,000. *Pres.:* J. Craven, Hebden Bridge Fustian Society.

Co-operative Productive Federation.

Sec.: Robert Halstead, 17, Narborough Rd., Leicester. To aid Productive Societies by united action; to open up a market for the sale of their goods; to obtain capital for co-operative production.

Co-operative Union.

Central Offices: 2, Nicholas Croft, High St., Manchester. *Branch Offices:* 263, Wallace St., Glasgow; 99, Leman St., London; 84, Westmorland Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne. A Federation of most of the co-operative societies of the United Kingdom, for propagandist and defensive action. Numbers in 1900, 1,249 societies, representing 2,376,126 members. Societies not affiliated to Union 311, with 140,068 members.

Co-operative Wholesale Society.

Sec. and Accountant: T. Brodrick, 1, Balloon St., Manchester. Enrolled Aug. 11th, 1863. Began business March 14th, 1864. Total number of employees to Oct. 1908, 18,761. The Productive Works of the Society numbered then 38, and the Distributive Departments in Manchester 16, with eight branches in Newcastle and eight in London. The share capital has risen from £2,455 in 1864 to £1,476,021 at close of 1907, and the net profits in same period from £267 to £458,571.

Co-operative Convalescent Homes, Ltd. *Chairman:* Andrew Young. *Sec.:* Adam Scott Brown, 263, Wallace St., Kingston,

Glasgow. Membership at close of 1908, 201 Societies, 6 Co-operative Conference Associations, 10 Women's Guild Branches, and 16 Employés' Associations. Share capital, £1,323.

Co-part. Tenants' Housing Council.

Pres.: Miss Sybella Gurney. *Sec.*: Crossley Greenwood, 6, Bloomsbury Sq., W.C. Established under the auspices of the Labour Co-partnership Association, to aid in the solution of the housing problem by encouraging and promoting the establishment of Tenants' Co-partnership Societies. Directs a movement for building houses on these lines at Letchworth, Hampstead, Ealing, Manchester, &c. Organ: "Co-partnership" (1d., monthly).

International Co-operative Alliance.

Hon. Pres.: Rt. Hon. Earl Grey. *Sec.*: Dr. H. Muller, 6, Bloomsbury Sq., London. The total number of members (Distributive and Co-operative Societies) for 1908-9 is 655; of individual members, 18. The total subscriptions received during the year, £1,014. 13s. 10d.

Irish Agricultural Organisation Soc., Ltd.

Pres. and Founder: The Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, K.C.V.O., F.R.S., &c. *Sec.*: R. A. Anderson. *Offices*: The Plunkett House, Dublin. Has started about 900 societies, embracing 100,000 farmers. These societies include creameries, credit banks, agricultural societies (for joint purchase of farming necessities), poultry societies, and flax societies, &c.

The Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society, Ltd. (with which are incorporated Irish Producers, Ltd., Irish Beekeepers' Federation, Ltd.)

General Manager and Sec.: R. M. Smith. 151, Thomas Street, Dublin. A Federation of the Co-operative Agricultural, Dairy, Poultry and Beekeepers' Societies in Ireland. The Society supplies all requisites for the farm of guaranteed quality, and exports graded farm produce.

Irish Co-operative Agency Society, Ltd.

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. Lord Monteagle of Brandon, K.P. *Sec. and General Manager*: D. L. Roche, Central Depot, 13, William St., Limerick. Founded in 1893, for the sale of Irish dairy produce; has branches at London, Manchester, Belfast, Liverpool, Glasgow, Birmingham, Cardiff, &c.

Labour Co-partnership Association.

Pres.: D. J. Shackleton, M.P. *Sec.*: Henry Vivian, M.P., 6, Bloomsbury Sq., London. To bring about an organisation of industry based on the principle of Labour Co-partnership, i.e., a system in which all those engaged shall share in the profits, capital, control, and responsibility. With this view it seeks (1) in the co-operative movement to aid by its propaganda and advice all forms of production based on the above principle; (2) in other businesses to induce employers and employed to adopt schemes of profit-sharing and investment tending in the same direction. Organ: "Co-partnership" (1d., monthly).

Leicester Co-op. Small Holdings Assoc. (affiliated to the Agricultural Organisation Soc., Dacre St., Westminster).

Sec.: William H. Barton, 22, Bridge Rd., Leicester. Founded 1903, to carry on the

business of Market Gardeners, Horticulturists, Poultry Farmers, &c. Acquired Brookvale Estate (64 acres) for £3,000, to be divided into allotments of one acre for its members.

National Co-operative Festival Society, Ltd.

Pres., 1908-9: Aneurin Williams, M.A., J.P. *Sec.*: George Morris, 6, Bloomsbury Sq., London, W.C. To demonstrate the growth and influence of association among the working classes, and to promote the rational employment of their leisure by: (1) Music and formation of choirs among the people; (2) the promotion of festivals; (3) visits to places of historical and social interest, &c.

Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Soc.

Sec.: John Pearson, 95, Morrison St., Glasgow. Established in 1868 to carry on a number of trades and industries, and distribute the products thereof. The Society also carries on the business of banking. The number of Societies in membership at close of 1908 was 275—of employé members 544. Total value of productions for year (wholesale price), £2,241,360. 18s. 1d.; average number of workpeople employed, 5,375; amount of wages paid (exclusive of bonus), £240,954. 15s. 4d.; bonus to labour, £8,231. 16s. 1d.

Scottish Co-op. Women's Guild.

1, Orwell Terrace, Edinburgh.

Urban Co-operative Banks Association.

H. C. Devine, 39, Victoria St., S.W.

Women's Co-operative Guild.

Pres.: Miss Gratton (Leeds). *Hon. Gen. Sec.*: Miss Llewelyn Davies, 68, Rosslyn Hill, London, N.W. A self-governing organisation of working women connected with Industrial Co-operative Societies, with over 500 branches and a total membership of over 26,000 women. It advocates women holding shares in their own names and sitting on boards and committees throughout the movement.

EDUCATIONAL.

Art for Schools Association.

Hon. Secs.: Miss Margaret Lyttelton and Laurence Bhyon. *Sec.*: Miss M. L. Cooper, Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, London, W. To educate the taste of children by placing in elementary schools a few good prints and photographs of beautiful works of art.

Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools.

Incorp. Assoc. of.

Chairman: W. A. Newsome, B.A., Stationers' School, N. *Hon. Sec.*: J. Whitehead, A.R.C.S., 31, Great James St., London, W.C. 538 new members in 1908; total membership, 2,500.

Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions.

Hon. Sec.: A. G. Field, 28, Ilminster Gardens, London, S.W.

The Eugenics Education Society.

Hon. Pres.: Francis Galton, F.R.S. *Hon. Sec.*: Mrs. A. C. Gatto, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. To promote interest in the facts and laws of heredity.

Home Reading Society. National.

Pres.: H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll. *Gen. Sec.*: Miss A. M. Read, 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. Aims to guide readers in the choice of books, and to group

them in circles for mutual help and interest. Official organ: "The Reader's Review."

The Library Association.

Hon. Sec.: L. Stanley Jast, 24, Whitcomb St., W.C. Founded 1877, to unite all persons interested for the discussion of matters affecting libraries and bibliographical questions. Organ: "The Library Association Year Book" (1s.).

London Progressive Education Council.

Pres.: Lord Sheffield. Sec.: Miss Constance Williams, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W. To promote and defend in London the principles of National Education, efficient, progressive, free, unsectarian, and under popular control.

The Moral Education League.

Sec.: Harold Johnson, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C. To urge the introduction of systematic moral and civic instruction into all schools. It issues a syllabus of such instruction for elementary schools.

National Education Association.

Pres.: Rt. Hon. A. H. D. Acland. Sec.: A. J. Mundella, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W. Established 1889, to promote a system of national education which shall be progressive, unsectarian, efficient, and under popular control.

National Froebel Union.

Sec.: Miss E. H. Maclean, Norwich House, Southamton St., Bloomsbury, W.C. Founded 1887.

National Union of Teachers.

Sec.: Sir J. H. Yoxall, M.P., 67 and 71, Russell Square, W.C. Object: To secure united action in matters affecting national education and the status of teachers. Annual Conference at Easter. Subscription, 9s. Members, 64,450; income, £38,705.

Parents' National Educational Union.

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton. Sec.: Miss Parish, 26, Victoria St., London, S.W. Official organ: "The Parents' Review" (price 6d.).

Physical Education and Improvement, National League for.

Chairman: The Bishop of Ripon. Sec.: F. James Matheson, 11, Southampton Row, Holborn, W.C. Established 1905, to stimulate public interest in the physical improvement of the people, and to promote fresh legislation where necessary.

Ruskin College.

Gen. Sec.: Bertram Wilson, Ruskin College, Oxford. Established 1889, to bring an education worthy of a citizen to the door of every man and woman (a) by enabling suitable working men to come to Oxford for one or two years, (b) by the Correspondence School. 20 students in each of first five years of existence; 54 in 1909.

Secular Education League.

Pres.: Lord Weardale of Stanhope. Sec.: H. Snell, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand. Formed 1907, to secure that there shall be no teaching of religion in State-supported elementary schools in school hours or at the public expense.

The London School of Economics and Political Science, Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C.

Pres.: Lord Rothschild. Chairman of Governors: Sidney Webb, LL.B. Director: The Hon. W. P. Reeves. The London School

of Economics and Political Science is a School of the University of London in the Faculty of Economics and Political Science (including Commerce and Industry). The School was founded to provide courses of study suitable for different groups of business men, the Civil and Municipal services, journalism, and public work, and to make further provision for investigation and research in Economics and Political Science. Research studentships, from twenty-five pounds to two hundred guineas. 1,277 students.

The Northern Counties Education League.

Sec.: Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, Castlemere, Rochdale, Lancs. The League aims at securing a system of education completely under local control, with provision for adequate moral instruction within school hours; and facilities for voluntary religious teaching.

University Extension (Cambridge).

Sec. for Exams.: J. N. Keynes, Sc.D., Emmanuel College. Sec. for Lectures: Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, M.A., Syndicate Buildings, Cambridge. To provide means of higher education for persons of all ranks and both sexes engaged in the regular occupations of life.

University Extension Guild (London).

Hon. Secs.: Ernest H. Short and Alfred P. Griffiths, 449, Birkbeck Bank Chambers, W.C. Object: To foster and strengthen the University Extension movement, and promote higher education.

University Extension (Oxford).

Sec.: J. A. B. Marriott, M.A., University Extension Office, Examination Schools, Oxford. There are local committees in over 300 towns in England and Wales.

The Workers' Educational Association.

Sec.: A. M. Mansbridge, 24, Buckingham St., Strand. Founded 1903. Is an unsectarian and non-political federation of educational and workpeople's organisations, which co-ordinates existing agencies and devises fresh means by which working people of all degrees may take advantage of the facilities which are and may be provided by the Universities.

Working Men's College.

Principal: Prof. A. V. Dicey, M.A., D.C.L., K.C. Supt.: E. C. Duchesne, Crowndale Rd., St. Pancras, London, N.W. Founded 1864, by F. Denison Maurice, to place a liberal education within reach of working men.

EMIGRATION.

The Church Emigration Society.

Chairman: Rev. Henry Washington, M.A. Hon. Sec.: Miss Mary K. Grimes, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. Official organ: "Quarterly Notes of the C.E.S."

British Women's Emigration Assoc.

Pres.: Lady Knightley of Fawsley. Hon. Sec.: Miss Lefroy, Imperial Institute, South Kensington. Founded 1884 to emigrate women and girls of good character under proper supervision, and to help necessitous cases. 8,000 emigrated since inception—505 in 1908. Official organ: "The Imperial Colonist," 2d. monthly.

Central Emigration Board.

Chairman: Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke,

L.C.C. Sec.: Ernest S. Carleton, Cromwell House, Surrey St., Strand, W.C. A National organisation to encourage suitable emigrants to proceed to the British Colonies. Also manages *The Settlers' Information League*, founded Jan. 1909.

Children's Emigration Homes.

Founder and Treas.: John T. Middlemore, M.P. **Sec.:** George Jackson, St. Luke's Rd., Birmingham. Established 1872 to save boys and girls from vicious surroundings by emigration. Nearly 4,000 dealt with since 1872. **Emigrants' Information Office.**

31, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. Established by Government 1886 to supply intending emigrants to the Colonies with information; is under direction of the Colonial Office. **East End Emigration Fund.**

Chairman: Townsend M. Kirkwood. **Sec.:** Robert Culver, 24, Newark St., Stepney. To assist British-born subjects, after enquiry, to emigrate to British colonies.

Self-Help Emigration Society.

Pres.: His Excellency The Earl of Aberdeen. **Sec.:** Edward Clason Gates, Memorial Hall Buildings, Farringdon St., E.C. Every emigrant must contribute the whole or the greater part of the cost.

South African Colonisation Society.

Sec.: Miss Beatrice Vivian, 115, Victoria St., London, S.W. Has sent out large numbers of domestic servants, teachers, and other women. Has committees at Johannesburg and Bloemfontein. **Official organ:** "The Imperial Colonist," 2d. monthly.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Anglo-German Friendship Committee.

Pres.: Lord Avebury. **Hon. Sec.:** F. W. Fox, Caxton House, Westminster, S.W.

The Balkan Committee.

Chairman: Noel Buxton, F.R.G.S. **Hon. Sec.:** Sir Edward Boyle, Bart., 10, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C. To enlighten and organise public opinion in Great Britain on the internal affairs of Turkey.

Congo Reform Association.

Hon. Sec.: E. D. Morel, 20, North John St., Liverpool. **Object:** To ameliorate the condition of native labour in the Congo State by circulation of literature and communications to the Press.

L'Entente Cordiale.

Sec.: H. S. A. Foy, Bush Lane House, Cannon St., E.C. To promote friendly relations between France and England.

Friends of Armenia.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Mary Hickson, 47, Victoria St., Westminster. To maintain the children orphaned by the Armenian massacres; to send material help in cases of pressing necessity, &c.

The Japan Society.

Pres.: His Excellency Takasaki Kato, the Japanese Ambassador. **Hon. Secs.:** Yoshito Komma, Chancellor Imp. Jap. Consulate; John D. Reid, 20, Hanover Sq., London, W. To encourage the study of all Japanese matters.

National Indian Association.

Chairman: Sir Charles J. Lyall, K.C.S.I. **Hon. Sec.:** Miss E. J. Beck, 168, Kensington Park Rd., London, W. Founded 1870 to extend knowledge of India and interest in its people, in order to advance education and social reform, and promote friendly inter-

course between English and people of India. **Official organ:** "The Indian Magazine and Review," 3s. 6d. per annum, post free.

Society of Friends of Russian Freedom.

Hon. Sec.: J. F. Green, 40, Outer Temple, Strand, W.C. **Object:** To aid the Russian people to obtain political freedom.

Society for Suppression of the Opium Trade.

President: Sir Matthew Dodsworth, Bart. **Sec.:** Rev. G. A. Wilson, Bridge House, 181, Queen Victoria St., London, E.C. Founded 1874; issues literature, and holds meetings to strengthen the Anti-Opium Movement. Memorialised the Delegates to Shanghai International Congress, 1909. **Official organ:** "The Friends of China," monthly, 3d.

HOUSING.

Commercial Companies, &c., employed in London in improving Housing Accommodation for the Working Classes.

(1) Artisans, Labourers, and General Dwellings Co., Ltd. (1867). Offices: 2, Wood St., Westminster, S.W. (2) Columbia Square Model Dwellings. Offices: Columbia Market, E. (3) Corporation of City of London (1864, 1875, 1880). Offices: Guildhall, E.C. (4) East End Dwellings Co., Ltd. Offices: 27, Chancery Lane, W.C. (5) Four Per Cent. Industrial Dwellings. Offices: 1-3, St. James's Place, Aldgate. (6) Guinness Trust Office, 5 Victoria St., S.W. (7) Improved Industrial Dwellings. Office: 33, Finsbury Sq., E.C. (8) Incorp. Soc. for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes. Offices: 4, Bloomsbury Mansion, Hart St., W.C. (9) Lever St. Buildings, Lever St., E.C. (10) L.C.C. Artisan Dwellings. Offices: Housing Manager, 116, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. (11) Marylebone Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes (1854). Office: 49, Upper Baker St., N.W. (12) Metropolitan Association for Improving, &c. Office: 1, Pancras Square, N.W. (13) National Dwellings Society, Ltd. (1875). Office: 9, Gt. James St., Bedford Row, W.C. (14) Peabody Donation Fund. Office: 64, Queen St., Cheap-side, E.C. (15) St. George's Workmen's Dwellings (1849). Office: 10, South Molton St., W. (16) South London Dwellings Co. Office: Miss Cons. Surrey Lodge, Lambeth Rd., S.E. (17) The Miss Cons Dwellings. Office: 8, Walmer St., Marylebone, N.W. (18) Tenant Co-operators, Ltd. Offices: 22, Red Lion Sq., W.C. (19) Tenements Dwellings Co. Office: 1, Bolina Rd., S.E. (20) Victoria Dwellings Association, Ltd. (1875). Office: Victoria Chambers, 17, Victoria St., S.W. (21) Wells and Camden Charity, 6, Willow Rd., Hampstead, N.W. (22) Wharncliffe Dwellings. Office: 7, Little College St., Westminster, S.W.

East London Tenants' Protection Committee.

Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial St., White-chapel, E. Free legal advice.

First Garden City, Ltd.

Sec.: Harold Craske, 826A, High Holborn, W.C. A commercial undertaking started in 1903, paying 5 per cent. on capital, and utilising further profits for benefit of town carefully planned with regard to health. Houses limited to five per acre. Death-rate.

1903, 5.66 per 1,000. Infant mortality rate, 60 per 1,000—lowest in U.K.

The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association.

Pres.: The Hon. Sir Ralph Neville. *Sec.*: Edward G. Culpin, 31 and 32, Birkbeck Bank Chambers, Holborn, W.C. To promote the relief of overcrowded areas and secure a wider distribution of population over the land by means of Scientific Town Planning; by advocating and assisting in establishment of Garden Cities, and generally giving advice and co-operating with those interested in such schemes. *Official organ*: "Garden Cities and Town Planning" (monthly).

Metropolitan Assoc. for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes.

Chair.: Julian Hill. *Sec.*: Edward H. Marston, 1, Pancras Square, London, N.W. The rate of mortality among the occupiers of the dwellings of the Association was 2.98 per 1,000, while the general death-rate in the Metropolis was 13.8 per 1,000. The deaths under one year of age were at the rate of 67 in every 1,000 births, while those in the entire Metropolis were at the rate of 118 per 1,000 births.

National Housing Reform Council.

Sec.: H. R. Aldridge, 432, West Strand, London. Central office: 18, Dulverton Rd., Leicester. Has a Parliamentary committee of nearly 130 M.P.'s, and works for the efficient usage of existing powers under the Housing and Public Health Acts, while endeavouring to further the extension of such powers.

Rural Housing and Sanitation Assoc.

Sec.: Miss A. Churton, Parliament Mansions, Victoria St., London, S.W. To improve the condition of housing and sanitation in rural districts.

Tenants' Housing and Protection League.

51, Spa Road, Bermondsey.

York Health and Housing Reform Assoc.

Pres.: Edwin Gray, J.P. *Sec.*: B. Lasker, 6, Blake St., York. To popularise sanitary knowledge among all classes, and to take steps for improving the health conditions of the homes of the people.

Workmen's National Housing Council (1898).

Sec.: Frederick Knee, 41, Cowcross St., E.C. To induce municipal authorities to provide good houses for the people at cost rents.

HUMANITARIAN.

Aborigines Protection Society.

Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W. *Object*: To protect native races, especially in British Colonies, by discussion in Parliament and the press, and by direct appeals to the Imperial Government.

Anti-Bearing Rein Association.

Sec.: Ernest Bell, Yale House, Portugal St., Lincoln's Inn, W.C. All workers are honorary, and all the funds go directly to furthering the aims of the Society.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Soc.

Sec.: Travers Buxton, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd, S.W. *Object*: Abolition of slavery and slave trade throughout the world, and protection of rights and interests of enfranchised population in British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection.

Sec.: Miss B. E. Kidd, 82, Charing Cross, S.W. *Object*: The total abolition of vivisection.

Capital Punishment, Society for Abolition of.

Pres.: Josiah Oldfield, M.A., D.C.L. *Hon. Sec.*: Carl Heath, 58, Montene Rd., Forest Hill, S.E. To obtain a more rational treatment of crimes of murder by the immediate adoption of a gradation of such crimes, as proposed by the Royal Commission of 1864. The Society will arrange for speakers or debaters at meetings.

Church Anti-Vivisection League.

Chairman: Rev. A. S. Hewlett. *Hon. Sec.*: Rev. T. Varney, 14, Bonchurch Rd., North Kensington, London, W. To enrol members of the Church of England to oppose vivisection solely on moral and religious grounds.

Electoral and Parliamentary Anti-Vivisection League (English Branch of World Anti-Vivisection League).

Hon. Sec.: Miss G. L. Woodward, 82, Sackville St., Piccadilly, W. To carry on an agitation for the protection of animals generally, and for the abolition of vivisection. *Official organ*: "The Herald of Mercy," quarterly, 1d.

Humanitarian League.

Hon. Sec.: Henry S. Salt. *Sec.*: Miss K. Whitaker, 63, Chancery Lane, W.C. The League consists of a Criminal Law and Prison Reform Committee (*Hon. Sec.*, Joseph Collinson), and an Animals Defence Committee (*Hon. Sec.*, Henry S. Salt).

London and Provincial Anti-Vivisection Society (1876).

Sec.: Sidney Trist, 13, Regent St., S.W. *Object*: Legal prohibition of vivisection.

National Anti-Vivisection Society (1875).

Hon. Sec. and Treas.: Hon. Stephen Coleridge. *Sec.*: Robert Stewart, 92, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W. *Object*: To draw attention to the inadequate protection afforded to animals under the present law; and to urge the suppression of vivisection. Thirty-seven branches in England, and corresponding members in all principal cities of Europe and America.

National Soc. for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (see under Children).

Royal Humane Society.

Sec.: Major F. A. C. Claughton. Offices: 4, Trafalgar Square, W.C. *Object*: Saving of life from drowning.

Royal National Lifeboat Institution.

Sec.: Charles Dibdin, 22, Charing Cross Rd., W.C. *Object*: Preservation of life from shipwreck. Chief means: To provide and furnish lifeboats; to arrange, through local committees, for management and exercise of their crews; and for making payments and rewards to men employed in the Lifeboat Service, and grants to widows and orphans of those lost in that Service.

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Sec.: E. Fairholme, 105, Jermyn St., S.W. *Object*: Prevention of cruelty by the circulation of humanitarian literature, and prosecution of persons guilty of flagrant acts of cruelty. Acts of cruelty should be reported to the Secretary.

Society for the Abolition of Vivisection.

Sec.: E. M. Wright, 23, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. *Object:* Legislation for the entire abolition of vivisection.

LABOUR.**British Assoc. for Labour Legislation.**

Pres.: Prof. Sir Thomas Chair. *Sec.:* Miss S. Sanger, 4, Bloomsbury Sq., London, W.C. The International Labour Office publishes a periodical bulletin in German, French, and English, which contains the text of recent labour laws in all countries, notes on action taken in the various Legislatures, resolutions of Congresses, &c., on the subject, and an international bibliography of labour legislation.

Freedom of Labour Defence.

Pres.: Lady Frances Balfour. *Sec.:* Miss Edith Lawson, 48, Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W. To protect workers, especially adult women workers, from restrictive legislation.

London Labour Conciliation and Arbitration Board.

Offices: London Chamber of Commerce, Botoolph House, Eastcheap, E.C. To promote amicable methods of settling labour disputes, and the prevention of strikes and lock-outs.

Right to Work National Council.

Chairman: G. N. Barnes, M.P. *Sec.:* Frank Emith, 10, Clifford's Inn, W.C.

Trades Union Congress, Parliamentary Committee.

Sec.: W. C. Steadman, M.P., Effingham House, Arundel St., Strand, W.C.

(See also under Trade Unions.)

LAND.**Agriculture, Central Chamber of.**

St. Anne's Chambers, Orchard St., Westminster, S.W.

Allotments and Small Holdings Assoc.

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Foster, M.P. *Hon. Sec.:* Herbert New, 55, Temple Row, Birmingham. Founded 1883, to carry out provisions of Allotments Extension Act, 1882; to further provision of allotments in districts to which Act does not apply; to protect the rights of labourers, and facilitate the "Back to the Land" Movement.

Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society.

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. the Lord Eversley. *Sec.:* Lawrence W. Chubb, 25, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W. Founded in 1865, to secure and maintain all public rights of way, and for the preservation of open spaces; to prevent the abuse of public rights and privileges. During last 20 years has secured by its efforts the preservation of over 100,000 acres of open space.

Central Small Holdings Society.

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, K.C.V.O. *Chairman:* Charles Roden Buxton. *Sec.:* Herbert J. Carleton, 6, John St., Adelphi, London. Founded in 1904, to assist Small Holding Societies and to give help and advice to intending small holders.

English Land Colon. Sec.

29, Old Green St., London, S.W.

Highways Protection League.

7, Fig Tree Court, Temple, E.C.

Lancashire Federation of Small Holdings Societies.

Pres.: T. P. Ritzema, J.P. *Hon. Sec. and Treas.:* Alfred Smith. "Northern Daily

Telegraph," Blackburn. To assist applicants to obtain small holdings and allotments under the provisions of the new Act. Embraces 22 societies, with upwards of 1,000 members.

Lancashire and District Land Reform Council.

Pres.: P. Black. *Hon. Sec.:* J. Williamson, 665, Ashton New Rd., Clayton, Manchester. Established to educate public opinion on Land Reform. Non-party, and numbers over 40 societies.

Land Nationalisation Society.

Chairman: Aneurin Williams, J.P. *Sec.:* Joseph Hyder, 432, Strand, London. Founded in 1881. Advocates gradual establishment of national land ownership under municipal administration by means of compulsory purchase at the rateable value. Compensation by redeemable Land Bonds or terminable annuities. Has 112 Vice-Presidents in Parliament. Its Yellow Vans have been at work for 20 years. Sends out lecturers, and has published nearly 100 pamphlets. Founded the National Housing Reform Council, and the Public Landownership Parliamentary Council. Organ: "Land and Labour" (monthly, 1d.).

The Land Law Reform Association.

Pres.: Martin J. White, J.P. *Hon. Sec.:* James Rowlands, M.P., 21, John St., Adelphi. To promote amendments of the law of landlord and tenant; the rating of ground values; the more adequate provision of land for small holdings; and prompt and effective legislation to provide healthy and adequate housing.

Land Values, English League for Taxation of.

Pres.: Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P. *Sec.:* Fredk. Verinder, 376 and 377, Strand, London, W.O., and 71, North St., Keighley. Carries on an active agitation for legislation on the land question; has now 13 branches. Central Council meets quarterly. Official organ: "Land Values" (1d. monthly, 1s. 6d. per annum post free.).

Land Values, Irish Society for Taxation of.

Hon. Sec.: Arthur W. Metcalfe, Grove Mill, Belfast.

Land Values, Scottish League for Taxation of.

Pres.: Alex. MacKendrick. *Sec.:* James Busby, 13, Dundas St., Glasgow. To agitate for amended legislation on the principle of making land values a basis of taxation. Official organ: "Land Values" (1d. monthly).

Land Values, The United Committee for the Taxation of.

Joint Secs.: Crompton Llewelyn Davies, M.A., and John Paul, Broad Sanctuary Chambers, 20, Tothill St., Westminster, London, S.W. Constituted at a meeting held on March 23rd, 1907, composed of representatives from the English and Scottish Leagues and the Irish Society for the Taxation of Land Values, and in conjunction with the English and Scottish Leagues.

Northern Allotment Society.

Hon. Sec.: Joseph W. Wakinshaw, 48, Dean St., Newcastle-on-Tyne. Established in 1890. Has organised the purchase of 2,639 acres of land, situated in Northumberland and Durham, at a cost of £193,843. 15s. The Society has not availed itself of any Act of Parl. for procuring land.

Roads Improvement Assoc. (Incorp.).

Pres.: Rt. Hon. Earl Cadogan, K.G. *Sec.*: Rees Jeffreys, 1, Albemarle St., Piccadilly, W. To obtain better, wider, and more numerous public roads and footways. Actively supported National Roads Congress, Paris, 1908. **Small Holdings Federation (Blackburn).**

Pres.: J. M. Astbury, K.C., M.P. *Sec.*: Small Holdings Fed., Blackburn, for further information.

The Vacant Land Cultivation Society.

Hon. Treas.: Mrs. H. J. Tennant, *Hon. Sec.*: Joseph Fels, 89, Wilson St., London, E.C. Founded 1908, to obtain the temporary loan of unused land, including building sites, &c.; to let the ground to approved applicants; to provide seeds, plants, and tools, and the necessary practical instruction and supervision.

LEARNED.**British Association for the Advancement of Science.**

Annual Meeting, 1910, at Sheffield, on Aug. 31st and following days, *Pres.*: Prof. Sir J. J. Thomson, F.R.S. *President-Elect for Sheffield Meeting*: Dr. T. G. Bonney, F.R.S. *Gen. Secs.*: Major P. A. MacMahon, F.R.S.; Prof. W. A. Herdman, F.R.S. *Assist Sec.*: O. J. R. Howarth, M.A., Burlington House, London, W. Founded 1831, to stimulate scientific enquiry.

British Medical Association.

Fin. Sec.: Guy Elliston, 429, Strand, W.C. Has 35 British, 83 Colonial branches; 20,000 members. Subscription, 25s. Organ: "British Medical Journal."

Society of Comparative Legislation.

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T. *Hon. Sec.*: Edward Manson, 5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn. Organ: "The Journal of Comparative Legislation."

The Dante Society.

Chairman of Exec.: Chevallier Rieu, 88, Conduit St., London, W. Has 650 members. Assists Dante Library at Ravenna.

The English Assoc.

Pres.: Prof. George Saintsbury, LL.D. *Sec.*: Miss E. Lee, 8, Mornington Avenue Mansions, W. Kensington. To further the study of English language and literature.

Entomological Society of London.

Pres.: Frederick Augustus Dixey, M.A., M.D. *Secs.*: Henry Rowland Brown, M.A., and Commander James J. Walker, M.A., R.N., 11, Chandos St., Cavendish Sq., W. Library open daily. Meetings held certain Wednesdays during sessions.

The Folk Lore Society.

Pres.: Miss C. S. Burne. *Sec.*: F. A. Milne, M.A., 11, Old Sq., Lincoln's Inn, W.C. Established 1873, for the collection and preservation of Folk Lore. Meets on third Wednesdays from Nov. to June, at 22, Albemarle St. (The Royal Asiatic Society). Subscription, £1. 1s. per annum.

Incorp. Instit. of Hygiene.

Pres.: Sir W. Bennett, K.C.V.O. *Gen. Director and Sec.*: J. Grant Ramsay, F.R.E.S., Devonshire St., Harley St., W. For the advancement of personal and domestic hygiene. Exams. twice yearly.

Linnean Society of London.

Gen. Sec.: Dr. B. Haydon Jackson, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London. Founded 1788, for the study of Natural History. Meetings

held bi-monthly, Nov. to June. Library of 52,000 vols. Official organs: "The Transactions"; "The Journal."

Medical Society of London.

Pres.: Samuel West, M.D., F.R.C.P. *Registrar and Res. Librarian*: George Bethell, 11, Chandos St., Cavendish Sq., W. Instit. 1773. Has library for use of Fellows, and holds meetings, with papers, discussions, and demonstrations.

Museums Association.

Gen. Sec. and Editor: E. Howarth, F.R.A.S., F.Z.S., Museum and Art Gallery, Sheffield. Meets annually. Official organ: "The Museums Journal" (monthly).

Ophthalmological Society.

Hon. Secs.: J. Herbert Fisher and E. Farquhar Buzzard, M.D., 11, Chandos St., Cavendish Sq., W. Holds meetings monthly.

Psychical Research Society for.

Pres.: Mrs. Henry Sidgwick. *Sec.*: Miss I. Newton, 20, Hanover Sq., London, W. Founded 1882, to make an organised and systematic attempt to investigate, without prejudice or prepossession, debatable phenomena which are *prima facie* inexplicable on any generally recognised hypothesis. Proceedings of 1909 largely connected with investigation of phenomena of automatic writing. Official organ: "The Journal" (monthly, Oct.-July). **Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.**

Sec.: Miss Hughes, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W. Founded 1823. Present membership, about 600. Library, 22,000 vols. and 2,000 MSS. Subscriptions: Resident members, £3. 3s. per annum; non-resident, £1. 10s. Publications: "Transactions," 1827-35, 8 vols.; "Journal," 1834, in continuation, now published quarterly, 12s. per part, or, annual advance subscription, £1. 10s.

Royal Botanic Society.

Sec. and Supt.: J. Bryant Sowerby, F.L.S., Regent's Park, N.W. Incorporated 1830, for the promotion of Botany and its application to Medicine, Arts, and Manufactures, and for the formation of extensive Botanical Gardens.

Royal Geographical Society.

Sec.: J. Scott Keltie, 1, Savile Row, London, W. Holds bi-monthly ordinary meetings, Nov. to June. Official organ: "The Journal."

Royal Historical Society.

Hon. Sec.: H. E. Malden, M.A., 6 and 7, South Sq., Gray's Inn, W.C.

Royal Institution of Great Britain.

Treas.: Sir James Crichton-Browne, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S. *Hon. Sec.*: Sir William Crookes, D.Sc., F.R.S., Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, London, W. Established 1800. Comprises Laboratories, Model Room, Library of 60,000 vols., and holds public lectures and weekly meetings.

Royal Statistical Society (Incorp.).

Pres.: Sir Jervoise Athelstane Baines, C.S.I. *Hon. Secs.*: R. Henry Rew; G. Udny Yale; W. H. Clark, C.M.O., 9, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C. Founded 1834. It had 824 Fellows in June, 1909, the average number for previous 10 years being 908. Papers read and discussed at monthly meetings. Official organ: "Quarterly Journal."

Sociological Society.

Pres.: Frederic Harrison, D.C.L. *Hon. Sec.*: Victor V. Branford, M.A., 21, Buckingham

St., Strand, W.O. Constituted in November, 1903. Aims at affording a common ground on which workers from all fields and schools concerned with social phenomena may meet—economist and historian, psychologist and moralist, anthropologist and archaeologist, geographer and naturalist; as also physician and alienist, criminologist and jurist, hygienist, and educationist, philanthropist and social reformer, politician and cleric.

Zoological Society of London.
Sec.: P. Chalmers Mitchell, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., 3, Hanover Sq., London, W.

MUNICIPAL, &c.

Association of Municipal Corporations.

Pres.: J. S. Harmood-Banner, M.P. *Sec.:* A. J. Pritchard, Palace Chambers, 9, Bridge St., Westminster. By complete organisation, to protect the interests of Municipal Corporations. Membership includes 295 towns.

Assoc. of Poor-Law Unions in England and Wales.

Sec.: Herbert Davey, 5, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C. Founded 1898 under authority of Parliament to protect the interests of Boards of Guardians as they may be affected by legislation, &c.

County Councils Association.

Chairman: The Right Hon. Lord Belper. *Sec.:* C. Montagu Harris, Carlton House, Tophill St., Westminster. Its object is, by complete organisation, to watch over and protect the interests of County Councils.

London Borough Officers' Association.

Pres.: W. Chambers Leete. *Sec.:* H. W. Guthrie, Town Hall, Hackney. To hold periodical meetings for the discussion of matters appertaining to the local government of the Metropolitan Boroughs. Papers are read on public matters of interest.

London Municipal Society.

Pres.: The Duke of Norfolk, E.M., P.C., K.G. *Hon. Sec.:* G. S. C. Swinton, L.C.C., 11, Tophill St., Westminster. Established to promote the effective and economical working of the existing system of London government. Provides speakers, disseminates information, and watches legislation.

London Reform Union.

Chairman: Robert Vernon Harcourt, M.P. *Sec.:* F. W. Galton, Trafalgar Buildings, Northumberland Av., E.C. To encourage good citizenship among Londoners and to promote, on Progressive lines, united action in furtherance of social reform and better municipal government.

Mansion House Council on Dwellings of the Poor.

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. The Lord Mayor. *Hon. Sec.:* W. F. Crales, 31, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, E.C. To study questions relating to housing and sanitation. Watch Parliamentary action, and influence public opinion thereon, and to encourage and press for efficient sanitary administration by Central and Local Authorities. Works through Local Committees.

Metropolitan Rate Collectors' Assoc.

Hon. Sec.: Arthur J. Croxford, 12, Oakington Rd., Paddington. To consider any proposed legislation, and to watch over the interests of its members.

Municipal Tramways Association.

Pres.: C. J. Spencer, Tramways Dept., Bradford. *Hon. Sec. and Treas.:* A. R.

Fearnley, Division St., Sheffield. To acquire experimental, statistical, and scientific knowledge relating to tramways, and to promote the interests of municipal tramways.

National Assoc. of Local Government Officers.

Pres.: Sir Homewood Crawford. *Sec.:* Frank E. Glan, 58, Ingatestone Rd., Woodford Green, Essex. To further the interests of local government officers, and to federate their various societies.

National Poor-Law Officers' Association (Incorp.).

Sec.: Shirley Fussell, Norfolk House, Victoria Embankment, W.C. To advance the interests of Poor-Law Officers of England and Wales, and watch Poor-Law legislation.

National Union of Public Health Authorities.

Acting Sec.: Dr. Meredith Young, M.O.H., Marylebone. To secure harmony of interest and uniformity of action among Public Health Authorities.

Non-County Boroughs Association.

Pres.: Norval W. Helme, M.P. *Sec.:* Charles E. Baker, 54, Parliament St., Westminster. Founded 1888, to protect the interests of Non-County Boroughs and to acquire for them extended and improved powers of self-government.

Outer London Enquiry.

Sec.: G. E. Arkell, School of Economics, Clare Market, W.C.

Poor-Law Conferences, Central Committee of.

Chair.: J. Milson Rhodes, M.D. *Sec.:* W. G. Lewis, 8, Wells St., Gray's Inn Rd., W.C. For the discussion of Poor-Law questions.

Public Health Authorities, National Union of.

Pres.: Ald. Sir H. W. Newton, Newcastle-on-Tyne. *Hon. Sec.:* H. E. Armstrong, Health Dept., Town Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Rural District Councils Association.

Pres.: Sir Edward Strachey, Bart, M.P. *Hon. Sec.:* Arthur J. Lees, Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster. To watch over interests and offer collective experience of Rural District Councils to Parliament, Local Government Board, and other bodies.

Urban Council Clerks' Association.

Pres.: J. F. Keeley, Birkdale; *Sec.:* Charles E. Baker, 54, Parliament St., Westminster. Formed in 1892, to protect and advance the interests of the Clerks to Urban Councils. The subscription is 10s. per annum. A circular for the use of members is issued monthly.

Urban District Councils Association.

Pres.: Sir Thomas Roe, M.P. *Sec.:* Arthur J. Lees, Palace Chambers, Bridge St., Westminster. For objects, see "Rural District Councils Association."

Women Guardians and Local Government Association.

Hon. Sec.: Councillor Margaret Ashton, 8, Kinnaird Rd., Withington. *Org. Sec.:* Mrs. Clark, 60, Barton Arcade, Manchester. Founded 1889; it is strictly non-party, and promotes the election of suitable women to all public offices for which they are eligible.

Women's Local Government Society.

Pres.: Lady Strachey. *Sec.:* Miss Berry, 17, Tophill St., Westminster. Politically independent, its object is the promotion of the

legal eligibility of women (a) to elect to, (b) to serve on all local governing bodies—and to promote among women the study of their duties as citizens in respect to local government.

POLITICAL.

(See also Political Organisations, pp. 129.)

The Amalgamated Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association.

Sec.: Miss Violet Brooke-Hunt. Office: 19, Hanover Square, W.

Association of Conservative Clubs.

Pres.: Rt. Hon. Sir A. Acland-Hood, Bart. Sec.: Frank Solbé. Offices: St. Stephen's Chambers, Bridge St., Westminster, S.W.

Ciadstone Benevolent Fund for Liberal Agents.

Chairman: Ernest J. White, Treas.: Sir Edward Evans. Hon. Sec.: W. Stanforth, 401, Spring Bank West, Hull. For the establishment of a fund (a) for the relief of members who are, or who for five years have been, Liberal Agents, and who are incapacitated by age or infirmity; (b) (1) Funeral grants £10, (2) additional grant of £1 for each complete year of the deceased's membership of the Fund; and (c) for the relief of widows and orphans of deceased members.

National Reform Institute.

Hon. Sec.: Joseph Edwards, 21, Palace Sq., Norwood, S.E. Proposes to provide a rallying place and centre for the various social reform movements by the erection of a building specially equipped for the purpose.

Proportional Representation Society.

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. Lord Courtney of Penwith. Hon. Sec.: John H. Humphreys, 29, Martin's Lane, Cannon St., London, E.C. Founded 1884, to advocate the representation in Parliament of the different sections of political opinion in proportion to their respective numerical strengths.

Railway Nationalisation Society.

Chair.: Clement Edwards, M.P. Sec.: F. W. Galton, 5, Duke St., Adelphi, W.C. To prepare the way for State ownership of the railways, by investigation, meetings, publication of literature, &c.

Society of Certificated and Associated Liberal Agents.

Chairman: J. C. Skinner. Treas.: T. Palmer Newbould. Hon. Sec.: W. Stanforth, 401, Spring Bank West, Hull. To promote the knowledge of Law and Practice in connection with Parliamentary, Municipal, and other Elections (including the Registration Laws), especially among Agents and others concerned or interested directly or indirectly in such Elections. The members of the Society are denominated Fellows or Associates.

Social and Political Education League.

Pres.: Prof. Karl Pearson, M.A., LL.B., F.R.S. Hon. Sec.: R. E. U. Bax, 12, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. Object: To promote the study of Political, Economic, Historical, and Social Subjects. In 1908-9 gave 338 lectures and visited 122 societies.

The Tariff Reform League.

Sec.: T. W. A. Bagley Office: 7, Victoria St., Westminster.

Unionist Free Trade Club.

Pres.: The Earl of Cromer, G.C.B. Sec.: E. G. Branker, 83, Victoria St., London, S.W. To unite Unionist Free Traders in all parts of the country, and to organise the dissemination of Unionist and Free Trade principles.

United Irish League of Great Britain.

Pres.: T. P. O'Connor, M.P. Gen. Sec.: F. L. Cribby, 2 and 4, Gt. Smith St., Westminster, S.W. For the thorough organisation of the Irish people in Great Britain for electoral purposes, and the attainment of Self-government for Ireland.

Women's Liberal Metropolitan Union.

Pres.: Lady Denman. Sec.: Miss Gladstone, 97, Babington Rd., Streatham, S.W. To promote Liberal principles in the government of the country, and to help forward Women's Suffrage. Membership, approx., 5,633, in 48 affiliated associations.

Young Scots Society.

Hon. Pres.: John W. Gulland, M.P. Pres.: Robert Hay, Hon. General Sec. and Treas.: John M. Crosthwaite, 237, West George Street, Glasgow. Founded in October, 1900, to stimulate interest in Progressive Politics, to encourage the study of History, Social and Industrial Science, and Economics, and to promote Liberal principles. The Society has (November, 1907) branches in thirty towns throughout Scotland.

SETTLEMENTS.

London.

Bermondsey Sett., Farncombe St., S.E.

Warden: J. Scott Lidgett, M.A.

Ditto, Wom. Sett., 149, Lower Rd., Rotherhithe, S.E. Head: Miss Simmons.

Browning Hall, York St., Waiworth, S.E. Warden: Herbert Stead, M.A.

Cambridge House, 131, Camberwell Rd., S.E. Head: W. J. Conybeare, M.A.

Canning Town Women's Sett., Barking Rd., E. Head: Miss Cheetham.

Chalfont House, 20, Queen Sq., W.C. In connection with Society of Friends.

Deptford Fund, 24, Buckingham Palace Rd., S.W. Secretary: Mrs. Lamert.

Fern Street School Sett., Devons Rd., Bromley-by-Bow. Hon. Sec.: Miss Grant.

Gonville and Calus Col. Sett., Harroway Rd. Head: Rev. A. Shillito, B.A.

Lady Margaret Hall Sett., 131, Kennington Rd., S.E. Head: Miss Kempe.

Mansfield House, Canning Town, E. Warden: Rev. H. Cubbon, M.A.

Maurice Hostel (men), 64, Britannia St., City Rd. Head: Rev. R. R. Hyde.

Maurice Hostel, Wom. House, 51, Herbert St., N. Head: Miss Craske.

Morley College, 131, Waterloo Rd., S.E. Head: E. J. Urwick.

N. Lond. Ladies' Sett., York House, 37, Hartham Rd., Holloway, N. Head: Miss Shelford.

Oxford House, Mape St., Bethnal Grn., E. Head: Rev. H. S. Woolcombe.

Passmore Edwards Sett., Tavistock Pl. Warden: G. E. Gladstone, M.A.

Presbytrn. Wom. Sett., 58, E. India Dock Rd., E. Head: Mrs. Alex. Matheson.

St. Helen's House, The Grove, Stratford, E. Head: Miss St. Hill.

St. Hilda's East, Cheltnm., Coll., Sett., Old Nicholl St., Bethnal Green, E. Head: Miss Bruce.

St. Margaret's House (Branch of Oxford House), 21, Old Ford Rd., Bethnal Green, E. Head: Miss Harlington.

St. Mildred's House, Millwall, Isle of Dogs, E. Head: Miss Wintour.

Talbot House Wom. Sett., 48, Addington Sq., Camberwell. Head: Miss Sharples.

Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial St., E. Wom. Worker's Coll. (Grey Ladies), Dartmouth House, Blackheath Hill, S.E. Head: Miss Wordsworth.

Wom. Univ. Sett., 44, Nelson Sq., Blackfriars Rd. Head: Miss McN. Sharpley.

Working Wom. Coll., Fitzroy Square, W. Birmingham.

Women's Sett., 813, Summer Lane. Warden: Miss Albright and Miss Matheson.

Bristol.

Broad Plain House, St. Phillip's. Warden: F. N. Colborne.

Cardiff.

Univ. Sett., E. Moor. Hon. Sec.: Miss Lillian Howell, Grove House, Richmond Crescent.

Chesterfield.

The Sett., Church Lane. Head: Miss Markham.

Darlington.

The Ladies' Settlement.

Dundee.

Settlement House, Grey Lodge. Head: Miss Walker.

Edinburgh.

Univ. Sett. Assn., Surgeon Sq. Warden: Rev. C. W. G. Taylor.

Univ. Hall. Senior resident: Prof. Pat. Geddes.

Town and Gown Assn., 21, Rutland St.

Sheffield.

Croft House Sett., 108, Townhead Street. Warden: Rev. W. Blackshaw.

Neighbour Guild Sett., (a) Rutland Hall, Neaps End. Head warden: Sister Agnes.

(b) Neighbour Hall, Shipton St. Head warden: Miss Wrigley. (c) Settlement House, 14, Oxford St. Warden: Mr. H. Clay.

Glasgow.

Toynbee House, Cathedral Court, Rotten Row. Hon. Sec.: H. D. Jackson.

Univ. Students' Sett., 10, Possil Rd. Warden: Jas. Cunlison, M.A.

Broomielaw Free Church Coll. Mission, 52, Carrick St., Anderston. Warden: Rev. J. Law, M.A.

Queen Margaret Sett., 75, Elliot St., Anderston. Head: Miss Marion Rutherford.

Ipswich.

Social Sett., 123-35, Fore St. Managing Sec.: W. Edmund Calver.

Liverpool.

Victoria Wom. Sett., 294, Netherfield Rd., N. Warden: Miss Macadam.

Univ. Sett., 129, Park St. Sec.: Mr. F. G. D'Aeth.

Manchester.

Lancs. Coll. Sett., Embden St., Hulme. Warden: Rev. J. P. Stephenson.

Ditto (Women's). Head: Miss B. Pochin. Art Museum and Univ. Sett., 200, Every St., Ancoats. Warden: T. R. Marr.

Ditto (Women's). Head: Miss Alice Crompton, M.A.

Church House, 201, Great Ancoats St., Manchester.

Ladies' Church House, 117, Rusholme Rd. Head: Miss Annie Wright.

Middlesbrough.

Congregational Women's Set. Res. Supt.: Miss Harris, 132, Newport Rd.

SOCIAL BETTERMENT.

The After Care Association.

Pres.: The Earl of Meath. Sec.: H. Thornhill Roxby, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W. To assist poor persons discharged recovered from asylums for the insane by obtaining employment suitable to the abilities of the person aided or giving other help.

The Alliance of Honour.

Pres.: Dr. Harry Grattan Guinness. Hon. Secs.: Mrs. Evelyn E. Bagnall and Alfred B. Kent, 10, Leysian Buildings, 118, City Rd., London, E.C. Object: The suppression of vice.

Association for Befriending Boys.

Chairman: Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, D.D. Sec.: Henry F. New, 7, Adam St., Strand, London. For the care of boys up to the age of twenty years coming from the Poor-Law Institutions. 82 Boards of Guardians are represented on its Council. 2,090 boys reported on in year ending Dec., 1903.

Brabazon Employment Society.

Pres.: The Countess of Meath. Cent. Sec.: Miss M. L. Despard, 51, Upper Baker St., London, N.W. To provide interesting occupation for aged or sick people in workhouse, infirmary, and asylum wards. Voluntary branch workers visit inmates and teach them industries.

Borstal Association.

Hon. Sec.: W. Grant-Wilson, 2, New Sq., Lincoln's Inn, W.C. Object: After-care of lads discharged from prison after full Borstal treatment.

British Institute of Social Service.

Pres.: The Earl of Meath. Chairman: Sir Edward O'Malley. Assistant Sec.: S. Joyce Brown, 11, Southampton Row, London, W.C. To collect information and to prevent waste by overlapping in social services. Official organ: "Progress" (quarterly, 2s. 6d. per annum, post free).

Central Committee of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.

Sec.: A. J. S. Maddison, 117, Victoria St., S.W. Object: To promote combined action among Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. Works under the Reformatory and Refuge Union.

Church Army (Incorp.).

Hon. Sec.: Rev. Prebendary Carlile. Headquarters: 55, Bryanston St., W. Provides Labour Homes for tramps, criminals, inebriates; relieves unemployment; women's homes, cheap food depôts, lodging houses in different towns, &c.

Church Lads' Brigade (Incorp.).

Pres.: H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, K.G., K.T. Sec.: W. M. Gee, Aldwych House, Catherine St., Aldwych, London. Founded 1891 to band lads into a Church organisation. Official infantry drill is used. Has trained 300,000 boys since its foundation.

Early Closing Association and Traders' Parliamentary Alliance (1842).

Sec.: James A. Stacey, 21, New Bridge St., E.C. For the abridgment of hours of labour, especially on Saturday night, assistance of shopkeepers and assistants generally.

Friends' Association for Abolishing the State Regulation of Vice (1873).

Sec.: Maurice Gregory, 19, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate, E.C. Advocates that

State interference should be directed towards eradicating vice rather than to its regulation.

Friends' Assoc. for the Promotion of Social Purity.

1728. William S. Clark, J.P. Sec.: Maurice Gregory, 19, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C. Founded 1873 as the Friends' Assoc. for Abolishing State Regulation of Vice, the scope of its operations was widened at annual meeting, 1909, to include Poor Relief Guilds of Help, Social Purity Work on Town Councils, and other forms of Social Service.

Friends' Social Union.

Org. Sec.: P. Alden, 1, Woburn Sq., W.C.

HEALTH SOCIETIES.

The following is a list of the various Health Societies working under the Medical Officer of Health, which are at present established in London: South-West Ham, Hon. Sec., Mansfield House, Barking Road, E.; Southwark, Miss Townsend, Women's University Settlement, Nelson Sq., S.E.; Battersea, Miss Criss, 21, Lexham Gdns., W.; Camberwell, Miss Seth-Smith, 17, Peckham Rd., S.E.; Greenwich, Mrs. Keay, 123, Greenwich Rd., S.E.; Lewisham, Miss Barr, 12, Lewisham Park, S.E.; St. Pancras, Medical Officer of Health, Town Hall, N.W.; Dalston, Miss Allen, 75, Sandringham Rd., N.E.; Finsbury, Hon. Sec., Social Workers' Association, 165, Goswell Rd., E.C.; Stepney, M. Birley, Esq., Toynbee Hall, E.; Poplar, Miss Wintour, St. Mildred's House, West Ferry Rd., E.; Bethnal Green, C. G. E. Fletcher, Esq., Town Hall, Bethnal Green, E.; City of Westminster, Miss Horn, 42, Campden House Court, W.; Kensington, Miss Scott, 41, Lexham Gdns., W.; Paddington, Oscar Warburg, Esq., 2, Craven Hill, W.; Chelsea, Miss Ferard, Almoner's Office, St. George's Hospital, S.W.; Hampstead, T. Hancock Nunn, Esq., Rosslyn Grove, N.W.; St. Marylebone, Mrs. Dobell, 63A, Henry St., N.W.; Jewish Board of Guardians, Miss Cowen, 127, Middlesex St., E.

Homes for Inebriates Association (Reg. 1882).
Sec.: J. E. Swinford Francis, Court Chambers, 173, Marylebone Rd., London, W. Procures admission to Retreats, which are subject to Government inspection; inmates escaping may be apprehended.

Home Worker's Aid Assoc. (and The Farthing League).

Chairman: The Rev. the Dean of Norwich.
Hon. Organiser and Manager: Thomas Holmes, 12, Bedford Rd., S. Tottenham, London. To improve the conditions under which London home workers live and labour, to give relief, and to establish Homes of Rest. Income, Dec., 1908: £1,251. 3s. 4d. Home of Rest: Walton-on-the-Naze; 60 beds.

Howard Association.
Sec.: Thomas Holmes, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C. *Object:* The promotion of the best methods of penal treatment and crime prevention.

Industrial Law Committee.

Chairman: Mrs. Tennant. *Sec.:* Miss Cox, York Mansion, York St., W. To supply information as to the legal protection of the industrial classes with regard to the conditions of their trade, to enquire into breaches of the law and refer them to

proper authorities, and to promote further legislation and more effective administration on existing law.

The International Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice (British Committee).

Chairman: Henry J. Wilson, M.P. *Hon. Sec.:* Dr. Helen Wilson, 17, Tothill St., Westminster, S.W. Founded 1875 for the abolition of prostitution as a legalised or officially tolerated institution. Non-sectarian and non-party. Official organ: "The Shield" (1d. monthly, 1s. 6d. per annum, post free).

Irish Asasantry Society.

61, Stamford St., Blackfriars, S.E.

Kyrie Society.

Chairman: Lord Monkswell. *Hon. Sec.:* J. B. Hodge, 2, Manchester St., London, W. Founded 1877 for bringing Beauty home to the People. Provides open spaces, literature, good music for the poor, &c. Nine provincial societies.

League of Well-doers (late Food and Betterment Assoc.).

Founder and Hon. Director: H. Lee. *Sec.:* J. Jones, 119, Limekiln Lane, Liverpool. Non-sectarian and purely social, to supply food and meals (either free or for payment) to the poor of Liverpool and district, and to provide court and alley concerts, &c. Organ: "The Well-doer" (bi-monthly, 1d.).

London Girls' Club and Institute Union.
Sec.: Hon. Maude Stanley, 59, Greek St., Soho. For the affiliation of girls' clubs throughout London.

London Playing Fields Society.

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. Sir G. Chandos Leigh, K.C.B., K.C. *Sec.:* R. S. H. Bain, 14, Launceston Place, Kensington. Has (1903) 210 cricket pitches, 43 tennis courts, and 52 football grounds.

Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants (1875).

Sec.: Miss Poole, 66, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W. *Object:* To befriend young girls, aged 14 to 20, in or entering domestic service in London districts (1) referred by guardians from Poor Law schools; (2) without situation, or in need of help. Thirty branch committees.

Metropolitan Public Gardens Assoc.

Chairman: The Earl of Meath, K.P. *Sec.:* Basil Holmes, 83, Lancaster Gate, W. Founded in 1832, to provide breathing and resting places for the old and playgrounds for the young in densely-populated localities. Income, 1908, £2,540. Has carried through 450 successful undertakings since 1832.

National Anti-Gambling League.

Hon. Sec.: John Hawke, 13, Victoria St., London, S.W. To educate public opinion on the ethics of gambling and the extent of the evil by means of lectures, addresses, and literature. Has taken action by means of summonses against papers holding "Limerick" competitions. Official organ: "The Bulletin" (half-yearly, price 1d.).

National Anti-Sweating League.

Pres.: George Cadbury. *Sec.:* J. J. Mallon, 34, Mecklenburgh Sq., W.C. To secure the payment of legal minimum wages to workers in sweated trades.

National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Fashion-minded (1895).

Sec.: Miss A. H. P. Kirby, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W. *Object:* To

promote the permanent care and control of the feeble-minded through After-Care Committees and Industrial Homes and Colonies; to strengthen local centres and unify the work by the creation of branches throughout the country, and to collect statistics showing local needs; to further the movement by legislative and educative measures, &c. **Management:** By Executive Committee. **Income** (1907-8): Charitable contributions, £1,073; inmates' payments, £1,724; earnings, £181.

National Assoc. for Prevention of Consumption.

Chairman: The Rt. Hon. the Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K.T. **Hon. Sec.:** J. J. Perkins, M.B., F.R.C.P., 20, Hanover Sq., London, W. For the collection and diffusion of information as to the spread, treatment, and prevention of tuberculosis.

National Health Society.

Sec.: Miss Lankester, 53, Berners St., W. Trains and sends out health lecturers; arranges special courses of instruction in hygiene, &c. Subscription, £1. 1s.

National League for Physical Education and Improvement.

Sec.: F. J. Matheson, 1, Southampton Row, W.C. **Objects:** (a) Provision of health visitors; (b) adequate physical training for children during and after school life.

National Physical Recreation Society.

Pres.: Rt. Hon. Herbert J. Gladstone, M.P. **Sec.:** Eugene Sulby, 12, New Broadway, Ealing, W. Established in 1886, for the promotion of Physical Education and Recreation. Has since then given free instruction to over 650,000 people, composed chiefly of the working classes in our principal crowded centres, many being young women and the deaf, dumb, and blind, &c.

National Society for Epileptics (1892).

The Colony, Chalfont St. Peter. **Sec.:** G. Penn Gaskell, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W. **Objects:** (1) To establish Homes for persons suffering from epilepsy; (2) welfare of epileptics generally. Several Homes already built for men and women. Owing to sec. 2, sub-sec. (6) of Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899, having now been amended, it is intended to provide Children's Homes as soon as possible. Principal industries for men, farming, gardening, carpentry, basket-making, &c; for women, laundry work, housework, &c.

National Sunday League.

Sec.: Henry Mills, 34, Red Lion Sq., W.C. **Object:** The promotion of Sunday recreation.

National Vigilance Association and International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic.

Chairman: Sir Percy W. Bunting. **Sec.:** William A. Coote, 161A, Strand, London, W.C. Founded 24 years ago, for the repression of criminal vice and public immorality. It includes the *International Guild of Service for Women*, which dealt with 2,603 cases at stations and ports and nine repatriation cases in year ending April 30th, 1909.

The Personal Rights Association.

Hon. Sec. and Treas.: J. H. Levy, 11, Abbeville Rd., London, S.W. Founded March, 1871, and maintains the principle of the equality of all citizens before the law. Official

organ: "The Individualist" (2d. per copy or 1s. per annum).

The Personal Service League.

Org. Sec.: Miss Violet Markham, 8, Gower St., W.C. Founded 1908, to associate those prepared to undertake personal work amongst the poor.

Philanthropic Reform Assoc.

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Meath. **K.P. Sec.:** Mrs. Tolerton, 208, Great Brunswick St., Dublin. To enquire into the working of legislation relating to social problems. The Association is strictly non-sectarian and non-political.

Public Health, The Royal Instit. of.

Hon. Sec.: James Cantlie, M.A., M.B., F.R.C.S., Russell Sq., London, W.C. Founded in 1886, to provide a central institution in London for the training of medical practitioners for the Diploma in Public Health, &c. Has Bacteriological and Chemical Libraries, Department of Military Hygiene, and Courses for Health Visitors and School Nurses. Official organ: "The Journal of the R.I.P.H."

Reformatory and Refuge Union.

Sec.: A. J. S. Maddison, Victoria House, 117, Victoria Street, London. A central organisation through which the 1,200 Child-saving, Rescue and Reformatory Institutions of this country may co-operate.

St. John's Ambulance Association.

Sec.: Col. Sir H. C. Perrott, Bt., C.B. Founded 1877. Arranges courses in First Aid and Nursing. Recruited Army Medical Corps in the South African War.

Salvation Army Industrial and Land Colony (1891).

Hadleigh, Essex. Cashier at International Headquarters of Salvation Army, 101, Queen Victoria St., London, E.C. **Admission:** Applicant must be able-bodied, and willing to work at anything to which he may be suitably placed. The colonists are drawn from all classes. Payment required in connection with special cases, which payment varies according to financial condition of persons sending colonist. **Management:** By Governor, appointed by General Booth, assisted by staff of qualified and experienced workers. Accommodation for 800 colonists.

Salvation Army London Industrial (Rescue) Homes.

27, 29, Devonshire Rd., Hackney (Maternity Home in connection with Maternity Hospital); Lanark House, Laura Place, Clapton; Clock House, Whips Cross, Walthamstow; 181-8, Amhurst Rd., Hackney; The Nest, Springfield, Upper Clapton, N.; 122-126, High Rd., Lower Clapton; 16, Maury Rd., Stoke Newington; 17, Highbury Terrace, N.; Southwood, Sydenham Hill, S.E. Children's Home: 126, High Rd., Lower Clapton. Midnight Post: 79, Great Titchfield St., Oxford St., W. **Object:** Any friendless woman received, so far as accommodation permits. Suitable situations or other employment provided upon leaving the Homes. An Affiliation Department deals with the cases of young mothers whenever possible. Applications, in first instance, to Mrs. Booth, 259, Mare Street, Hackney. Cases received (1907-1908): 2,000.

Salvation Army Shelters and Metro-poles.

Green St., E.; Whitechapel Rd., E.; Burne

St., Edgware Rd., W.; Lisson St., W.; Kean St., W.C.; Middlesex St., E.C.; Blackfriars Rd., S.E.; 30, Argyle Sq., W.C.; Quaker St., Spitalfields, E.; Millbank St., Westminster, S.W.; Spa Rd., Bermondsey, S.E., &c. There are also Salvation Army Shelters and Metro-poles at Edinburgh, The Vennel, Grassmarket (also Shelter for Women); Glasgow, 207, High St.; Bristol, Tower Hill; 48, Castle St., Leeds; 80, Lisbon St.; Bradford, 11, Peel St. and Richard St.; Manchester, 6, Chepstow St.; Belfast, Victoria St.; 70, Milk St. (and Laundry); Plymouth, 100, King St. (and Laundry); St. Albans, 17, Alma Rd.; Cardiff, 11 and 12, Moira Terrace; and Dundee, Ward Rd. **Elevators:** Casual Labour Yards and Works, Bermondsey, Dunlop Place, Spa Rd.; Whitechapel, 159, Hanbury St.; King's Cross, N., 18, 20, and 22, North St.; Garrett St., Whitecross St., E.C.; 1, Richard St., Bradford; 42, Jacob St., Bristol; 80, Lisbon St., Leeds; Chepstow St., Manchester.

Secret Commissions and Bribery Prevention League (Incorp.).

Pres.: The Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Fry, G.C.B. **Sec.:** R. M. Leonard, 3, Oxford Court, Cannon St., E.C. Formed Oct., 1906, to assist in enforcing the Act of 1906 by educating public opinion against corrupt trading, and by legally advising its members and initiating prosecutions when advisable.

Social Purity Alliance.

Chairman: W. T. Malleon. **Sec.:** E. Hammond, 15, Tothill St., Westminster, S.W. Founded 1873, on unsectarian basis.

Sec. for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes.

Sec.: Alfred Humphreys, F.C.I.S., 4, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart St., London, W.C. Incorporated in 1850, to provide housing at low rents for labourers, charwomen, tailors, laundresses, &c.; it manages model dwellings for families and single women, and lodging houses for men. Income, 1908, £3,773 (from all sources).

South London Social Purity Work.

Sec.: J. O. Bairstow, Hawthorn Dene, Kennington Park, S.E. Carries on the purity and temperance work of the Free Church Council.

White Cross League (Church of England Society).

Chairman: Bishop of Kingston. **Secs.:** Rev. A. S. Cuthbert Harrison, M.A.; Capt. W. V. Anson, R.N., 7, Dean's Yard, Westminster Abbey, S.W. Founded 1873. Official organ: "The White Cross" (quarterly, 6d. per annum, post free).

Young Men's Christian Assoc. (National Council) (Incorp. 1844).

Secs.: W. H. Mills and F. Howe, London Central Y.M.C.A., 346, Strand, W.C. (pending the completion of the new buildings in Tottenham Court Rd. Has 7,681 centres in 40 countries, 820,643 members, property over £10,000,000.

SOCIALIST AND ANTI-SOCIALIST.

(See also Political Organisations.)

The Brotherhood Association.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Frances L. Staff, 37, Newington Green Rd., London, N. A propagandist body to further the organisation of industry on a basis of production for use. It seeks, by means of literature and lectures, &c., to make known the work of the Co-

operative Brotherhood Trust (organised on this basis). Official organ: "The Wheat-sheaf" (monthly).

Church Socialist League.

Hon. Sec.: The Rev. W. A. Paine, 37, Westminster Palace Gardens, S.W. Founded 1906, to secure the corporate action of the Church on the principle that the community should own the land and capital collectively, and use them co-operatively for the good of all. Official organ: "The Church Socialist Quarterly."

English Young Socialist League.

Sec.: Sidney Campion, 28, Dover St., Leicester. Official organ: "The Pioneer."

Esperantist Socialists, British League

St.
Hon. Sec.: Miss Helen Fryer, 39, Calais-gate, Camberwell, London, S.E. Formed with the object of helping Socialism by encouraging the use among Socialists of one common language in international relations.

Socialist Women's Bureau.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Clara S. Hendin, 2, Marne St., Queen's Park, London, W.

Socialist Sunday School Unions, National Council of British.

Sec.: Fred Coates, 154, Halliwell Lane, Cheetham Hill, Manchester. First opened in Battersea, 1892, to train children to see in society an organisation for the purpose of mutual service; has about 180 schools. Official organ: "The Young Socialist" (monthly).

Anti-Socialist Department (of the Liberal Unionist Council).

Pres.: Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. **Sec.:** John Boraston, 6, Great George Street, Westminster, S.W. Founded 1907, as special branch of L.U. Council, to combat Socialism and meet Socialist orators on their own ground at street corners and in the market place.

Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain and Industrial Freedom League.

Pres.: The Duke of Devonshire. **Sec.:** Harman Grisewood, 53 and 60, Victoria St., London, S.W. Founded 1902, to organise and direct a national movement to oppose and defeat the forces and organisations operating for Socialism in this country. Official organ: "The Anti-Socialist" (monthly).

The Liberty and Property Defence League.

Chairman: The Earl of Wemyss. **Sec.:** Frederick M. Millar, 25, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. Opposes all attempts to introduce the State as competitor or regulator into the various departments of social activity and industry.

SUFFRAGE.

Adult Suffrage Society.

Pres.: Miss Margaret Bondfield. **Hon. Sec.:** Miss M. M. A. Ward, 122, Gower St., W.C. (1) To focus opinion on the question of adult suffrage; (2) to secure the rights of citizenship to every adult—man and woman.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, 48, Dover St., Piccadilly, London. This Association, though pledging itself not to oppose any official Unionist Candidate, yet will not work as an association for any candidate opposed to women's franchise. Works for Women's

Enfranchisement by constitutional methods, consistent with Unionist principles, and opposes Universal Suffrage. Nine branches founded; others in course of formation.

Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Pres.: Miss S. E. S. Mair. *Hon. Sec.*: Miss A. L. Balfour, 40, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. Formed in 1867, to be the headquarters in Scotland of the constitutional agitation for woman's suffrage. The Edinburgh membership, over 700, and increasing daily. Branches in provincial towns.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Pres.: Carrie Chapman Catt, 2, West 85th St., New York, U.S.A. *1st Vice-Pres.*: Millicent Fawcett, LL.D., 2, Gower St., London, W.C. *2nd Vice-Pres.*: Annie Furuhjelm, Helsingfors, Finland. *Treas.*: Adela Stanton Coit, 80, Hyde Park Gate, London, W. Founded 1904, "To secure the enfranchisement of the women of all nations, and to unite the friends of Woman's Suffrage throughout the world in organised co-operation and fraternal helpfulness." Holds quinquennial conventions for election of officers and transaction of business.

Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association.

Hon. Sec. and Treas.: Mrs. Anna M. Haslam, 125, Leinster Rd., Rathmines, Dublin. This Association was founded in 1876, and works (a) on non-political lines to promote the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to all qualified women on the same terms as men; (b) to promote the Registration of all qualified women electors under the Local Government Act, the election of suitable women to Boards of Guardians and Rural and Urban Councils, and the appointment of women to Public Offices for which they are eligible. Ten kindred Associations, in as many towns or districts.

Lancashire and Cheshire Women Textile and other Workers' Representation Committee.

Secs.: Miss Eva Gore-Booth, Miss Esther Roper, 5, John Dalton St., Manchester. Formed to run a Woman Suffrage Candidate at General Election, 1906; will take similar action at next election. It presents the industrial and professional aspect of Suffrage question.

London Society for Women's Suffrage.

Pres.: The Lady Frances Balfour. *Sec.*: Miss P. Strachey, 53, Victoria St., Westminster. Non-party, and pursues its object by every constitutional means in its power, and by such means only.

Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.

Pres.: The Earl of Cromer, G. C. B., O.M. *Hon. Sec.*: F. W. Raffety, Palace Chambers, Bridge St., Westminster. Founded in November, 1908.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

Chairman of Com.: Herbert Jacobs. *Hon. Sec.*: J. Malcolm Mitchell, 40, Museum St., W.C. This is a strictly non-party Society, and was formed to obtain the Parliamentary vote for women on the same terms as those on which it is, or may be, granted to men. Its policy is propagandist, and quite inde-

pendent of other societies, and it has formed a number of branches. Official organ: "The Monthly Paper," *Id.*, free to subscribers.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Pres.: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. *Hon. Sec.*: Miss Edith Dimock. *Sec.*: Miss Marjorie Phillips, B.A., D.Sc., 25, Victoria St., S.W. Consists of 103 societies in Great Britain whose sole object is to obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men. It is strictly a non-party organisation, and works by orderly methods only. Official organ: "Woman's Suffrage," *Id.*, weekly.

The National Women's Social and Political Union.

Founder and Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pankhurst. *Hon. Treas.*: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C. In addition to educational work, adopts "militant" methods, opposing any Government in power that refuses to give votes to women. Membership open to any woman approving of the Union's objects and methods, who will pledge herself not to support any Parliamentary candidate till women get the vote. Had raised in November, 1909, a Campaign Fund of between £50,000 and £60,000, and held over 10,000 meetings in previous 12 months. 20 branch offices. Official organ: "Votes for Women," *Id.*, weekly.

The People's Suffrage Federation.

Chairman: Miss Emily Hobhouse. *Hon. Secs.*: Miss Margaret Llewellyn Davies, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, League House, 34, Mecklenburgh Square, London. Founded October, 1909, to secure the Parliamentary suffrage for every adult man or woman on a short residential qualification; "One man, one vote, one woman, one vote"—and the just representation of Labour. A non-party organisation, with members of both sexes.

Scottish Universities Franchise Assoc.

Pres.: Miss F. H. Simpson, M.A. *Hon. Sec.*: Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Corstorphine Hill House, by Murrayfield, Midlothian. Founded on necessary dissolution of the committee for women graduates' suffrage after the dismissal of their appeal to the House of Lords in 1908.

Women's Freedom League.

Pres.: Mrs. Despard. *Hon. Sec.*: Mrs. Edith How-Martyn, 1, Robert St., Adelphi, W.C. To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is, or may be, granted to men. Politically independent, it opposes whatever Government is in power, and conducts a vigorous campaign "upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned." Has 53 branches.

Women's National Anti-Suffrage League.

Chairman: The Countess of Jersey. *Hon. Sec.*: Mrs. Arthur Somervell, Oaxton House, Tothill St., Westminster. Founded July, 1903, independent of party, to resist the proposal to admit women to the Parliamentary franchise and to Parliament, while maintaining the principle of representation of women on municipal and other bodies. Organ: "Anti-Suffrage Review," 1s. 6d. per annum.

TEMPERANCE.

As the object of a Temperance Society is usually obvious from its title, we merely append a list of such societies, with the name and address of the Secretary:—

British Medical Temperance Assn.
Dr. W. McAdam Eccles, 124, Harley St., W.

British Temperance League.
C. Smith, 29, Union St., Sheffield.

British Women's Temperance Assn.
Miss Gertrude Hunt, 47, Victoria St., S.W.

Central Sunday Closing Association.
J. W. Causer, 9, Palace Chambers, Bridge St., Westminster.

Central Public-house Trust Association.
H. A. Paget, 15, Dean's Yard, S.W.

Church of England Temperance Society.
G. A. Thompson, 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.

Good Templars, International Order of.
Joseph Malins, 168, Edmund St., Birmingham.

Good Templars, Grand Lodge of Eng.
E. Oliver, 168, Edmund St., Birmingham.

Good Templars, Grand Lodge of Scotland.

T. Honeyman, 204, Vincent St., Glasgow.

Homes for Inebriates Association.
J. S. Francis, Court Chambers, 173, Marylebone, W.

Irish Association for the Prevention of Intemperance.

W. R. Wigham, 4, Eustace St., Dublin.

Irish Temperance League.

W. Wilkinson, 18, Lombard St., Belfast.

Licensing Law Reform League.

Hippesley Cox, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

National Prohibition Party.

T. Portway, Alliance Hall, Albury St., Deptford, S.E.

National Temperance Federation.

Chas. Smith, 29, Union St., Sheffield.

National Temperance League.

J. T. Rae, 34, Paternoster Row, E.C.

National United Temperance Council.

C. Pinhorn, 23, Memorial Hall, Farringdon St., E.C.

National Commercial Temperance League.

Victoria Avenue, Hull.

Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee.

L. H. Nott, 139, Palace Chambers, Bridge St., Westminster.

North of England Temp. League.

H. Patterson, Rutherford St., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

North Wales Temperance Federation.

J. G. Davies, 5, Church St., Rhyl.

People's Refreshment House Assn., Ltd.

R. Cripps, Broadway Chambers, S.W.

Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Assn.

W. J. Allison, 108, Douglas St., Glasgow.

Scottish Prohibition Party.

E. Scrymgeour, 2, Errol Terrace, Dundee.

Scottish Temperance League.

James Gillies, 108, Hope St., Glasgow.

Scottish Temperance Legislation Board.

G. F. Barbour, 10, Albyn Place, Edinburgh.

Society for Study of Inebriety.

Dr. T. N. Kelyack, 133, Harley Street, W.

Temperance Legislation League.

A. E. Harvey, Parliament Mns., Victoria St., S.W.

True Temperance Association.

(Reform on Common-sense Lines.) Thos. Lauders, 3, Parliament Chambers, Gt. Smith St., Westminster.

United Kingdom Alliance.

G. B. Wilson, B.A., 20, Tothill St., Westminster.

United Kingdom Band of Hope Union.

Chas. Wakely, 60, Old Bailey, E.C.

Watch Committee for Public Control of Liquor Traffic.

A. Sherwell, 88, St. Mary's, York.

Women's Total Abstinence Union.

Miss Boyd, 4, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

WOMEN.

The Assoc. Societies for Protection of Women and Children.

Sec.: A. L. McIlwaine, 60, Haymarket, W.

British National Young Women's Christian Association.

(and offices for World's Y.W.C.A.), 26, George St., Hanover Square, London, W. B.N.

Pres.: Mrs. J. H. Trilton. Sec.: Miss Thorold. World's Pres.: Miss Morley. Sec.: Miss Spencer. Divisions: North of England, South of England, London, Scotland, Ireland, each with its own Council of management. Membership: Great Britain, 102,471; world's (approx.), 557,017.

Central Bureau for Employment of Women.

Sec.: Miss Spencer, 9, Southampton St., Holborn, W.C. Official organ: "Women's Employment," first and third Fridays, 1d. Objects: To help women, especially those of good education, to help themselves; to promote the training of the unprepared; to collect and circulate information as to various occupations. Among the Employment Societies receiving "Women's Employment" are the following: *Birmingham—Employment Bureau, 11, Ethel St.; *Dublin—Irish Central Bureau, 30, Molesworth St.; *Edinburgh—Scottish Central Bureau, 25, Queensferry St.; *Glasgow—Women's Employment Bureau, 141, Bath St.; *Liverpool—Employment Bureau, 27, Leece St.; *Leeds—Employment Bureau, 7, Cookridge St.; London—Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, 23, Berner's St.; London—Girls' Friendly Society, Diocesan Registry, Northern and Central Europe, 8, Holbein's Place, Sloan Square, S.W.; London—Young Women's Christian Association, 26, George St., Hanover Square, W.; *Manchester—Gentlewomen's Employment Association, 1, Ridgefield, King St.; Torquay—Employment Bureau, Newburgh; *Watford—Employment Bureau, 9, The Parade, Watford, Herts. * These Societies will receive orders for "Women's Employment."

Clubs' Industrial Association.

Pres.: Mrs. Hicks, 21, Rochester Square, N.W. Sec.: Miss L. H. Montagu, 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W. An Association of leaders and representative members of Working Girls' Clubs.

Girls' Friendly Society.

Pres.: Mrs. Chaloner Chute. Sec.: Miss Ethel Smith, 89, Victoria St., London, S.W. Founded in 1875, for the protection and help of girls; its workers are members of the Church of England, and there are no restrictions as to membership. It has

branches or associates in many towns in Europe, and also in India and Burma; while there are sister Societies in Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies.

International Council of Women.

Hon. Sec.: Dr. Alice Salemon, Neue Ausbacherst. 7, Berlin, W. *Organising Sec. for Great Britain:* Miss Emily Janes, Parliament Mansions, Victoria St., London, S.W. To provide a means of communication between women's organisations in all countries, and opportunities for women from all parts of the world to confer. Quinquennial meetings held—next in Rome, 1914. Includes 22 affiliated National Councils of women.

Jewish Girls' Club and Institute, West Central.

Sec.: Miss L. H. Montagu, 12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W. To provide recreation and instruction for Jewish working girls in this district. Club House: 8, Dean St., Soho.

National Fed. of Women Workers.

Pres.: Miss M. MacArthur. *Secs.:* Miss Jessie A. Main, Miss Helena Flowers, 34, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C. To reduce the hours of labour. To secure fair payment for services rendered. To regulate the relations between employer and employee.

The National Union of Women Workers.

Pres.: Lady Laura Ridding. *Sec.:* Miss Norah E. Green, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W. To promote the social, civil, moral, and religious welfare of women; to focus and redistribute information likely to be of service to women workers; to federate women's organisations.

National Women's Labour League.

Sec.: Mrs. Middleton, 8, Jedburgh Street, Clapham, S.W. *Object:* To form an organisation of women to work for independent Labour representation in connection with the Labour Party, and to obtain direct Labour representation of women in Parliament and on all local bodies.

Royal National Pensions Fund for Nurses.

Pres.: H. M. The Queen. *Sec.:* Louis H. M. Dick, 15, Buckingham St., Strand. Founded 1887 on a mutual and essentially co-operative basis, to insure nurses for pensions of any amount, and for sickness and accidents.

Scottish Council for Women's Trades.

Sec.: Miss Irwin, 58, Renfield St., Glasgow. Occupied with investigation and legislative reform for women employed in laundries, shops, sweated industries, &c.

Socialist Women's Bureau.

Reporter: Mrs. Dora B. Montefiore, 32, Upper Mall, Hammersmith, W. *Hon. Sec.:* Miss C. S. Hendin, 33, Woodfield Rd., Paddington, London. Founded in England in 1907 in order to promote international communication between Socialist women, originated by Madame Clara Zetkin in Germany. *Organ:* "The Progressive Woman," published at Girard, Kansas, U.S.A.

Soc. for Promoting Employment and Training of Women.

Sec.: Miss King, 28, Berners St., W. Founded in 1859 to promote the training of women and their employment in industrial pursuits. Subscriptions, 1908-9, £72. 0s. 6d.; donations, £81. 16s. 9d.; loans granted, £445. 12s. 4d.;

loans repaid, £392. 2s. 2d.; 85 helped to begin technical training; 110 found temporary work; 15 found permanent work.

Stansfield Trust.

Hon. Treas.: Mrs. Alfred Emmott. *Hon. Sec.:* Miss E. C. Harvey, 16, Mays Hill Rd, Shortlands, Kent. The Scrutineer (Miss F. V. M. Taylor) reports on all Bills before Parliament (a) wherein men and women are differently treated, (b) of special interest to women, (c) dealing with children and education. Subscription for reports of one Session one guinea; 6s. for each additional set.

Travellers' Aid Society (for Girls and Women).

Sec.: Miss Jessie Gordon, 3, Baker St. London. Established in 1885, to protect young women travelling by meeting them on arrival, &c.

Women Guardians and Local Government Association.

See Local Government.

Women's Industrial Council.

Pres.: Miss Clementina Black. *Sec. and Treas.:* Miss Wyatt Papworth, M.A., 7, John Street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C. The improvement of all industrial conditions in which women are concerned. Work carried out by the following committees: Investigation, Education, Legal. Official organ: "The Women's Industrial News," quarterly, 6d.

Women's Free Trade Union.

Chairman of Com.: Mrs. Harcourt. *Hon. Treas.:* Mrs. Francis Acland. *Hon. Secs.:* Lady Frances Balfour and Lady Bamford Slack, 8, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W. The Union is entirely non-party, and includes amongst its Executive Committee Vice-Presidents, and Members, members of all political parties. Members of Council pay a minimum annual subscription of one guinea; members subscribe at least five shillings, and associates one shilling annually. All subscriptions and affiliation fees are payable on election, and thereafter on 1st May. *Working Girls' Clubs, Federation of.*

Pres.: Lady Kinnaird. *Hon. Secs.:* Miss E. M. Tritton, Miss Evelyn Moore, 26, George St., Hanover Square, London, W. *Organ:* "Girls' Club Journal," issued January, May, and October, 1s. per annum.

Women's Trade Union League.

Chairman: Miss Gertrude Tuckwell. *Sec.:* Miss MacArthur, 34, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C. A Federation of Women's Trade Unions, which works to organise women in the same union with men in the same trade, where practicable, and acts as the agent of women trade unionists in regard to legislative needs or grievances.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Anti-Vaccination League, National.

Pres.: Lieut.-General A. Pheips. *Sec.:* Miss L. Loat, 60, Parliament St., Westminster. *Organ:* "The Vaccination Inquirer," 1s. 6d. per annum.

Burial Reform and Cremation Society, Scottish.

Pres.: Sir Charles Cameron, Bt., M.D., LL.D. *Sec.:* Andrew Craig, 142, St. Vincent St., Glasgow. Total cremations, 1909 (to Oct. 20th), 23; total from April 1895, to date, 317.

Coal Smoke Abatement Society.

Pres.: Sir W. B. Richmond, K.C.B., R.A., &c. *Hon. Sec.:* Owen B. Thomas, 25, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W. Founded 1898.

Corps of Commissionaires.

C.O.: Major F. W. Walter, M.V.O., Exchange Court, 419, Strand, London, W.C.
Founder: Capt. Edward Walter. Every soldier or sailor discharged with a good regimental character, and in good health, can apply for admission either personally or by writing to the officer commanding a division. The Corps has been established fifty years, and numbers 3,750 men.

The Cosmos Society (formerly Cosmos Club).

Treas.: Eustace Miles, M.A. **Sec.:** Mrs. E. L. Walter, 40, Chandos St., Charing Cross, W.C. To embrace three kinds of study—Health Culture, Mental Education, and Psychological Investigation. "Band of Workers" under Mrs. Eustace Miles.

Cremation Society of England.

Pres.: Sir Charles Cameron, Bt., M.D., L.D. **Sec.:** J. A. Noble, 824, Regent St., London, W. Founded 1874, on philanthropic basis, by the late Sir Henry Thompson, to promote Cremation as a method of disposing of the dead.

Esperanto Association, British.

Pres.: Lt.-Col. John Pollen, C.I.E., &c. **Sec.:** Harold Clegg, 183-0, High Holborn, London, W.C. Total Esperantist Societies in world in 1907, 763; on June 1st, 1909, over 1,500. Of these, England has 188. Official organ: "The British Esperantist."

Imperial Cancer Research Fund.

Sec.: F. G. Hallett, Examination Hall, Victoria Embankment, E.C. Reports published 1904, 1905 (2), and 1908. Work carried on in 1909, mainly development of investigations recorded in last report.

Imperial Vaccination League.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., 8, Berners St., W. **Object:** To promote amendments to the Vaccination Acts of 1893.

Jewish Territorial Organisation (I.T.O.).

Pres.: Israel Zangwill. **Hon. Sec.:** Clement J. Salaman, King's Chambers, Portugal St., London, W.C. To procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they at present live. **Emigration Regulation Dept. of the I.T.O.** works to divert stream of Jewish emigrants from New York to Galveston, and thence to States west of Mississippi.

Liberation Society.

Sec.: David Caird, 16, Caxton House, S.W. **Object:** The disestablishment, with adequate compensation, of State Churches in Great Britain, and the application of the surplus of national property now held in trust by the churches to strictly national objects.

London Vegetarian Society and Assoc.

Pres.: Arnold F. Hills, D.L. **Gen. Sec.:** Miss F. I. Nicholson, Memorial Hall, Faringdon St., E.C. Organ: "The Vegetarian," monthly, 1d.

National Art Collections Fund.

Chairman: Lord Balcarras, M.P., F.S.A. **Sec.:** Arthur G. Shuter, Queen Anne's Chambers, Broadway, Westminster. Founded 1903, to secure pictures and other works of art for our National Collections. Membership over 1,000.

National Fire Brigades' Union.

Hon. Sec.: Augustus Hill, Union Bank Chambers, Bedford. To provide a central

organisation for fire brigades and salvage corps, and to establish a benevolent fund for its members.

National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty.

Sec.: Nigel Bond, 25, Victoria St., Westminster, S.W. Accepts from private owners gifts of places of interest and beauty to be held in trust for the nation.

The Order of the Golden Age.

Sec.: Sidney H. Beard, 153, 155, Brompton Rd., London, S.W. To encourage the abandonment of the use of flesh-food on humane, philanthropic, and religious grounds. Official organ: "The Herald of the Golden Life," quarterly, 8d.

Penal Reform League.

Hon. Sec.: Capt. Arthur J. St. John, 7, Holly Village, Highgate, N. To help to bring about a more complete and effective co-operation between the public and public servants for the reclamation of criminals by a curative and educative system.

Police and Public Vigilance Society.

Hon. Sec.: James Timewell, 141, Gower St., W.C. Prepared 36 cases against the police for investigation by Royal Commission on the Metropolitan Police. Formed to watch police action, and protect individuals against charges without foundation.

The Rationalist Press Association, Ltd.

Sec.: Charles E. Hooper, 5 and 6, Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London, E.C. To stimulate freedom of thought and enquiry in reference to ethics, theology, &c., and to promote a secular system of education.

Research Defence Society.

Hon. Sec.: Stephen Paget, 70, Harley St. London, W. Defends the practice of vivisection, and maintains that the administration of the Act of 1876 regulating experiments in Great Britain and Ireland is carried out with extreme care.

The Society of Authors.

Pres.: Thomas Hardy. **Sec.:** G. Herbert Thring, 39, Old Queen St., Westminster, S.W. Managed by General Committee and four Sub-Committees:—Dramatic, Pension Fund, Copyright, Art. Membership about 2,000. Established 1894, to defend the interests and maintain the rights of authors. Annual income, over £1,800; invested funds, nearly £2,000. Official organ: "The Author."

Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings.

Sec.: Thackeray Turner, 20, Buckingham St., Strand, W.C. Founded in 1877, to educate public opinion on the subject of the preservation of ancient buildings.

The Vegetarian Society.

Pres.: The Rev Prof. John E. B. Mayor, M.A., D.D., &c. **Sec.:** Albert Broadbent, F.S.S., F.R.H.S., 257, Deansgate, Manchester. Official organ: "The Vegetarian Messenger," 2s. 6d. per annum, post free.

Weights and Measures Assoc., British.

Chairman: Robert Kaye Gray. **Sec.:** George Moores, F.S.S., 98, Cannon St., London, E.C. (International Office), and 12, Exchange St., Manchester (Office for U.K.). Formed in July, 1904, for the purpose of defending and improving the present system of British weights and measures.

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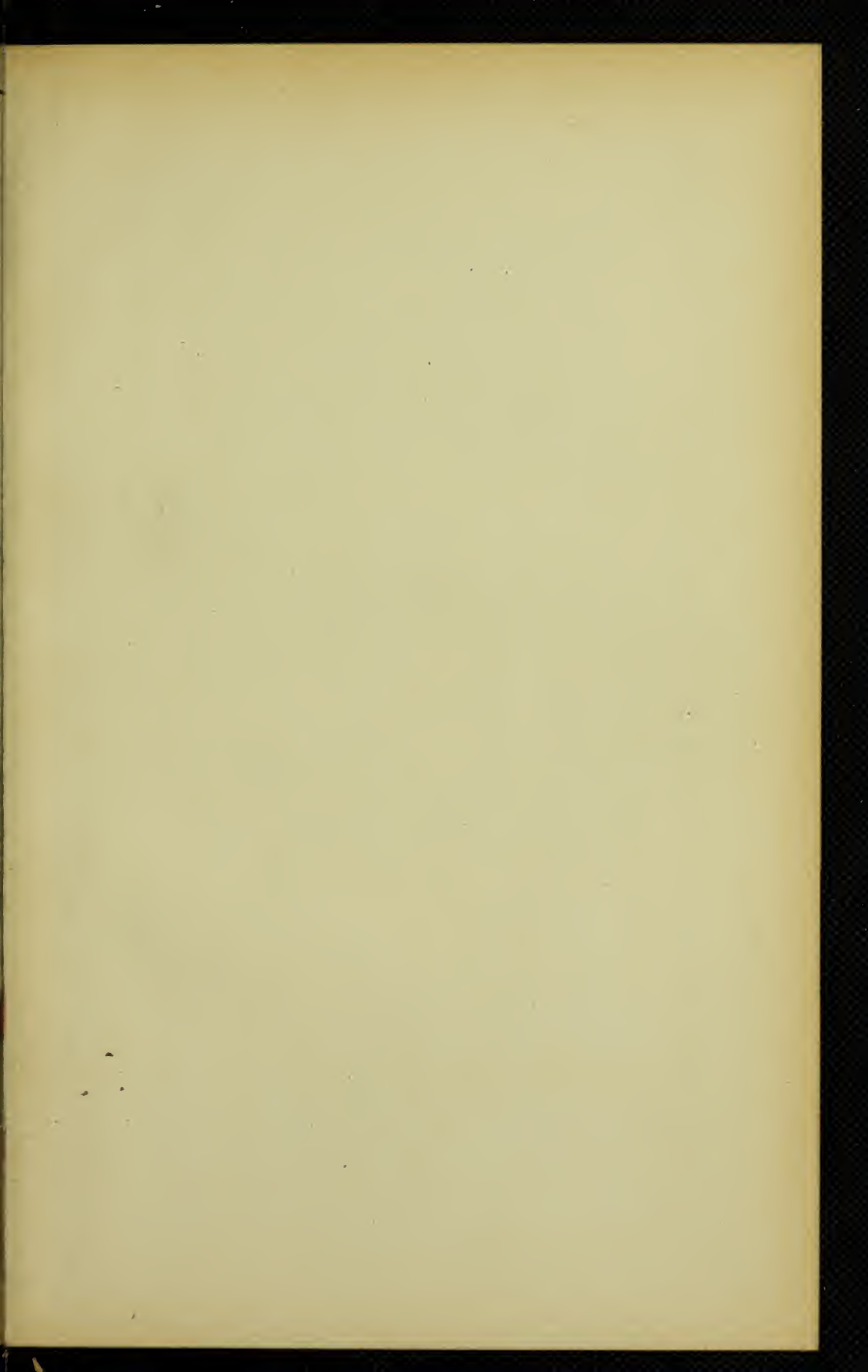
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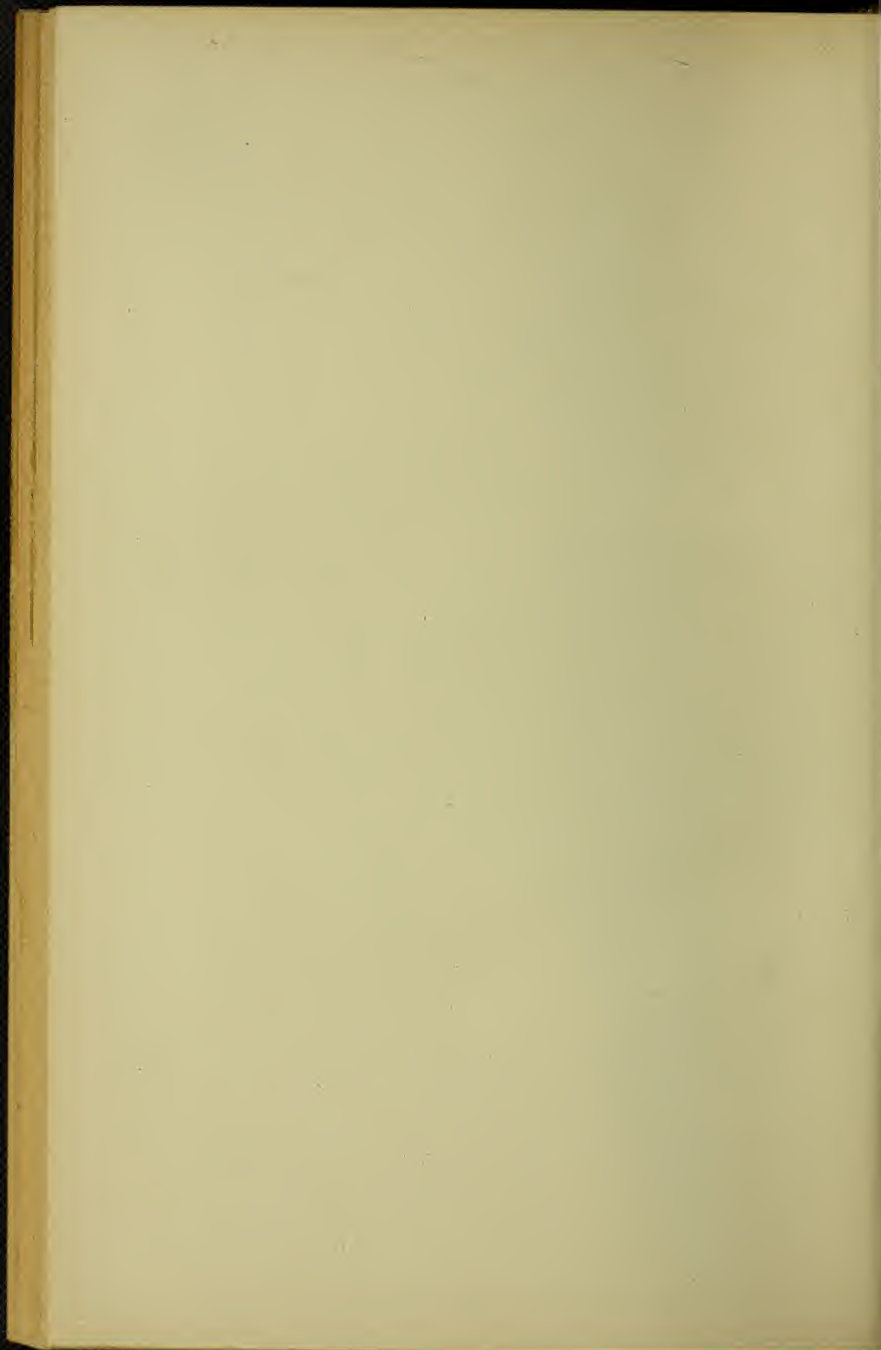
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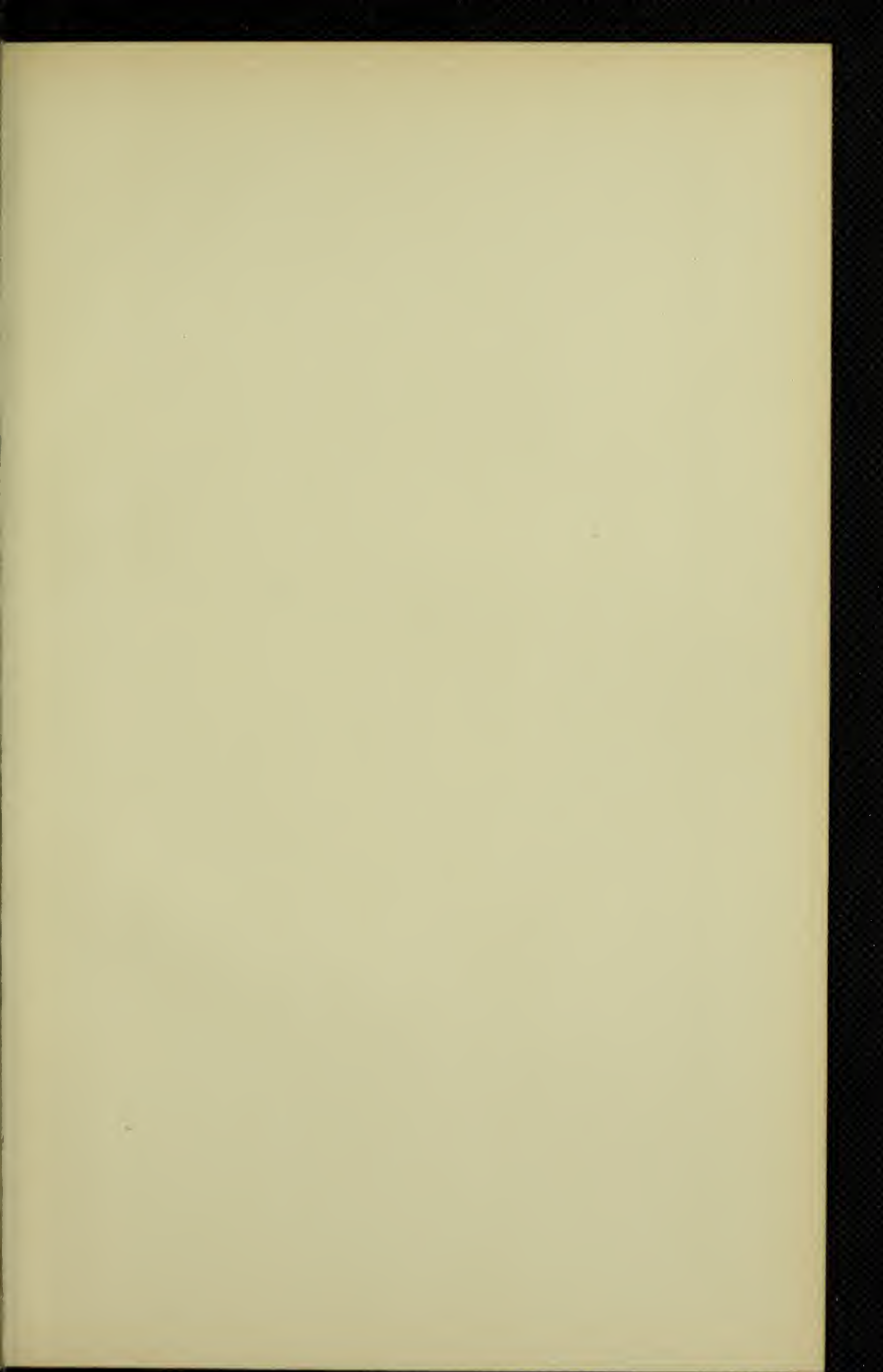
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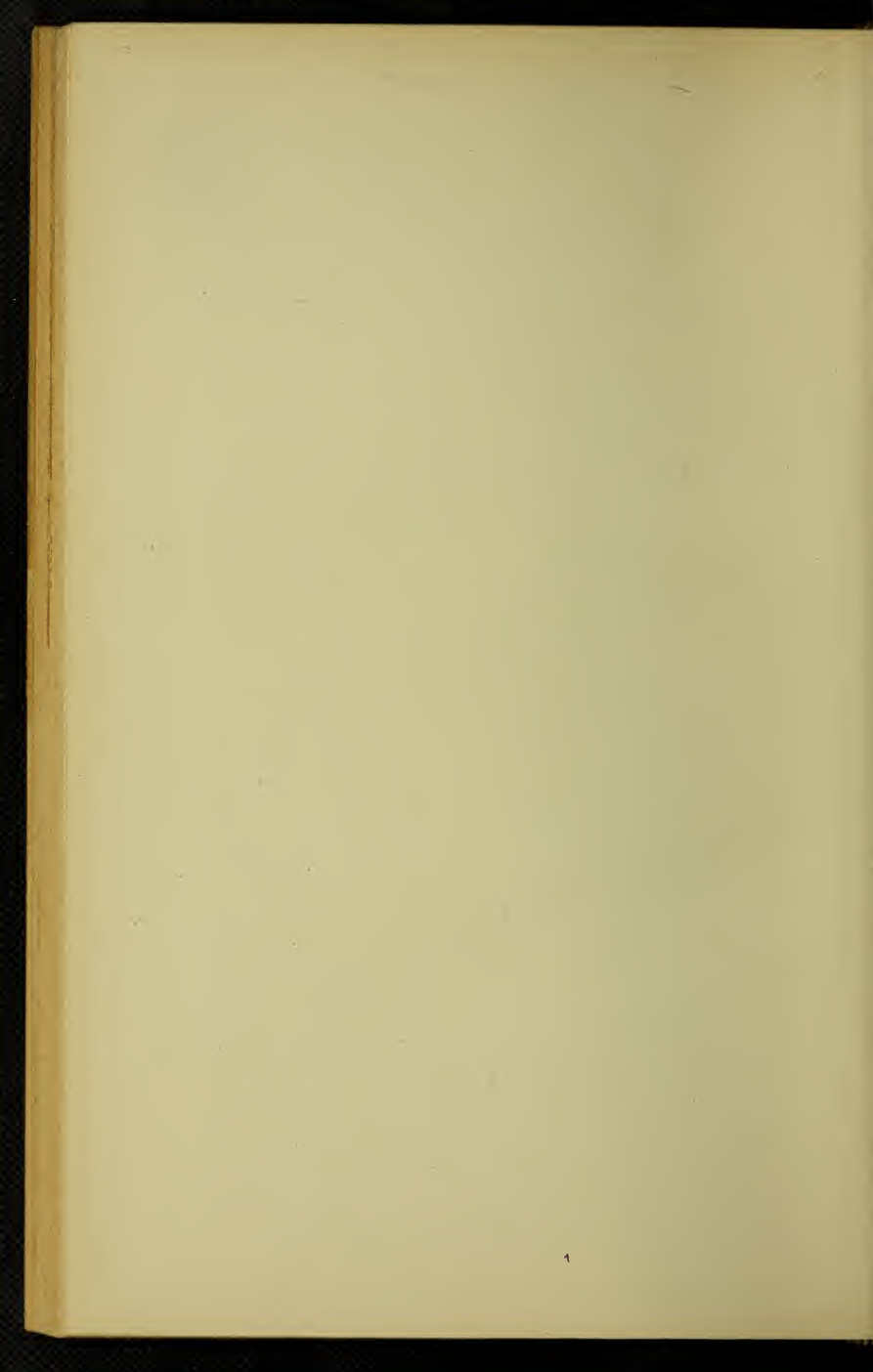
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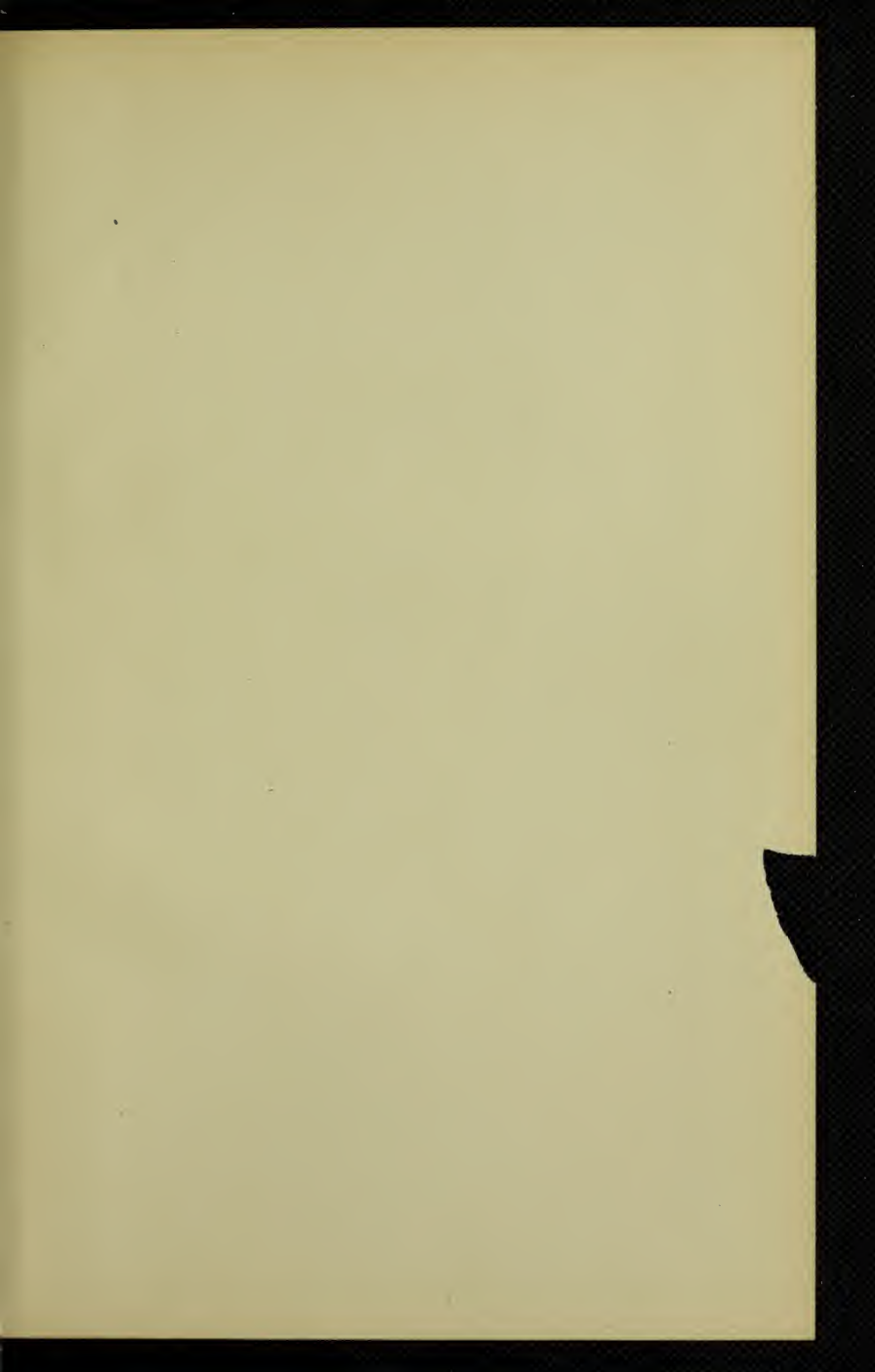
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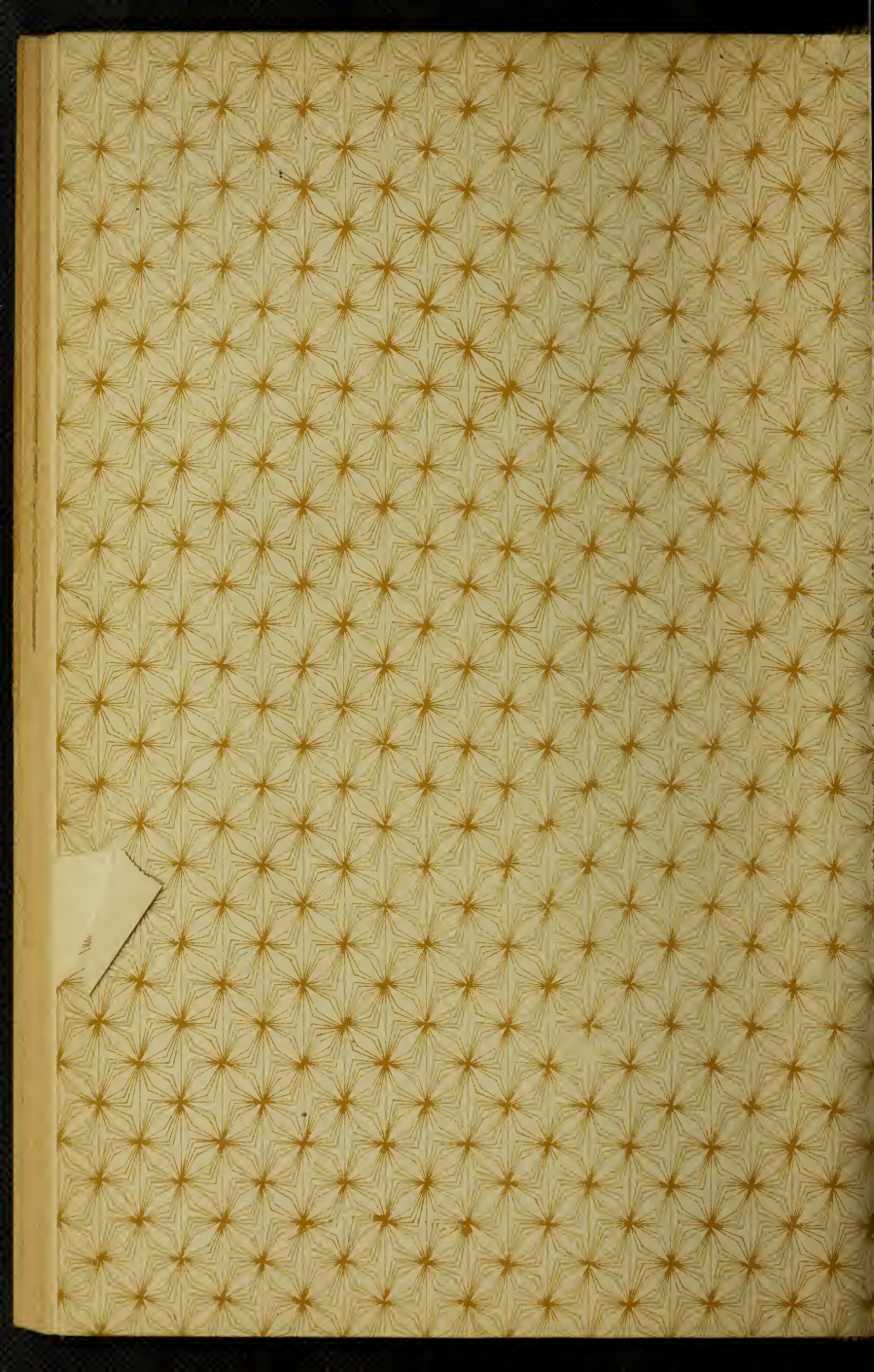


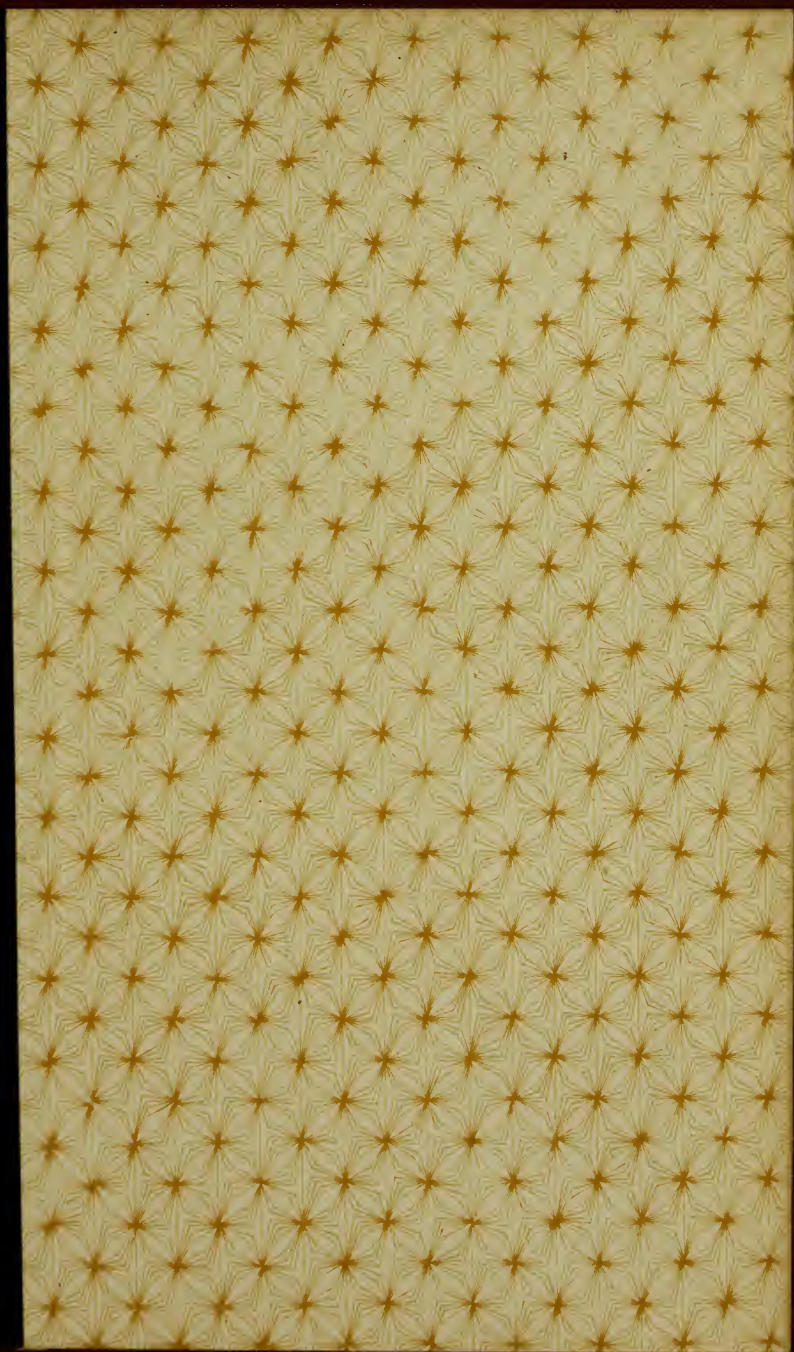












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